Movement

ENCOUNTER

With The FUTURE

I HAVE NOT ENDED the story for there is no end. This Movement is alive, it is growing, it has already become a part of our life as Americans; it is joyous, still a singing movement, still one full of compassion and love; and being so, it is flexible, amenable to the best our minds and hearts can offer it. Amenable also to the worst we offer it. A brave vigorous movement that is here to stay: rich with infinite creative possibilities, potent—and dangerous, for the potential good can be distorted and lost by the despairing restlessness of those from the ghettos who have no hope, and who are too uninformed historically, too unsure emotionally to analyze current conditions or foresee the consequence of their acts. We, as a people, could be confronted soon by a series of catastrophes. Whether this happens depends on the wisdom of responsible Negroes but more, much more on what every responsible white American does next. One thing is certain in a plexus of uncertainties and that is, *our encounter with the future cannot be evaded,* it must be met by both the artist and the scientist in us, by our deep intuitions and our rigorously proved knowledge—and by the human being in us, too, that creature who knows the power of compassion, the potency of a strange love that keeps reaching out to bind one man to another.

—LILLIAN SMITH, *Our Faces, Our Words.*
(W. W. NORTON, 1964)

Encounter With The Future

by

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Foreword

PAT WATTERS, a senior staff member, has written for the Southern Regional Council this inquiry into the thought and influence of certain American youth. These are people who have given both direction and depth to the struggle for civil rights.

The record will show, I believe, that the Council by its Special Report of February 25, 1960 was among the very first to welcome and value the sit-in Movement begun by Negro students of the South. In a sense, this pamphlet is a sequel to that 1960 report, for if that expressed faith this expresses respect for a Movement that has since served and in no small measure inspired this country. It still serves and it should, in sum and despite misadventures, still inspire.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director

IT used to be so wonderfully simple. Here were these Negroes and they were right. There were those segregated lunch counters. In an age of ambivalence, of moral ambiguity, the Negro Movement gave us at last a choice, as clear-cut as a sit-in, between good and evil. It let us have the cake of certainty and eat it too, by frosting it with forgiveness, non-violence, love.

It is not that simple any more.

Of course it never really was, and we never had any right to add that to the impossible demands we have made on Negro Americans, however they might have encouraged it. Two years ago, the catch-phrase was "new militancy," and I remember a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) veteran saying then: "It's not new. We've been militant—and angry—all along. It was just that nobody bothered to ask us."

No single phrase can catch the mood now. Most of the negative elements—internal dissension, disorganization, alienation, the Communist question, dispute over attitudes toward whites and toward America itself—have been there all along. So have the seeds of new and positive elements (beyond the old bravery and dedication): whole new concepts of methods and goals; a new thrust toward causes, rather than symptoms, of social sickness. Now it is time to bother to ask about all these things, precisely because the comforting oversimplification of the sit-ins is gone forever. It is time to look at the Movement with something like human expectations, and, perhaps, with compassion, and to try to understand some of the real depth of the struggle between good and evil that is, indeed, its profound meaning for America.

This is a look at the youthful wing of the southern civil rights Movement, for as always it sets the pace. SNCC is the

key, but also involved are much of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), and of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) insofar as they reflect or react to the same radicalism. Throughout the report, references to the Movement are in this rather loose sense.

This is not an "insider's" report. It doesn't pretend to anything like omniscience. If there was once a time when anyone not a worker in one of the four chief civil rights organizations might nevertheless develop an "insider's" knowledge of the Movement, that time is no more. No longer can a reporter measure the mood of the Movement by talking to a few key people. Often now it is difficult to be sure who the key people are, and difficult sometimes to evaluate what any people tell you. The best one can do from the periphery is to talk to as many people as possible, observe as much as possible, and try to think it through. The effort is important.

Communication by the youthful wing about itself has always been in action more than words. Where the issues are crass, as in a sit-in, nothing more is needed. Where they are not, as at the Democratic National Convention in 1964, communication either breaks down, or is on a level difficult to perceive. Very few people in the nation understand what SNCC was trying to say with its action of opposing the political compromise offered at the convention. Its efforts to explain in words weren't successful. It has always had a disdain for the efficacy of words spoken to an audience outside its own circle. Perhaps this is because the context in the circle is so terribly different from that of any audience outside it.

Nevertheless *something* was communicated by the action at Atlantic City. It produced circles of negative reaction to SNCC that have been widening ever since, and these negative reactions have prompted the many examinations of radicalism and other realities of the Movement, like this study. These may, finally, find out what SNCC was trying to say at the conven-

tion, or more of what it has been saying all along. If so, one must still jerry-build his own understandings.

A beginning is to try to understand better the COFO Summer of 1964.

Gains and Losses

This was the campaign concentrated in Mississippi by the four civil rights organizations, SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and the NAACP. They were banded together into a Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). COFO had its origins in earlier futile efforts to register Negro voters. The Mississippi Summer was the first large-scale coordinated effort of the four organizations, and it may be the last.

Any appraisal of it has to be with awareness constantly of what the workers were up against, simplified in these grim statistics from the New York *Times:* 1,000 arrests; 35 shooting incidents, with three persons injured; 30 homes and other buildings bombed; 35 churches burned; 80 persons beaten; at least six persons murdered.

COFO operated 47 Freedom Schools and nearly that many community centers, worked on voter registration and developed the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP). It brought in upwards of 1,000 volunteers, many of them white northern students. They were a presence from the rest of the country and were psychologically effective, if not in inhibiting racist murderousness, then in calling attention to it. Lawyers, doctors, and church people from afar similarly served.

Immediate tangible results were few: a very small success in fiercely resisted registration; the attraction to the Movement of a relatively few Negroes who are very faithful, giving them tastes of real learning and equalitarian association; the attraction of many more (80,000) in the less risky role of FDP voters; the election of a very few Negroes to the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service county committees.

The most impressive tangible result was not evident until nearly a year later. A major goal of the Summer of 1964 was to develop an indigenous Negro leadership. By the following Spring of 1965, virtually all of the COFO projects and activities were in the hands of indigenous Negro leadership.

COFO claimed many intangible results on the morale of Negro Mississippians and in awakening political consciousness. Perhaps even more, intangibly, was done for white Mississipians. They saw integration in action. They learned how far from the rest of the nation they stood, and how much they have become despised for this. Since the Summer, they have showed the first signs of change, and hope. Moderates are speaking out. McComb ceased public sanction of racist terrorism. The Mississippi Economic Council, a state chamber of commerce, called for law and order, communication between the races, "impartial administration" of voting laws, and support of public (desegregated) education.

A number of pressures, including economic, were behind this. Also in the background was successful court-ordered desegregation of three school systems in August, abetted by a state-wide organization of white liberals and moderates known as Mississippians for Public Education; enlargement of the FBI forces in the state; continued federal court suits against segregation; continued exposure by the national press of racism and thought control in the state; and passage of the Civil Rights Act. COFO had its impact on all of these.

In 1964, nothing much could succeed in its specific, announced goals. What COFO helped so much to do was to force Mississippians to confront themselves and their problems, and the nation to confront Mississippi. COFO's success has made obsolete this strategy.

Unstructured shaking up of Mississippi's peace—agitation for the sake of confrontation—has not the same necessity as it had last Summer. The new federal poverty program should be given a chance to work; school desegregation should continue smoothly;

white moderates and liberals should be given a chance to gather themselves together.

COFO seems aware of this. A big adjustment for many of its workers is the shift to poverty program work, community development, agriculture committee work, Title Six compliance. Many have left for other parts of the Black Belt. Like pioneers, some freedom fighters get restless on yesterday's frontier. The unexplored territory of racism is rapidly diminishing and where pockets of it yet remain—in Alabama, Louisiana, or northern suburbia—they call out to be seen and tested.

Not that Mississippi is tamed. The enlarged FBI force shouldn't leave. Neither should the effort to work at the deep levels of poverty and racist persecution. Nearly all of the Negro population is yet to be registered to vote.

The gains of the COFO Summer were not without cost to the southern Negro Movement. The effects have lingered and are an influence as the Movement prepares for another long hot Summer. Stress last Summer brought dissension to the surface—more than ordinarily—among member organizations of COFO and its allies. At the end of the Summer, the Mississippi NAACP voted to withdraw, a generally unpublicized action.

During 1964, the NAACP and SCLC had participated only nominally in COFO. CORE, on the other hand, had contributed one-fifth to one-fourth of the trained field workers. The rest had been SNCC, and the volunteers. As 1965 came in, it became clear that COFO was to be almost entirely SNCC, or that it was to become a self-directing organization, fraternally related to SNCC.

Indeed, the Mississippi theater had become an organizational complex. During 1964, three lawyer's groups were active in providing defense council for COFO, with the heavy duty work being done as always by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and its cooperating attorneys. There was also a new group—the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee. Finally, there was the National Lawyers Guild, which was close

to COFO leadership, but with which the Legal Defense Fund will not associate, and which LCDC held at a distance. A fourth group, generously financed and with ties to both the American Bar Association and the Mississippi bar, appeared during 1965: the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. A further change is that LCDC has become sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The legal achievement in Mississippi is one of impressive results. The appearance of so many "outsiders" practicing law in behalf of Negroes upgraded standards of justice. Prosecutors needed more than the color of a defendant's skin for a conviction that would stick. Appeals have been started on interrelated cases involving habeas corpus and transfer to federal courts which may eliminate or curtail harassing arrests of civil rights workers on baseless charges.

Involvement of doctors, an auspicious development, and of the church in the COFO Summer was less contentious and will probably continue. The Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches is an apparently permanent program with a $400,000 a year budget, and a program paralleling COFO's generally, though with missionary overtones.

After withdrawing from COFO, the NAACP announced its own Mississippi program. If COFO was SNCC's great opportunity to lead the Movement structurally, it failed. At least for the present, the most youthful part of the civil rights Movement is still only one part. Nevertheless, the SNCC approach—living and working with the people—is established in Mississippi and southwest Georgia and by CORE in some parts of Louisiana, and is being put into practice by new exponents, including SCLC. This could be crucial to the future of the Movement. Hitherto, SNCC's virtual monopoly on this kind of sustained work has been its chief strength, and the source of its radicalism. It remains to be seen whether other organizations can do the kind of job SNCC has done, and, if they can, whether it will have the same radicalizing effect on them.

One SNCC innovation that has not been adopted by other elements of the civil rights Movement is the Freedom Democratic Party. The FDP envisions extending out from Mississippi, and envisions offering its own candidates across the Black Belt, refusing to make "lesser of evil" choices. This, amid much criticism and sincere misgivings about SNCC's leftism, is a chief factor in the widening of a breach between SNCC and the so-called coalition of civil rights organizations, labor, and the rest of the liberal establishment. The NAACP and organized labor this Spring in Mississippi, for example, joined forces to block an effort to get national accreditation for an FDP-developed Young Democrats organization.

But SNCC's radicalism also is manifest in two other of its directions. First, SNCC has always been an endless, introspective conference, toiling away at defining itself, its ideals, its aspirations, its plans. As it has grown, it has vacillated between bringing non-staff into its "conference" or excluding them. Its policy now seems to be to confine the conference within the staff, *and* between staff members and the Negro dwellers in rural and urban slums. There is a formalization of the latter in SNCC's announced plans for "People's Conferences."

Second, SNCC's persistent iconoclasm throughout early 1965 in saying, over and over again, that passage of the Voting Rights Bill is of considerably less importance than unseating of the Mississippi Congressional delegation is important for insights it provides. Liberal forces will pass a voting bill. SNCC refuses to say "thank you" and has itself given the effort only left-over energy, maintaining that the major problem—enforcement—is still not solved. Instead, it will demand of liberal forces that they do something which they probably will not do: unseat the Mississippi delegation. It is the SNCC style. If the great demonstration planned for Washington during the Summer of 1965 in behalf of the Congressional challenge comes off, its

true importance will be that its target—actual if not announced —will be liberals.

Amid all the dissension around it last year, SNCC itself apparently underwent serious and traumatic internal struggle.

A perhaps symbolic issue seemed to be disagreement over how SNCC should be organized. (The "coordinating committee" has from the beginning been preoccupied with forms of organization, just as it has been supremely disorganized, the latter a part of its style which probably costs more than it is worth, and, when necessary, as with organization of the short wave radio in Mississippi or the FDP convention, can be abandoned immediately. In the internal convolutions of its forms of organization, which seem always more and needlessly complicated, it often seems, maybe consciously, to be parodying the over-organization of our age.)

The dispute this time seemed to be over whether the loose but at least structured organization of the past, with a defined executive and administrative function, should be supplanted by an arrangement of local and perhaps even personal autonomy. James Forman and John Lewis, two of the top officials of SNCC, led the former view, Robert Moses the latter.

In a sense, the issue was state's rights (local autonomy), and the area of discontent much the same as Senator Goldwater tapped. And—despite the harm done by reactionaries to a legitimate idea—discontent with over-organization and meaningless form is one of the profound mass emotions of the time.

The ostensible issue was resolved at a seven-day annual meeting this Winter, with those in favor of organization over local autonomy prevailing. The decision was probably influenced by a three-month period of near anarchy in SNCC just preceding. The meetings of SNCC in the past year have become for members apparently a particularly upsetting experience, with emphasis on letting everybody speak, so that they are overly long and emotional. This reorganizational meeting was of this pat-

tern. Its most important achievement was to complete the transition of the organization from one of student and community groups to one of individuals working as organizers. The staff workers emerged as the power base, with frequent staff meetings promised. Apparently in deference to local control, the executive committee was selected almost entirely from among Negro Mississippi staffers. But on a practical level, the executive committee functions little. Decisions are made in the offices in Atlanta, or, just as often, by local leaders in the field. It is never simple.

Distrust of organization continues a strong influence in SNCC, and one needs to understand this. Mr. Moses, the Harvard mathematics major who began the SNCC work in Mississippi four years ago, personifies this instinct. To escape the mantle of revered leader and prophet that settled on him in Mississippi, he went to the length of changing his name and moving to Alabama. He is now Robert Parris.

Throughout recent SNCC literature and conversation, opposition to the very concept of national civil rights leaders is a strong theory. This is part of the intensified dedication to working with and through the people. Big leaders weaken the will of the people to think for themselves, SNCC argues. The real task is to develop decision-making ability among the people, and leaders from among them.

In much of this, the term alienation is inescapable. At times, it seems to be SNCC against the world, and divided against itself. Willy-nilly, it cuts a swath of lost friends and uninfluenced people, many of them white liberals. In one locale where the local newspapers are bad beyond belief, the one completely competent, honest, and fair-minded newspaperman on the scene has come to despise SNCC. He has no good word for it. He could have remained a useful friend. This kind of thing is behind the drop of the voice, and even intonations of sorrow, almost pity, when people who are genuinely friendly to SNCC start telling its flaws.

The alienation reached a crisis at the Democratic National Convention last year and the scars and enmities linger on from FDP's refusal to accept a two-seat compromise of its demand that all the FDP delegation be seated. Some SNCC people insist this was not necessarily a rejection of the concept of compromise, but rejection of an insulting, unsuitable compromise, that an earlier proposal to seat anyone of both factions willing to pledge loyalty would have been accepted. Nevertheless, to those oriented to the give and take of politics, and the cloaks and daggers of sinister motivation, the FDP decision and SNCC's heavy influence on it had to be either hopelessly idealistic and unrealistic, or diabolically designed to confuse the masses of the Negro followers, to stir them to needless discontent. To SNCC, everybody from the President on down had "sold out." Perhaps it is well that 1965 and 1966 are not particularly big political years; they may be a breathing space during which the political breach within the Movement and with the liberals may be healed.

Viewed as a third party effort—as many in SNCC do view it—FDP might not gain as much power for itself as its backers think, but it could take crucially needed power (in the Black Belt and the Negro ghettos of the North) away from the liberals to the benefit of the right wing.

In the initial stages at least, FDP seems contenting itself with the role of being a separate wing of the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi. In Georgia, Julian Bond, public information officer of SNCC, jumped into a reapportioned House of Representatives race, running as a Democrat. The opting is in, for the time.

SNCC's unwillingness to settle merely for registering Negroes, its plans to run its own candidates, can be at least partially understood by looking at the areas in the rest of the South and nation where there is Negro enfranchisement and something less than an equal society. Atlanta comes to mind. An interesting study might be made of the impact of Atlanta, the head-

quarters of SNCC and SCLC, on radicalism and awareness of sad realities in the southern Movement. Again and again, when they cite evils of tokenism they want to avoid in the reformation of the Black Belt, the Movement people use illustrations in Atlanta: the manipulation in the past of the Negro vote by conservative Negro leadership in coalition with moderate whites; tokenism in schools, annually exacerbated by policies increasing housing segregation and the growth of a ghetto; hypocrisy and cynicism summed up by what critics contend is the city's regard for its national image for good race relations but not for the human victims of racism. One needs only to see what the Movement believes about the South's "most progressive" city to understand its pessimism and intransigence in other parts of the South.

Southern liberals look askance at FDP with slightly different perspective from those in the North. They regard as dangerous its tendencies to solidify and continue a racial alignment in southern politics, leaving both major parties still in the hands of whites, and discouraging effective political alignment of Negro voters with white moderates or liberals.

(The FDP idea began with mock elections in the Fall of 1963 as a demonstration of disenfranchisement. Somewhere between then and Atlantic City, some began to think of the demonstration party as simply a party. Interestingly, the first mock election originated the idea of involving white college students in the southern struggle, thereby arousing the national concern over their safety that never came for the safety of Negroes in general, or the small bands of full-time civil rights workers. The students who worked in that election, as did later the Summer volunteers, went in with their eyes open to this aspect of their role. The sad rationale behind it was demonstrated anew during Selma when the death of a Negro civil rights demonstrator in Marion was largely ignored by the public—though fully covered in the press—while the later murders of two white civil rights demonstrators caused a great storm of national indignation.)

By demanding a stronger repudiation from the Democratic Party and its liberal supporting forces of the unholy alliance with racism in the South since Reconstruction, the FDP shows a new face of the Movement, less willing to forgive and forget. It raises a question not satisfactorily resolved by either World War II or the Civil War: is unconditional surrender the way to deal with the people behind a social system with which there can be no compromise? About the system there is no question; but what of the people?

For all its inherent dangers, FDP forces us also to examine a cherished rationalization. Politics is the art of the possible and of compromise, but neither of these is necessarily a virtue, and we still have a responsibility to examine the possibilities and set limits to compromise.

Because it was so long and so hot, the Mississippi Summer was reported in column inches far better than any other civil rights campaign. But the coverage nearly all centered on violence, partly because of circumstance, partly because of the Movement's and the press's own fixations. This is a dilemma. The Movement and the press both know that what the public responds to is turmoil and violence, even though other important things might be happening and even though the great violent upheavals haven't bettered appreciably the lot of the Negroes immediately involved, as an examination now of Albany, St. Augustine, and Birmingham would show.

The important things that were happening in Mississippi during the Summer of 1964 were the reaching to the grassroots of Negroes, the forcing of change on the white population, and development of political consciousness in the Movement. And these were reflections of the very important effort of the Movement to adjust to the new realities of its role. But violence made the news.

SNCC for a time seemed trying to move out of the violence dilemma in Selma. But when it did agree to demonstrate, it did so in a manner that seemed deliberately to provoke violence.

This illustrates one of the more strained tensions, more precarious philosophical balances, within the Movement—the reconciliation of deliberate provocation by Negroes of the close-to-the-surface violence of an element of whites in the South with the true spirit and high meanings of non-violence. Often there is a frank admission by a civil rights worker that to him, as an individual, non-violence is only a tactic, not a way of life, or a way to a better life for the world. The simple act of demonstrating, no matter how orderly and dignified, was often in the immediate past, in parts of the South, a provocation to violence. In more sophisticated sectors and the present more sophisticated time, when the mere presence of a demonstration fails to provoke violence, demonstrators have jeered, taunted, and otherwise, short of actual violence on their part, brought it forth. There are also elements in this of a grim game to see who will "chicken" first, a simple release of hostilities. The cynicism that begins with considering non-violence as simply a subtle sort of weapon would seem to justify this next step to make it effective. It is only another step, too, to the use of violence itself, where tactically feasible. But at its best, non-violence never sought, as no human should, deliberately to goad the beast in a man. The question—and the answer is really not known—is whether America has ever responded to the higher meaning and hope of non-violence, or whether it has simply reacted to violence and turmoil, acting in civil rights matters only as necessary.

New and Old Radicals

The introduction of white volunteers in great numbers to the existential reality of the southern race struggle was another most important aspect of the Mississippi Summer. To white Mississippians, this was the unkindest cut. COFO's popularity rating would not have been improved if all its followers had worn

Brooks Brothers, or had constantly fawned and bowed and made that elbows-in shuffle of self-abnegation common to an older generation of deep-South Negro men. But by the beards of the Summer volunteers, and the hanks of their women's hanging down, uncombed hair, they offended to the soul nigh onto a state-full of whites. These were people who voiced no noticeable storm of popular protest over murder of COFO workers, but who, on the subjects of unkemptness, beer drinking, white and Negro dating, racial and sexually mixed sleeping arrangements, and, most of all, beards, howled in holy and moral and righteous indignation. They really believed at the beginning that a horde of Communists and beatniks were coming to rape and pillage. They were relieved that racial revenge was not so reaped, but they remained convinced about what constituted the horde. The horde did little to convince them otherwise.

COFO attempted to organize poor whites in Gulfport, but in most ways, seemed to write off the whites in Mississippi en masse. If the Goldwater vote (more than 90% of whites) may be regarded as a headcount on racism, then COFO was probably right. Yet, as the grip of totalitarianism in the state slips a bit, one remembers the accounts of how the overtures of moderates and liberals to the COFO volunteers were rebuffed. "They lectured us, and wouldn't listen," one liberal told me. "They were so dogmatic."

One remembers the account of how in the one town in Mississippi where there was a hope of engendering sympathy and respect from local whites, the volunteers came with arrogant disdain, and promptly alienated the town.

It was of course murder that these kids felt they faced. They were scared all over Mississippi.

A professional man took a look at the worst of human failings among the volunteers under the terrible pressures of the Summer, and concluded that the patterns of behavior did not differ from the norm for a similar group of young Americans any-

where, in far less stressful situations, for example, on a college campus.

The consensus among those who saw the volunteer operation being formed and in motion is that the majority of the white volunteers were not the way-out variety of campus radicals, but were mainstream, middle-class young Americans, highly motivated not so much by intellectual or neo-beatnik philosophical instincts, but by the standard religious, patriotic, and political ideals of the mainstream. Even severest critics of COFO say this, adding that the effect of the Mississippi Summer was to radicalize such youngsters considerably. One has but to read the thoughts and feelings of these white volunteers in a compilation of their letters home *(Letters from Mississippi,* edited by Elizabeth Sutherland) to see the truth of both propositions. They were radicalized not just by SNCC, as the critics contend, but by the conditions they encountered in Mississippi, the same radicalizing forces that had been at work on SNCC for five years.

I asked Aaron Henry, the Mississippi Negro leader from Clarksdale, if any more strenuous efforts would be made in the future to screen out "oddballs." "Oddballs!" snorted Mr. Henry. "They ain't nothing but oddballs. Coming down here to get scared to death and shot at just to help us Negroes. They're not typical Americans. They're oddballs all right. The right kind." An impeccable moderate summed them up another way: "They are good and dedicated and absolutely right. But there is a harshness and cynicism to their idealism. They're the kind of way-out people I could never get along with when I was in college."

The issue of the beards (and the philosophically inaccurate but semantically correct epithet, "beatnik") goes deeper than race; it is part of the age-old antagonism of young and old, the old against the new. The new young rail against many of the same things the beatnik movement did, in oversimplified sum the values and compulsions of the atomic-age industrial society, but they are not "beat," not impotent.

Less obviously, the young as a class have been only a little less powerless than Negro Southerners. When the latter, out of desperation, finally forged a lever to power, the young jumped to get a hand-hold, too. The lever since has been used in campus protest across the country. Reaction there has been more civilized and realistic than in Mississippi, but the methods have been criticized and the question keeps being put: is this a Communist infiltrated thing?

Mississippi racism didn't ask the question; it knew—and has cried over the years—that it's all a Communist plot. The Mississippi Summer saw more responsible people taking the question seriously. This was fed by the FBI assertion that two out of every seven of the volunteers had "connections" with organizations listed as subversive by the Justice Department. The only names mentioned were not of Communists but off-spring of Communists. A month after this disclosure, the FBI at Jackson was refusing to discuss it at all.

A frank discussion with SNCC leaders is about the least comforting follow-up on the question. Certainly, they say, we don't worry about the past or present political affiliations of anybody. If they are for what we are, which is merely to make America do what it says it believes, we accept them. How can they hurt us or the country? Julian Bond of SNCC told me a couple of years ago in one of the earlier, smaller of the recurring panics over the question, that "Sure, if a guy comes in here and says he wants to work and then the first thing he says after that is, 'I'm a socialist,' we probably wouldn't take him. Not because he's a socialist, but because he must be hung up on politics. We'd do the same thing if all he talked about was, 'I'm a Republican.' "

One acute observation is that in the usual refusal of SNCC people even to discuss the Communist issue, there is denial of their most cherished ideals, the civil liberties of those who are genuinely concerned about it. It is anti-anti-Communism as dogmatic as extremist anti-Communism. One SNCC spokesman

answered this, and in a sense confirmed it, by saying that people who had to discuss Communism had nothing relevant to talk about, that they were really worried about something else, namely, the radicalism of the Movement. A Mississippi Negro, not of SNCC, who pointed out that the mass of Negroes there don't worry about Communism because they don't know what it is, echoed the answer when he said, thoughtfully: "Radical ideas are not necessarily Communist. Maybe it's time for radical ideas."

SNCC seems to say it is simply uninterested in the ideological clash between Communism and democracy, that it is not pertinent in the existential reality of the personal clash with racism. What they seem to be saying is that nothing can be worse than what they fight, so why bother with these minor battlings so long as the major one remains unresolved?

While the Negro Movement and the campus movement feed each other, it is probably accurate to say that the campus movement draws more heavily. SNCC is its model organization. The COFO Summer "snickized" the volunteers, and they took this back to the campus. But the campus radicalism is less single-minded and hence more revealing about politics. Even a brief reportorial sorte into this world of student radicalism reveals an unknown little theater of power battling and bewilderingly shifted values, definitions, assumptions. "Oh, don't worry about the Du-Bois clubs," said an intimate of this world airily about the California-based organization that openly avows Marxism. "They are Russian-oriented, and hence for peace," and added: "And therefore to the right of SNCC." The term Maoism is flung around; often, as in a long interview with an entirely pragmatic student much dismayed by his Summer with COFO, it is used not to describe an ideology or organizational tie, but merely a frame of mind. The structured, ideological Maoists in the country, meanwhile, are coming out into the open, so it seems important to keep the distinction clear between actual and metaphorical Maoists.

SNCC with other elements of the Negro Movement came together formally with the campus "new left" Movement in demonstrations against American policy in Viet Nam. Interest in such matters as foreign policy is not new in the Movement; part of it, in the past, when the Movement's chief obstacle on civil rights often seemed the federal government, probably reflected a tendency to sympathize with other lands embroiled with this same federal government; if the emphasis now is stronger on such matters, this may in part be due to the fact that the new audience is more interested in such matters. Part of it, inescapable, too, is that the Movement probably tends to identify with the people in a place like Viet Nam, North or South, because of race, because of poverty. The first poster against U.S. policy in Viet Nam I ever saw was in the COFO office at Jackson. In SCLC, a strain of pacifism has always accompanied emphasis on non-violence. (One doesn't get the feeling that the Movement thinks out such foreign policy stances, however, with the same thoroughness and continuity that it gives to race relations.)

The searcher for subversion in the Mississippi Movement finds immediately in Freedom Schools and Community Centers, among other randomly received donations of literature, the damning little stacks of such publications as the *People's World,* West Coast party organ; *Freedomways,* a Marxist magazine; the *National Guardian,* Chinese-oriented; and the *Crusader,* published by Robert Williams, formerly a Monroe, N.C., Negro militant, now in Cuba. A sample of his approach: "The weapons of defense employed by Afro-American freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline firebombs (Molotov cocktails), lye, or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. . . . Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns, and ammunition can be bought clandestinely . . ." Strange literature for the non-violent coordinating committee, though certainly not reflective of program.

Everyone always says there are no Communists in positions of influence in the Movement. How they know this is hard to say. Clearly there is no reason why some skilled undercover man couldn't become a leader; indeed, in SNCC, such a fellow would seem to have found a perfect set-up.

The point is that nobody really knows; nobody produces proof of anything, and the legacy of McCarthyism (and the upsurge of HUAC won't help) has created such an absurd context that it is almost impossible to think logically within its framework. The Maoist mind—formally connected or informally operative—would seem to be an enemy of all the Negro Movement has stood for in the past, and it is this, *intellectual positions,* not old and ineffectual Reds still living in the 1930's, that should be our concern and that of the Movement. (Or perhaps our concern should also be *psychological types:* "What really worries me," said one astute observer, "is the number of psychologically suspect characters around now.")

Of interest to some observers is the rapid change that occurred in FDP leadership. The FDP was created in the Spring of 1964. Its early leadership included some of the most prominent, established Negroes in Mississippi. By the Fall of 1964, these people of stature were mostly gone, replaced by youthful SNCC militants or figures drawn from the impoverished masses. Legal representation by a nationally known attorney, close to the Democratic Party and to the AFL-CIO, had been exchanged for that of a group of lawyers which includes men who are themselves targets of Communist accusation. There are unsinister explanations for all of this, and part of SNCC's strength is its refusal to compromise its beliefs; it opposes the House Un-American Activities Committee and, therefore, tends to be protective of those whom it attacks. Part of SNCC's style is its willingness to affront middle-class, including middle-class liberal, values *and* concerns. These qualities can be respected, though they may reflect immaturity as well as radicalism. At any rate, the FDP—particularly an enlarged FDP—because its business

is politics and the business of politics is power, causes especial concern to those who have witnessed its development.

The attempt to make judgments on the Communist question, as is frequently pointed out, in the light of 1930's and 1940's concepts is an exercise in unreality. This may mean that there is developing a redefinition of what is respectable on the American left—with SNCC and the campus radicals setting the limits and beyond, and forcing America back to some of its pre-McCarthy intellectual freedom.

The investigation we should be making, then, is not one in the McCarthy style, as seems inevitable with the dangerous reinvigoration of HUAC to "investigate" the Ku Klux Klan. (The Klan is about as relevant to what remains wrong with the South as the Cosa Nostra is to the real sickness of New York City.) The investigation that should be made is within ourselves to determine what in the new radicalism supports and promises to strengthen our heritage of democracy and freedom, and what in it is subversive in itself of these.

The red scare among liberals and moderates is not so much the fear that the Negro Movement will some morning deliver America into the hands of the Russians or the Red Chinese. What is feared is the kind of betrayal that so hurt the labor movement in the 1930's and 1940's, particularly in the South, by Communists or by those opposed to labor who seized on Communism as a way to discredit it, depending on your view of that history. The fear is that the Negro Movement and its great hope of a truly integrated society will be similarly betrayed, become tainted in the mind of the mass of the public, and lose the popular support that it needs to achieve its goal. (The question of whether its true goal is achievable where such a fear is possible is a paradox whose implications need facing.)

The red scare these days is akin to the paralyzing fear of the far right that haunted us when Senator Goldwater ran, possibly as groundless now as then. It is a fear founded largely on propaganda and image considerations, the likelihood that if one sure-

enough Communist is found in the Movement the great American middle will become disenchanted with the racial revolution, and then turn to the right. The new radicalism tends to react on this same image-conscious level, saying that if concessions must be made to the witch-hunt and hysteria-prone streak in the American mentality, then this in itself defeats the goals of the Movement.

Neither view seems to come to grips with the genuine conflict that exists between the goals of the Movement and the political system of Communism, which is the legitimate concern. It is, in any revolution, considering the sad history of most of them, relevant to raise and to continue to raise the question of ultimate values which are at stake—support of the traditions and institutions in America and the West which assert and protect human rights and freedom, representative government, respect for truth, and concern for the individual, as opposed to dehumanization and totalitarianism in any form, including Communist.

One of the main questions that SNCC and the new radicals raise within the Movement is whether it is fruitful any longer to work within the framework of the liberal's problems—his desire to achieve the Movement's goals and his fear of both Communism and the far right. The question as more often stated is whether it is fruitful to try to work within the framework of the liberal establishment and society's institutions as they now exist.

What alternative does SNCC think it has? Blowing up bridges? Howard Zinn, a white college professor who has been in the thick of things with SNCC since its beginnings, and has written a book about its meaning and mystique, describes one route that many of the influential SNCC people take seriously. It is the notion of parallel institutions, of which the Freedom Schools and the FDP are the first going examples.

The idea, as explained by Dr. Zinn, is to have something in between the people and the established institutions. You prod

the institutions to do better; they fail; you set up parallel institutions to serve needs, set standards, and prod the institutions harder.

The idea, Dr. Zinn said, has its roots in both anarchist and trade union socialist theory. It marks a return to these old radical streams and a flowing together of them. Distrust of government had been abandoned in the 20th century in favor of the power of government—by the Bolsheviks in Russia, by the trade unioners in the New Deal.

As early as the Spring of 1963, Dr. Zinn urged in a speech to SNCC that they keep the centers of popular power they were creating outside the existing institutions. Para-government is indeed revolutionary, he points out. It could include local governments. (In Ruleville, Miss., last Winter, a SNCC field worker told a mass meeting of plans for a mock election of city and county officers. "We'll elect a mayor and he'll be a mayor. I mean he won't really be a mayor, go down there to city hall and all. . . .") As Dr. Zinn points out, this is the kind of thing you do when you are setting out to overthrow an existing government, or—as is the case—to transform it.

Over against SNCC's distrust of existing institutions is the thinking and persuasion of Bayard Rustin who urges a continuation of the coalition of labor, the churches, liberals, and the Negroes which marched on Washington, got the civil rights bill passed, and elected Johnson. The Negroes cannot win alone, he points out; poverty cannot be ended without drastic new measures (massive public works); coalition is the answer.

SNCC people attended a trade union luncheon in Atlanta at which Mr. Rustin spoke eloquently on these ideas. Afterwards I asked them what they thought. "Look at that lunch," was one answer. It had consisted of cocktails, a crab meat souffle, sufficient for most lunchers, a heavy roast beef course, three vegetables, salad, and for dessert, flaming baked Alaska. (The hosts had ordered and paid for a good-sized lunch, but a lesser one than they got, through the generosity of the chef, an old

Czech socialist, who apparently believed that nothing is too good for the working class. Nothing is simple.)

Much of the widespread concern about the youth wing of the civil rights Movement can be described as merely SNCC's normal effect on a new audience. Certainly little of the radicalism is new. It may be stronger, deeper, now in such an organization as SNCC, and the new audience may be more preoccupied with such matters. But I remember in 1963 listening to SNCC workshops on the evils of Wall Street and the sickness of all American society, but listening with half an ear, for these were side issues to the main fight then against public segregation.

Robert Moses, six months before Atlantic City, made a speech warning against accepting the first compromise liberals came along with. He also talked then about the need to open a new frontier, of freedom of association, and also said then that those who accused SNCC of trying to wreck the two-party system just couldn't admit that the two-party system wasn't working, that to do what really needs to be done on race, a national administration would have to destroy knowingly its chances of winning the next election.

An important thing for this new audience to know about SNCC is that it has its eye on power. This was evident when it—after much debate three years ago—chose the quiet drudgery of voter registration over more spectacular avenues of expression, and it is not merely evident but becoming effective now in the grassroots community work and political organization. A SNCC veteran of the southwest Georgia work described it: "One of the basic assumptions of SNCC is that you get nowhere without power, and the most effective and meaningful power is grassroots political power, organized and cohesive. . . . I have the feeling too that it is more important to concentrate on city council elections than on the presidential elections. On top, the issues become obscured. There is dilution of top policy through things like the war on poverty. We don't need to lobby when we have power. We don't educate people. We help them

express what they know. They know what is needed. We show them how to get it."

Thus, three main elements of SNCC are its willingness to work with the people and know their lives, its determination to put these people into touch with power, and its concern with the forms of organization.

The youth wing knows what the good reporter knows—that the greatest truth is not in abstractions but what exists in the given situation, and it's never simple. "Tell it like it is," they say, summing up at once the perhaps fatal fault of much of our communication—from Congressional debate to news coverage to the best seller list. They live with the people they want to help. This is, besides the hell of racist oppression, living in the culture of poverty with all the dislocations that implies.

Here is a white, formerly middle-class SNCC youngster on some of the cultural differences: "There is less value on big words and academic distinctions. This is from their lessons of survival. They don't see the difference in the guy who says, 'Sorry we have no vacancies,' and the one who says, 'We don't hire niggers.' The result is the same. They don't differentiate between the superior court and criminal court, or the county jail or city jail. They're all bad. It doesn't matter whether it's the FBI or the sheriff. The important thing is they're white and they're against you."

What such youngsters know of racism and poverty is known in their guts, the same kind of knowledge out of which Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the symbol of the FDP, speaks. It was Mrs. Hamer who set something dangerous aloose at the Democratic Convention, an emotionalism in the credentials committee that threatened pre-arranged plans, and made a floor fight unthinkable. She disturbs people. They laugh at her and others like her, disparage them, dismiss them. "They do not," said a middle-class Mississippi Negro, "represent me. They don't help the Negro's image. They might illustrate certain of our problems in education." A white minister in the state, referring to FDP's

elevation of poor people to leadership roles, said the problem was already too many ignorant people in political power.

But when Mrs. Hamer tells of her and her people's suffering, she is eloquent in a way that most of us who are smoother and better educated cannot be. She speaks to the emotions; like good blues, her voice tones and images cut through to something responsive in us, and we feel and understand and are, for a moment anyway, angry along with her. "Somethin' got to break," cries Mrs. Hamer. "They jes' keep on sayin' wait, and we been waitin' all of our lives, an' still gettin' killed, still gettin' hung, still gettin' beat to death—Now we tired waitin'!"

All of the more than 50 long books written out of the long hot Summer say no more. Perhaps what upsets people about her is that they recognize in her a threat that is older and more menacing than Communism: the wrath and the power when the persecuted cross a line which says life itself is not dearer than end to the persecution.

Increasingly, it seems clear that one of the great reappraisals America needs to make is its attitude toward the relevancy of the dispossessed of the nation, and the earth, of what they feel and what they say. This involves, as some have put it, the debate of the Federalist Papers all over again.

America's poor, we are beginning to learn, have their own distinct culture, and it is far less like the dominant culture of the nation than it is similar to that of the other poor of all the other nations. This distinct culture of poverty isn't pretty and is not to be romanticized, but it does have its good characteristics and strengths, and some of these are the very characteristics whose lack, glumly, we are told cripple American culture and its people—for example, ability (or, among the poor, necessity) to live in the present moment instead of forever in the past, mulling it over and rationalizing it, or in the future, planning it and fearing it. Anyone who comes into surface contact with this culture of poverty, however peripherally, comes away impressed with these positive qualities—from Tolstoy to Oscar

Lewis. Yet those who—in various states of alarm—contemplate new trends in the Movement usually fail to see the healthy potential in the new notion of putting many people from outside the culture of poverty into it, to live it. The poor, they seem to say, are not blessed with anything we need. But why can we not learn from these people, get some of the energy of their strengths into our own culture, a revolution of fiber more than of form, instead of allowing their strengths to be destroyed when, hopefully, we destroy poverty?

SNCC's involvement with these people may form a Gestalt that will, as direct action did five years ago, sweep away many objections which, taken one by one, are entirely valid.

Who Are the Alienated?

And there are plenty of these.

The controlling—almost the entire—ideology of the youthful militants, apart from the handful of adherents of DuBois Clubs and other such disciplined groups, is still a literal acceptance of the copy-book ideals of American democracy. Their charge against America is that we have despised our own inheritance, have alienated ourselves from our ideals.

The full-hearted agreement with American ideals is balanced by an angry disillusionment, amounting at times to cynicism, about the institutions and processes of American society. To understand this alienation is to understand the kind of life the field workers endure, the special world of psychological and physical danger they live in. An uninitiated white can enter just the edge of this world for just a few days and (though the situation isn't the same because Negroes have bought with pain better defenses) he comes out endlessly angry, distrustful, and more than impatient with those who can remain unconcerned about its evils. The irrationality of the reaction is that of the

returning front-line soldier's to the essential frivolity of civilian life. It is an over-reaction, but the assessment of the realities of both the hell at the front and the frivolity back home are valid. The over-reaction can be hard to take. A disenchanted volunteer told of a fellow white in the Movement who said to him: "The trouble with you is that you don't wake up every morning like I do, hating America."

Dr. Robert Coles, the Harvard psychiatrist who has studied the psyche of the southern Movement with exquisite and erudite sympathy, has written in the November 1964 issue of *Psychiatry* a study of the worst effects on the full-time workers in the civil rights front lines. He makes the point that they must fight distrust and fear from Negroes as well as white racism. He describes resulting irritability, hopelessness, loss of energy and terrible fatigue, and says: "They are clinical signs of depression. They constitute 'battle fatigue.' They indicate exhaustion, weariness, despair, frustration, and rage. They mark a crisis in the lives of those youths who experience them, and also one in the cities which may experience the results, translated into action, of such symptoms."

He goes on to suggest that the psychiatric profession can be helpful to their most difficult effort. This is the effort to maintain the "delicate equilibrium" of "trying to keep their courage and initiative while accepting the often sour lessons that come with growing older and living through unexpected and dismaying experiences. They must keep their moral initiative, maintain their ethical resolve, yet somehow avoid succumbing either to depression as an inward expression of frustration or to disorganized rage and anti-social behavior as equivalent outward forms."

We have avoided such truths about the southern Movement's most deeply involved workers, blaming them for symptoms caused by the insanity they fight, like blaming a man battling a mad dog for getting his trousers torn. So have we been willing to accept the whole rationale of non-violence without daring

to look behind it for what our knowledge of human beings will reveal. Such super-goodness and saintliness in an individual, we know, is often the mask for murderous rage that is so great he dare not show it, even, or most of all, to himself.

This, then, is the background for understanding stories like that of a youngster who two years ago I watched in one of the most beautiful exhibitions of personal, gentle loving of white taunters the Movement has known, but who during the Mississippi Summer saw one beating of a Negro too many, and screamed for weapons; the background for hearing a gentle and sensitive young man of the Movement talk with dispassion, if not satisfaction, of how Black-Belt Negroes hate whites so much that it may end in the killing of women and children; the background for understanding the sullenness, distrust, sneers, and condescension with which civil rights fighters can greet outsiders.

But there is a great danger to the individual, the Movement, and the nation in translating the insight that Mississippi represents the worst in all the nation and its history into a belief that Mississippi is the nation. Dr. Coles, in tracing an emotional cycle common to many new civil rights workers, describes a final "philosophical" adjustment where they become able to relate what they experience in the hell of racist oppression to all of life, instead of abstracting it as the meaning of life.

Too much integrity can be a neurotic paralysis. You can become so right, so uncompromising that you no longer are able to function in this wicked world.

From Radicalism to Racism?

SNCC's penchant for disorganization has to be counted among the same kind of liabilities. Disaffected Summer volunteers called it debilitating. The press is constantly confounded by it.

It goes beyond unanswered phone calls and unpredictable

actions. During last Summer there were at least three different, opposing theories current, discussed, and activated about the function of Freedom Schools. They were never reconciled. Until one understood this, and no one explained it, it was impossible to make much sense out of the many COFO publications and pronouncements about this vital program. The full propaganda value of these schools, as the elaborate demonstrations that they were of the unutterable condition of Mississippi education and the desperate needs of Negro children there, was never fully realized. Does the nation know about these conditions and needs yet, in their full, horrible meaning?

Yet another weakness of the youth wing in general is the tendency that has always been there to a certain snobbishness that is not so much racial as it is a matter of whether you've been where they've been. On one level, it is almost a cult of suffering.

But these are as nothing to the most hurtful and hurting danger to the Movement, and that is that Mississippi may after all win—not by murder and intimidation, but by the spread of the contagion of racism.

There are signs to see in the southern Movement and among the masses of people to whose grievances it gives voice, signs long evident and ignored in the North. At the mass meetings, the effort is still made (though sometimes not) to say "white segregationist," not just "the whites," when anger and bitterness come pouring out. But in private conversations, it is the man, the white man, Mister Charlie, all-inclusive. The old plea, seldom ever heeded, to the white Southerner to take each man on the basis of his worth, and not his race, incredibly, surrealistically keeps coming to mind in conversations with people of the Movement. The possibilities for success of terrorism against whites is a topic for informal discussion. Hatred often shows in eyes, in words, deeds. That it is earned hatred is not the point. It is lamentable not so much in the light of the reality Negroes face, but in the light of what the southern Movement first promised and sought—which was a suggestion of a way out of all the

trap of hostility and fear in the nation, and the world. The suggestion may never have been realistic or even right, but it was a mustering of will to try to find some new truth out of all the old good truths that are preached in the Negro churches, and the inability to muster such will for survival is one of the modern world's most frightening characteristics.

A white tells himself after an encounter in the Movement with reverse racism, "Well, it probably did him good to be able to say that, and me to know how it feels." But this would be a pitiful and puny way for the Movement to end, the Movement that marched the beautiful Negro people of the South to the edge of something better than America has yet known, and let them, and us along with them, see the Promised Land, and begin to believe in our hearts that we could get there.

(We speak of the beautiful. There is so much we could learn. I talked with a fat and creased-face Negro woman who was housing white COFO volunteers in a little Mississippi town, and she told me about her husband, how before he died, back last year when he was sick, he had gone down to the mill and gotten some scraps of beautiful cloth, yellow and red and orange and green, and had brought them to her and told her to make a quilt of them, so that when he was gone, she could spread it on her bed, and when she got in it at night, she could think of him. We can't even talk about beauty like that. It embarrasses us.)

There are still many on both sides of the color line who have not given up getting to the Promised Land. If we are to concede that, all along, the Movement ideal of non-violent, religious, redeeming love was better than America deserved, then we can begin to realize that the amount of vitality still behind the ideal among Negro Southerners is remarkable.

We can also begin to sort out the phenomena that fall short of the ideal. John Lewis, the quiet, always polite, utterly fearless chairman of SNCC, made a much whispered-about speech in the privacy of the Winter reorganization meeting which, in

effect, said that whites were welcome but that the Movement "must be black controlled, dominated and led." (If you're not black, get back.) He tied this to "the fact that we are caught up with a sense of destiny with the vast majority of colored people all over the world who are becoming conscious of their power and the role they must play in the world."

Bayard Rustin makes the distinction between such identification with Africa (Mr. Lewis and other SNCC leaders had recently returned from a visit to Guinea) and black nationalism, saying the former can be entirely healthy, and I recall a year ago listening to Mr. Lewis tell two African visitors that SNCC was as much against black nationalism as segregation, because they meant the same thing.

Robert Moses in a speech a year ago put the identification with Africa in a perspective that clarifies its meaning. He was arguing that it is fallacious to compare Negro Americans with other immigrant groups who have succeeded in the country. The Negro American, he said, does not come from the European community and tends to identify with the African community. And neither America nor the world has progressed to the point where there is a community big enough to include both. The reason for this, he seemed to be saying, is white exclusiveness, white racism. Another Negro leader, on a more earthy level, seemed to be getting at the same thing, chuckling as he did: "We're still trying to figure out if the white man's soul is worth saving."

It has also been suggested that what might on the surface appear to be reverse racism in the Movement might in reality be based on more pragmatic stratagems, part of the infighting between distinct types in such an organization as SNCC, with race irrelevant—in a sense, a manifestation of real integration. Interestingly, whether significantly or by chance, the alignment is often white women against Negro men.

Antagonisms were common between white Summer volunteers and the old-line Negro civil rights workers and, to a lesser

degree, their followers. There was fear and resentment, the feeling that better educated, more articulate whites were moving in and taking over. "Look at those fly-by-night freedom fighters bossing everybody around," a SNCC veteran summed up the feeling during Selma. The clash was more cultural than racial, and all too human. Some of the northern whites probably were insensitive to the beauty and strength of the Negro people with whom they worked. Others, however, were overwhelmed by these qualities, talking lovingly of them long after they got back home, and, ironically familiar to a Southerner, expressing love of the landscape and atmosphere and the soft, slurred speech of the South itself.

August Meier, professor of history at Roosevelt University, has suggested in a perceptive paper on the types of "true believers" in the Movement that the antagonisms are largely ones of class and orientation. Broadly, this was, before the Mississippi Summer, the resentment by lower class religious Negroes of the South of middle-class and high-achieving Northerners with beatnik, radical, and other intellectual orientations. He takes some hope from the fact that during the Mississippi Summer another type of middle-class northern youngster was coming into the Movement, one deeply committed to religious and national ideals, the same that motivate the lower class Negroes.

There is of course irony to the fact that it was this entrance of the mainstream into the white wing of the Movement which prompted the most widespread concern in the nation about intellectual and political postures of the Movement. Such concern would better have been expressed a few years earlier insofar as the whites of the Movement are concerned. It is also worth noting that after its single Summer of encounter with this mainstream of white volunteers, SNCC moved to de-emphasize the role of volunteers and of white staff members.

Class antagonism—the reaction of middle class Negroes to the COFO and Delta Ministry bias against any but the poorest being leaders—was, as much as anything else, behind a serious schism

in the Greenville, Miss., Negro community during a May 1965 effort to get jobs integrated.

* * *

Racism remains the enemy. If it really does infiltrate the southern Movement, the danger and damage will be far greater than if Communists should. If we are really convinced of the threat of either—racism or Communism—then our concern should not be to punish and destroy, or to lop off the most radical arm, but to find the ways to strengthen the Movement against both. For these were our bravest and best Americans trying to achieve overnight with action the goals of the bravest and best of American thought. If we lose them, we have indeed lost.

If these youth, as vital a part of the Movement as they have been, do show signs of alienation so deep that they are in danger of being hostile to all of America, we should be mainly worried about why. It does no good to keep repeating that the answer is to get rid of the evils in the South that have so alienated them. We keep fighting to do that, and not without success.

We can't just dismiss SNCC either, call it crazy or Communist, and forget about it. For SNCC's genius, from the sit-ins on, has been to put its body where truth is.

In the middle of an obscene Fourth of July racist "patriotic rally" in Atlanta last year, with Ross Barnett and George Wallace inflaming a crowd of lower-class whites from all over the South, SNCC sent into the grandstand full of hate a white girl in company with three Negro men. The truth of the patriotism and civilization there showed immediately as the crowd shrieked and gangs of men attacked the three Negroes, beating them over the head with heavy folded metal chairs. (SNCC was of course criticized later for provoking the savagery of that mob.)

The truths that SNCC with its bodies seems to be seeking now are in the realm of ideas. "Do I really *want* to be integrated into

a burning house," James Baldwin asked two years ago and we whites have been talking about it ever since. SNCC, by hesitating outside the door with its bodies, makes us do more than talk. It forces us to try to come to grips with what Baldwin says. Are we, indeed, a burning house?

A whole range of other ideas—from the frequently bewailed way we have crippled representative government to the legacy of McCarthyism—are similarly being translated by SNCC from abstract to emotional understanding. On the campuses, such high-flown concepts as academic freedom and the noble meaning of a university are getting similar treatment.

In the past, the Movement was right in its moral position on segregation, and its militants were right about the tactic of direct action. SNCC and other elements of the Movement may not be right at all about many of the political and social issues they are raising. But the tactic seems as valid as ever if it forces us to do more than talk about these issues, if it forces us to the kind of emotional understandings we must have if our thinking is ever to be more than sterile. Desperately, our thinking needs to be creative and capable. Because things won't ever be simple again.

MOVEMENT (The)

Julian Bond Faces Voters Again Today

AC 2/23/66

By BILL SHIPP

Rep.-elect Julian Bond, who has been voted on five times since last summer and hasn't taken office yet, will be voted on again Wednesday—this time in a special election to fill the House seat which his would-be colleagues denied him Jan. 10.

Bond is a sure winner; he has no opposition. He also has almost no chance of being sworn in after he is elected. Under a House rule change adopted in closing hours of the General Assembly Bond can not be sworn for 10 days after the special election. In the meantime, the rules committee will pass

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Special Election on Bond's Seat Scheduled Today

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on his qualifications and is almost certain to bar him.

Bond said, "If they bar me again, I'll sue them again." He already has a suit against the the state on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court now.

Trailed by a network television crew, Bond was busy Tuesday trying to persuade some of the 6,600 registered voters to leave their homes in the 136th District and go downtown to the courthouse Wednesday to vote. The courthouse box will be the only voting place open.

SOME QUESTION

There was some question Tuesday of just how much support Bond would get from any drinking constituents. Because of Bond's opponent-less election, there won't be a drop of liquor or beer sold legally within a two-mile radius of the courthouse.

The same holds true for the entire 136th District, although no ballots will be cast in that area. Atlanta police say that's the state law regarding the election and they plan to enforce it.

BETTER HOUSING

Bond, denied his House seat because of his anti-draft and anti-war statements, took time out from electioneering Tuesday to lead a group of seven slum residents of the Markham Street area to the Atlanta Housing Authority to seek funds for moving into better housing.

M. W. Rush, tenant relations supervisor of the Housing Authority, told the group that public housing is available to them, but there are no funds allocated in the housing authority for moving them.

"It seems to me it's the city's responsibility to move these people in view of the fact they do not adequately enforce the housing code," Bond said. Most of the Markham Street residents live in homes placarded as being violation of the city housing code.

WHITE MAN'S TRICK

Asked what he thought of the withdrawal of support of him by the American Civil Liberties Union and the disclosure he has hired two "far left" lawyers, the 26-year-old Negro said: "Just another white man's trick."

He said his constituents have told him: "First they make us vote downtown. Now they're calling you a Communist." Bond said he tells them, "That's right."

The ACLU withdrew Sunday from the Bond case after he brought in two New York lawyers, Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard Boudin, who are registered with the Justice department as agents of two foreign powers — Communist Cuba and the government of Kenya.

TO CARRY VOTERS

Bond said he thought that disclosure had been made because "some people are interested in seeing a small turnout for the election." The 26-year-old Democrat said he will spend election day driving one of a fleet of cars hauling voters to the courthouse.

Meanwhile, a salesman for the ACLU said Tuesday that the organization has received solid support from its membership of its decision to withdraw from the Bond case.

But Howard Moore Jr., Bond's lawyer and brother - in - law, said several individuals told him they were "chagrined" by the ACLU decision.

Moore also said: "Leonard Boudin has sworn under oath that he is not and has not been a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League."

In addition to representing the interests of Fidel Castro in this country, both Rabinowitz and Boudin are active members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) and the National Lawyers Guild.

Rabinowitz has been a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild, described publicly by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist front organization which has come to the defense of "known espionaged agents."

The ECLC also has been cited by two congressional committees as a Communist front.

"Just because a lawyer represents a murderer doesn't make the lawyer a murderer," Bond said in commenting on the affiliations of his two new advocates.

Bond won the Democratic nomination in a primary last year. He then took on a Republican opponent in the general election and won again. He suffered his first defeat when an ad hoc committee of the House voted to recommend that he not be seated. His second defeat came when the House voted 184-12 to keep him out.

And a three-judge federal panel voted 2-1 to uphold the House's action. That decision is under appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

HELD OVER
Grover Mitchell
St. John and Cardinals
(no cover charge, no music charge)
ggGO Where The IN Crowd Goes!
Kitten's Korner
Peachtree at 6th

First Paper

Paper was discovered in A.D. 105 by the Chinese Ts'ai Lun, but took centuries to reach the West. The Arabs captured some Chinese papermakers about the year 700 and soon began using paper rather than vellum or parchment. Paper arrived in Sicily about 1100 and in Spain around 1150; it then spread to Germany, France and Britain.

MOVEMENT 2/26/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SA

DR. KING ASSAILED FOR SLUM TACTIC

Takeover of Building Stirs Wide Chicago Opposition

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 24—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his civil rights group Thursday ran into a hornets' nest of opposition for their assumption of control of a West Side slum building without authorization from the owner or a court.

Threats of legal action came from several sources while judges, lawyers and real estate officials blasted the takeover as illegal.

Dr. King had announced yesterday that he was taking over the six-flat building and would collect the $400 a month paid by its tenants and use the money to clean and renovate the dilapidated building.

He conceded that his action was supra-legal—above the law—but contended the morality involved outweighed legal aspects.

However, the possibility that the scheme would fail loomed late today. The Cook County Welfare Department announced it would withhold rent money provided to two welfare recipient families in the building if it was not paid to the owner of the building.

This sum totals $155 a month and would reduce to $245 a month the rental payments that Dr. King said he would spend on the building.

Legal Action Looms

But this amount also is under attack by a spokesman for the First Mutual Savings Association, which holds a mortgage on the building. He said legal action would be instituted if mortgage payments of $150 were not kept up.

A spokesman for Dr. King had said he doubted whether there would be enough left from the $400 to make mortgage payments.

Furthermore, John D. Bender, 81-year-old owner of the building, conferred with his attorney, Fred B. Raskin, about legal action against the civil rights groups. The lawyer said an announcement of their intentions would be made tomorrow.

Adding to the complications, the city filed suit in Municipal Court charging that 23 violations of the city building code existed in the slum structure. A court hearing on that matter was set for March 9.

In the midst of uncertainties about whether they would be able to collect rent money from the building, the civil rights groups who took it over said they had contracted verbally for $600 worth of electric wiring. A private scavenger also was engaged to haul away accumulated garbage and other refuse.

Dr. King said today that Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, had assured him that "all of his followers would be in sympathy" with Dr. King's campaign against Negro ghetto slum.

In a telephone interview from his Chicago flat in a West Side Negro slum, Dr. King told of a 45-minute meeting with Mr. Muhammad last night in his 19-room Tudor-style brick mansion near the University of Chicago.

The upshot of the agreement was that, "the time has come when we, the Negroes, must see our mutual problems," Dr. King said, "it is not the time for us to be fighting each other."

Theater Last Night

"NATHAN WEINSTEIN, MYSTIC, CONNECTICUT" opened at the Brooks Atkinson Theater. A review will appear in later editions and will be reprinted on Monday in the edition for which it was not available today.

NEW CHIEF PLANS WIDER CORE AIMS

MOVEMENT

McKissick Will Attack Bias Against White and Indian

NYT 3/2/66

By PETER KIHSS

A new "Phase Two" for the militant Congress of Racial Equality opened yesterday. Floyd B. McKissick, a lean North Carolina lawyer, took over as national director with plans for new leadership training and an attack on social inequities for whites and Indians as well as Negroes.

James Farmer, a CORE founder in 1942 and director since 1961, said the organization's "strategy of creative tensions" — its freedom rides, "jail-ins" and other demonstrations — had compelled Federal action, for gains in the South. But in the North, he said, de facto residential and school segregation was actually increasing.

"We could have moved into the heart of the ghetto sooner than we did," Mr. Farmer mused at CORE's headquarters, 38 Park Row. "Had we made such a move four years ago, I think the Harlem riots, the Watts riots might have been prevented."

"We might have been much further along in having a motivated and organized Negro community in the North, to throw its weight around politically," he continued. "Only two years ago, most of our chapters were outside the ghetto—middle-class, working for the ghetto. In the past two years we have reached out of the churches and the schools into the streets—to the street gangs, gin joints, pool halls."

Symbol of Change

One symbol of change is Mr. McKissick's hunt for a home in Harlem for his family. Mr. Farmer, new head of a national anti-illiteracy drive for which $875,000 in first-year funds is being processed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, has lived in an integrated middle-income project at 165 Park Row.

CORE's "Phase Two," Mr. McKissick said, aims to "train first of all chapter leadership" in local communities to take advantage of existing laws and programs. One effort will be to seek policy-making positions on antipoverty boards.

"For everybody, not only for black people," he said, CORE will support labor in pressing for an increased minimum wage and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law's Section 14(b) that now allows the states so-called "right to work" laws. But Mr. McKissick added it would also "jump on labor for its discriminating" in blocking Negroes from joining certain unions.

Half of Budget Raised

CORE has raised half of a record $950,000 budget for its fiscal year ending May 31, 1966, Alan Gartner, retiring community relations director, said. In the last fiscal year it collected $812,973, exceeded only by the $886,354 in fiscal 1963-64. It has held its top total of 80,000 contributors, and has 140 chapters, with 60 more in process of affiliating, for 6,000 so-called "hard-core" members.

The new phase will include political drives. Mr. Farmer campaigned for Mayor Lindsay last year, although CORE's only formal endorsement in the mayoral contests, he said, had been for Representative William F. Ryan's unsuccessful bid for Democratic nomination.

Ex-Aide to Dr. King Appointed State's Expert on Urban Negro

MOVEMENT

Walker Helped to Organize Alabama Demonstrations —He Promises 'Action'

NYT 3/2/66

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Governor Rockefeller yesterday appointed the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, former aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as his special assistant for urban affairs.

He said that Mr. Walker, a 36-year-old Negro, "will become the latest member of a team we are shaping up to tackle the multiple problems" of Negroes in urban areas.

Recently Mr. Rockefeller, who has said he will seek re-election this year, appointed Jackie Robinson, the former baseball player, as his special assistant for community affairs.

Mr. Rockefeller said at a luncheon for Mr. Walker, attended by 40 persons, at Frank's restaurant, 315 West 125th Street, in Harlem, that his new aide's first task would be to coordinate plans for two-year technical colleges the Govenor has proposed for Harlem, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section in Brooklyn, Buffalo and Syracuse.

Mr. Walker will receive $75 a day in his new assignment, and will remain as president of the Education Heritage Corporation, a private corporation in Yonkers that publishes the Negro Heritage Library.

Decries 'Platitudes'

In accepting the appointment, he said that he shared with the Governor "the conviction that the people of the area to which I will be giving primary attention have had enough social studies, political speeches and pious platitudes to last a lifetime."

"They want action, and that's what they're going to get," he said.

Mr. Walker is a tall man who wears black horn-trimmed glasses and neat conservative suites. Yesterday he had on a dark gray pin-stripe suit and a trim gray and white tie.

Mr. Walker served as executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from 1960 to 1964, and took part in civil rights demonstrations in Albany, Ga., and Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala.

In Birmingham, in 1963, his wife, the former Theresa Edwards, was struck on the head by a police gun butt, during a demonstration, but was not seriously injured.

It was Mr. Walker who suggested in 1963 a program of civil disobedience to block the movement of trains, planes, buses and automobiles in all parts of the country. This was to protest the killing of four Negro children in the bombing of a Birmingham church and two others killed in subsequent violence.

The New York Times

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker

For a time, Mr. Walker served as interim minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. Representative Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of the church, reportedly dismissed him last September in a dispute over whether Dr. King should be welcomed in the community.

Mr. Walker said yes and the Congressman said no, according to that report. Mr. Powell was not available for comment yessterday.

"The problem of the inner city is starkly real and not academic," Mr. Walker said yesterday. He urged that all the forces of the Federal, state and city governments be used "to create a synthesis of action that will produce actual and visible changes in the inner city where hopelessness and frustration are so compounded."

Walker's Task

Saying that he hoped to "serve as the arms and voice of my community," Mr. Walker indicated that he would work on the problems of de facto segregation, medical facilities, job opportunities and narcotics traffic.

The Governor said that his new aide would hold community meetings to discuss the construction and curriculum of the two-year technical colleges. Mr. Walker will also open an office in Harlem.

Mr. Walker was born in Brockton, Mass. He received his bachelor of science degree from Virginia Union University in 1950, and his bachelor of divinity from its graduate school three years later.

Before joining Dr. King's movement, he was pastor of the Gillfield Baptist Church in Petersburg, Va. He joined Educational Heritage in July, 1964, and became president last September. He is the father of four children. The family lives in Yonkers.

1966.

DR. KING IS SUED OVER TENEMENT

MOVEMENT

Owner Asks Court to Halt Civil Rights 'Trusteeship'

3/5/66

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 4—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was sued in Circuit Court today by the owner of a slum building taken over last week by the civil rights leader and three organizations of his followers in a self-proclaimed "trusteeship."

John Bender, the 81-year-old owner of the South Side building, asked the court to prohibit Dr. King from collectng rents or otherwise interfering with the property, to make Dr. King account for any rents already collected, and to appoint a receiver for the building.

Judges, lawyers and real estate officials had criticized Dr. King and the civil rights groups for taking control of the dilapidated building.

Dr. King had called the move "supra-legal" but had contended that the morality involved was more important than legality. He said the $400 a month rent paid by tenants would be used to clean and repair the building.

Pleads Inability to Pay

Mr. Bender charged in his suit that Dr. King had directed the tenants to pay him or his agents the rent that were due the owner. Without this money, Mr. Bender said, he will be unable to make payments on the mortgage, taxes and insurance on the property.

Mr. Bender also said he would be unable to carry out his responsibility to correct 23 building code violations cited by city inspectors.

"Ever since the announcement of Mr. King's supra-legal trusteeship, we realized that legal action would have to be instituted to stop this illegal seizure of private property," said Fred B. Raskin, counsel for the owner.

"Although we agree with the intentions and objectives of Mr. King's actions, we believe it can be accomplished under the jurisdiction of the courts. Under our form of government, law is just as important as civil rights. Mr. Raskin said.

He noted that the owner's voluntary request for appointment of a receiver was unusual because receivership generally comes about through action by the city. City law spokesmen said the alleged building code violations did not warrant a request for receivership by the city because they did not include any major structural deficiency.

CORE MAN FACES NARCOTIC CHARGE

MOVEMENT

Harlem Chairman Is Seized Picketing Police Station

N YT 3/4/66

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

The chairman of the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equity was released without bail yesterday upon arraignment in Criminal Court on a narcotic charge.

The civil rights leader, Roy Innis, and nine other members of CORE were arrested Friday night while picketing outside the West 135th Street stationhouse. All were charged with disorderly conduct when they refused to walk inside an area designated by the police.

The pickets were protesting an incident two weeks ago in which a white patrolman allegedly ordered a 30-year-old housewife to partly disrobe in the back of a Harlem bar.

When the arrested pickets were searched, the police said, Mr. Innis was found to possess two hypodermic syringes and 44 capsules of "a barbiturate."

The 31-year-old chairman, a medical technician at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx, said the implements were used in research work and that the "barbiturate" was actually tranquilizers and antibiotics for his wife.

The nine other CORE members were arraigned in Night Court on Friday and released without bail for a hearing next Friday. Mr. Innis was arraigned yesterday morning in Weekend Court and assigned a hearing on the same date.

The CORE protest arose from an incident on Feb. 20, when four white policemen—a captain, a sergeant and two patrolmen—entered Joe's Place at 449 West 125th Street to look for transvestites. Several men in women's clothing had been arrested there the night before.

One of the patrolmen allegedly ordered Mrs. Gertrude Williams, a mother of two, to go to a kitchen at the rear of the bar and "prove she was a woman."

On Monday night, CORE picketed the West 126th Street stationhouse, where the four men were assigned. The men were subsequently assigned to other precincts pending the outcome of an investigation by Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary's confidential squad.

In their protest on Friday on West 135th Street, the CORE pickets demanded an independant civilian review board and the assignment of Negro captains to all Harlem precincts. Yesterday an "emergency" meeting was held at CORE headquarters, 307 West 125th Street, to determine further action.

Mr. Innis, a native of the Virgin Islands, moved to Harlem as a teen-ager and has headed the local chapter of CORE since last fall.

Plywood Group Picks Aide

John D. Ritchie has been appointed regional vice president of the American Plywood Association. Mr. Ritchie will assume the new post in Washington April 1. He will be succeeded as director of the information services division by George C. Cheek, now the assistant director. Mr. Ritchie will be concerned with such matters as government procurement, government controls and inter-association cooperation.

MOVEMENT

Less Talk and More Action Seen in Student Protests

By TOM GREENE

A Louisiana educator predicts that demonstrations by militant civil rights groups will become "more aggressive" as their frustrations increase.

Dr. Irwin Berg, a clinical psychologist and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Louisiana State University, said here Tuesday there probably will be "less talk, more action on the part of groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, if they are unable to get quick results through the usual means of protest."

Dr. Berg was speaking on identity and student protest on the final day of a seminar for newsmen on the problems in higher education. The seminar was sponsored by the College Entrance Examination Board to establish a dialogue between educators and newsmen.

STUDENT PROTESTS, which Dr. Berg said are nothing new, are "largely an outgrowth of their dependency status."

But "there is a new element in the dependency status of today's college students which goes beyond the financial and psychosocial dependency of the past. In our affluent, automated, increasingly populated world the American student is essential as a consumer but not as a producer" unless there is a war.

"As a result," Dr. Berg added, "he is frustrated and, as is usually the case with frustration, he indulges in aggression. He rebels, riots, protests and forces the world which ordinarily dismissed him lightly to take him seriously for a while. Thereby he restores what is essential to every human being, a feeling of personal worth."

Dr. Vivian Henderson, new president of Atlanta's Clark College, said the predominately Negro institution still has a vital role to play in spite of growing desegregation.

While Negro colleges enroll about 3 percent of the nation's college students, Dr. Henderson said, they educate about 60 per cent of the Negro students nationwide and probably more than 90 per cent in the South.

THESE SCHOOLS "continue to be the only source of education for many Negro youths," Dr. Henderson said.

"America, of course, needs all the educational sources it can muster to meet the demands," he added and the predominately Negro colleges and universities will continue to be important sources to meet these demands.

Dr. James Edmondson, president of Judson College in Marion, Ala., told the newsmen that the small, independent, church-related college also will play a big role in meeting the increased demands for higher education, but said these private colleges are "running out of money and they are running out of time."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

1ST 'SIGNS' OF SPRING ARRESTED

BALTIMORE, March 9 (AP). Three men were accused of giving separate impromptu vocal concerts at Baltimore market places.

Judge Joseph L. Broccolino of municipal court gave one of the men a suspended jail sentence and put the other two on probation.

"It's the first sign of spring," explained the judge.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Shift Urged In Drive For Rights

MOVEMENT 3/10/66

The Civil Rights Movement must place its emphasis on human relations instead of civil rights, Georgia's executive director of the National Conference on Christians and Jews said here Wednesday.

Speaking to a luncheon meeting of the Hungry Club, Don McEvoy said that even though there are many civil rights battles still to be fought, the main emphasis of the movement should be on the fundamental task of building a new order of right relationships.

He also emphasized the importance of having the movement move from "protest to politics."

Speaking on "The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," McEvoy listed the following five dangers facing the movement in the future:

1. The danger of not being able to adjust to new situations, 2. The danger of seeking security through cynicism; 3. The danger of not being able to decide whether we really want "in," 4. The danger of assuming the job is done and doesn't require eternal vigilance; and 5. The danger of growing disillusioned too quickly before the new programs have a real chance to be tested.

MOVEMENT

U.S. Blocking Action Against Rights Leader

AJ 3/17/66

By WILLIAM B. WILLAMS

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The Justice Department in Washington has clamped a muzzle on local federal law enforcement officials to prevent them from taking action against a prominent civil rights worker, The Atlanta Journal has learned.

The newspaper has just concluded a month-long investigation in which government officials in Washington and Atlanta and civil rights workers themselves were questioned.

One local federal officer told a reporter that employes of his agency here were "sick at the soul" because of what they consider to be high-handed tactics by the Justice Department.

NONE WOULD speak on the record. They were afraid of losing their jobs. But three sources high in the federal government said, in separate interviews, the following:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation here is concerned about one stolen car, at least, which had keys that were kept by Hosea Williams, a top attache to Dr. Martin Luther King.

The FBI and the office of Charles L. Goodson, U.S. district attorney here, wanted to bring charges involving the prominent civil rights leader, Mr. Williams, but were told to lay off by the Justice Department.

The Justice Department sent from Washington two attorneys, Alfred E. Moreton and Frank J. Cunningham, to prosecute two men, Harold Belton Andrews and Morris Findley, for the theft of a single car.

The FBI and the district attorney and his staff were told to keep quiet about the matter involving stolen cars that ended up in the possession of persons involved with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

THE PERSONS involved paid for the cars. How much they paid and what the circumstances were is a secret known only to the persons involved and the high brass of federal government.

The investigation by The Journal extended from the offices of the Justice Department in Washington to the racial ghettos of Atlanta.

Many would not talk. Some made guarded comments. But three men of officialdom, their faces drawn, quietly closed the doors of their offices and told their stories.

"I've been fighting this thing since November, and I'm sick at the soul to think what our country is coming to. Today it is auto theft. Maybe tomorrow it will be murder," one official said.

"I have to presume Hosea Williams is innocent. But believe me, it is a matter for a jury to decide. Not the Justice Department in Washington," another official said.

"Don't let them tell you this isn't a cover up. They are covering up for civil rights groups that seem to be getting bigger and stronger than the United States government," another said.

All said they would not admit anything publicly because of their jobs.

All had thought that somehow the Justice Department finally would come through and permit local federal officials to do what they consider is their duty.

BUT ON a Monday, March 7, without any fanfare, a federal grand jury here returned an indictment against Harold Belton Andrews and Morris Finley, a printer who turns out work for SCLC.

The indictment was curt. It charged that Andrews and Finley transported a stolen 1965 Dodge Dart from Arlington to Atlanta. It did not say what person the car was stolen from, nor did it give the serial number or motor number.

Efforts to obtain this information failed. An FBI spokesman in Washington said he could not locate the information and the newspaper should call the local FBI office. The local FBI refused to discuss anything about the case.

The Justice Department in Washington had been called more than a month ago to determine whether Hosea Williams

Turn to Page 6, Column 4

U.S. Blocks Action On Rights Leader

Continued From Page 1

was involved in an investigation concerning stolen cars.

THERE WAS hesitation on the other end of the line. And Jack Rosenthal, top information specialist for the Justice Department, said he did not know how to answer such a question. He said if there were any developments, he would inform the press.

After Andrews and Finley were indicted, attorney Cunningham was telephoned at the Justice Department in Washington. He was asked if SCLC workers were involved in charges of possession of stolen cars and why he and Mr. Moreton were called into the case. It is rare for Washington attorneys to come down to Atlanta to handle an auto theft case.

Mr. Cunningham referred the call to Carl Belcher of the Justice Department. Mr. Belcher would not talk to the reporter, but told his secretary to refer the call to public information.

Mr. Rosenthal said he could not comment on why Washington attorneys were handling an auto theft case in Atlanta. He said that out of fairness to the defendants in the case, he could not discuss the matter.

Finley, who was indicted on the charge of transporting a stolen car, is president of Diamond Printing Co. His small shop in a seedy section of Cain Street was visited.

Finley said he feels that he is faced with the possibility of being forced to take the rap for something he did not do. He told a reporter that most of his business comes from SCLC and that he would rather "rot" in prison before he implicated SCLC.

He said that he had met a man he considered a used car dealer and bought a car from him. He said he used the car in his business. It was a 1965 Dodge Dart. Later, he said, he rights workers were detained, withdrew its charges against Andrews.

Trooper Miller said the license plate on the car had been stolen from an Augusta woman, Mrs. Della D. Armstrong.

He said the plate had been stolen from her Ford.

Hosea Williams told a Journal reporter he had no idea the car was stolen and that only one which subsequently proved to be stolen was involved in operations. R. T. Blackwell, program director for SCLC, acknowledged that "one or two stolen cars" had been connected with SCLC and "an investigation is being made."

HE ADDED that Mr. Williams was in charge of buying cars, and Mr. Williams had the bills of sale on the questionable cars notarized. He said SCLC and Mr. Williams never bought a car unless they believed they were dealing with a car dealer.

Mr. Williams said Mr. Hankinson had thought he had proper title to the car. He said that Mr. Hankinson left town on a mission and had left the car "at home" and turned the keys over to Mr. Williams.

The SCOPE leader said he had given the keys to the civil rights workers to participate in the demonstration. He added that Mr. Cave was incorrect if he told law officers that the car had been bought for SCLC.

Mr. Finley charged that some government men used pressure to get him to "lie" about SCLC. He said SCLC and Mr. Williams are innocent in all of their dealings.

Mr. Finley signed his own bond, which was $1,000, and is free until the case comes before a federal judge.

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He said that he had met a man he considered a used car dealer and bought a car from him. He said he used the car in his business. It was a 1965 Dodge Dart. Later, he said, he was told by law enforcement officers it was a stolen car.

He said that before learning this, he had introduced some "influential" people to the man. He said these people innocently dealt with the man. He added that he would not give the name of the "dealer."

Harold Belton Andrews, indicted along with Finley, has not been arrested. Officials at the U.S. marshal's office said they had sent the warrant to Macon. Macon officials said Andrews had not been located.

For more information, The Journal checked officials in DeKalb County. The county police had nothing on Andrews, but the sheriff's office did.

A WARRANT for his arrest, charging him with taking a car, was sworn out Sept. 25, 1965, by Hertz Corp.

Andrews was charged with taking a car rented from the Hertz Corp. at 40 Auburn Ave. NE. It was a Chevrolet, Impala, four door with engine number 164395a127033.

Max B. Barrett, manager of the Hertz branch office, said Hertz did not want to prosecute the case.

An employe of Hertz, however, said the car had been discovered in Madison, Ga., in the possession of civil rights workers.

Sheriff W. H. Knight of Morgan County said he remembers the arrest. The workers, headed by Peter Cave, were charged with driving a vehicle with improper registration, he said.

RECORDS in his office showed the car had been missing since Aug. 16. Sheriff Knight said the workers were arrested Sept. 24. and were en route to racial demonstrations in Crawfordville.

He said the car contained a bill of sale to a man he identified as Lester Hankinson, a SCOPE worker. SCOPE, headed by Mr. Williams, is an arm of SCLC.

He said Mr. Cave said that Hosea Williams had given him the keys to the car.

State Trooper L. E. Miller and Sgt. Joe Henderson in Madison said that Cave had said that although the car was in Mr. Hankinson's name, it was bought for SCLC.

Hertz Corp., after the civil

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Mr. Finley charged that some

Police Harass Aide, SCLC Answers

MOVEMENT

AC 3/21/66

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the top administrator in his Southern Christian Leadership Conference Sunday answered published reports about a stolen car case involving SCLC aide Hosea Williams.

Dr. King said he has "the highest confidence and respect" for Williams, who he said had handled the purchasing of cars for use in voter registration drives.

"During the period following the Selma demonstrations leading up to the passage of the voting rights bill of 1965, SCLC purchased more than 50 new and used cars to provide transportation for voter registration drives across the South," he said.

GOT DOCUMENTS

"These cars were purchased from what we felt to be reputable new and used car salesmen and we received documents of title.

"When questions arose concerning the ownership of one of the cars, we cooperated with all proper authorities inquiring into the matter," Dr. King said.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of SCLC and Dr. King's top administrator, called police action in the case "harassment" and said, "This is just another indication of the high price we pay for initiating social change."

STOPPED OFTEN

"It is ridiculous to imply that any member of SCLC's staff would be so stupid as to become involved knowingly in the purchase of stolen automobiles," he said.

"One of the things which constantly plagues us in the freedom movement is harassment by police officials in all our campaigns, whether they be direct action or voter registration. Our cars are stopped constantly and checked for every possible violation, so that we always have to be two hundred per cent right in order to get by.

HIGH FINES

"In our Birmingham registration drive, traffic fines often ran several hundred dollars a week. That was the price that they made us pay for registrating more than 36,000 voters," the Rev. Mr. Young said.

Published reports last week said that the Justice Department in Washington had taken control of a case involving at least one stolen car, to which Williams had the keys.

U.S. District Atty. Charles Goodson acknowledged that Washington officials had taken control of the case. Local FBI officials would not comment.

Delay in Allocation Of Literacy Funds Irks Rights Leader

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 31—James Farmer expressed Thursday "concern, some irritation and puzzlement" over the unexplained delay in the allocation of Federal antipoverty funds for a massive literacy program that he connot yet get off the ground.

"I'm chafing at the bit," said the former director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who quit that important civil rights post effective March 1 to head the private, non-profit and so-far penniless Center for Community Action Education.

The Negro leader had been promised $860,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity at least three months ago, when his impending resignation from CORE became known. After this funding, his initial responsibility would be to raise at least $100,000 from private sources within six months to help run 18 pilot projects among the poor across the nation.

At a press conference following a speech here today, Mr. Farmer said that he had had "assurances" that the grant would be forthcoming "before Christmas, then the middle of February, then March 1. Now the date is quite uncertain."

Speaking slowly and with great care, he raised the question of "whether activists in the civil rights movement are, or are not, qualified recipients of Federal funds to conduct broader programs in the national interest."

MOVEMENT NYT 4/2/66

MOVEMENT

Deacons for Defense Organize Armed Rights Unit in Chicago

7/4/66

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 5—The formation of a Chicago chapter of an armed racial equality group known as the Deacons for Defense and Justice was disclosed here today.

A Negro delegation from Bogalusa, La., headquarters of the organization and site of its birth during racial disturbances last year, outlined plans for its extension to Chicago and other places in the country at a news conference here.

The delegation came here to help form a branch of the vigilante group, to appeal for financial aid and to try to win the support of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Negro rights leader, who has indicated reluctance to work with the Deacons.

The conference was held at the Southside home of Laveron Cornelius, a leader of the Olive Branch Lodge of the Princee Hall Masons, who, with Ray McCoy, another lodge member, invited the Louisianans to Chicago.

Four men and two women from Bogalusa, representing the Deacons for Defense and the Bogalusa Voters League, of which the Deacons group is an affiliate, have been helping the two Negroes since last week to form a Deacons chapter here, it was said.

Charles Sims, president of the Bogalusa Deacons, stressed that the Deacon' guns would be used only in defense, but he did not discount the use of weapons "any place where there are black men and whites who want to give them equality."

"They [the whites] bring the fight to us. We don't take it to them," he said. "We guard white and black civil rights workers from white terrorists' bullets and churches from bombs."

Discussing plans for chapters in other cities, Mr. Sims said, "We will form them anywhere our help is needed." He said the Deacons did not have a chapter in New York City, but have the "friends of the Deacons" there and indicated that it might become a Deacons chapter.

MOVEMENT

PROGRESS BUOYS HOPES

Negroes Unshackling Fear of Whites

By JACK NELSON
Los Angeles Times News Service

Regardless of whether they live in Selma or Bogalusa or some other southern town with a civil rights movement, Negroes invariably sing one line of "we shall overcome" a little louder and with added fervor:

"We are not afraid . . ."

Sometimes it has been a little like whistling while walking through a cemetery at night. But one of the most significant results of the civil rights trouble in the South is that the Negro is conquering his fear of the white man and of the governmental institutions whites have controlled for so long.

In towns and counties where there have been movements, and especially where confrontations with white communities have resulted in forceful federal intervention, the abject fear that once inhibited many Negroes already has all but disappeared.

SO RAPIDLY are the emotions of the southern Negro changing, that some sociologists are worrying that in shedding his fears, he will find himself clothed in new frustrations. For the emboldened Negro's aspirations for a better life economically and socially are bound to outstrip what he could reasonably be expected to attain.

This is not to say that the Negro is free of fear. In some white supremacy strongholds there still is an abundance of fear—and good reason for it.

The Ku Klux Klan still is active in some places. The threat of economic reprisals still exists in many places. Whites still have almost absolute control over governmental institutions in most places.

Hosea Williams, one of Dr. Martin Luther King's aides, says that despite gains, fear remains the major problem in recruiting Negroes for the civil rights cause.

SOME NEGROES are so afraid, it's pitiful," he told a reporter. "A lot of them are shiftless and scared, just like the white man says, and they will be until they go through that confrontation with the white man.

"I don't know of any other way to get it out of 'em. You can't teach it out of 'em and you can't pray it out of 'em. The white folks are beginning to respect 'em in places where there have been demonstrations. In Selma the Negro used to be ser-

ning to make the courthouses part of their business.

IN ALBANY, GA., an old civil rights battleground, the Georgia Council on Human Relations recently met at the courthouse. Mayor James Davis welcomed the civil rights organization, and American Civil Liberties Union Attorney spoke, and the group, consisting mostly of Negroes, sang "'We Shall Overcome.

About this time a year ago Dr. King took his Negro voting rights campaign to the courthouse at Camden, the Wilcox County seat in Alabama's "black belt." Most Negroes hung back in small clusters around the courthouse square, fearful that whites might identify them with the civil rights movement.

Today they would pack the square to see Dr. King.

No Negroes in Wilcox were registered to vote before Dr. King's visit. Today they outnumber whites 3 to 2 on the registration list and four Wilcox County Negroes are among 60 Negroes running for local offices or legislative posts in Alabama's May 3 Democratic primary.

REGISTRATION of 400,000 Negroes in the five states principally affected by the 1965 voting rights act has had a tremendous impact in getting the Negro interested in making the courthouse his business.

The symbolic act of registering, of signing one's name (or even an "X" in the case of many illiterates) on an official document cannot be lightly dismissed. For most of these new voters never before have participated in the governing process.

The emerging Negro faces mixed blessings, of course. He may be politically free, but still economically and socially shackled.

On the one hand he opens new avenues of hope and opportunity. In recent months, for example, a number of towns and counties have hired Negro policemen and several counties have added Negroes to jury lists.

On the other hand, the average southern Negro, handicapped by inferior schools and still facing strong resistance to desegregation, increasingly will encounter the frustrations of economic and social deprivation that now plague black ghettos of the North.

DESPITE HIS PLIGHT, the southern Negro frequently has been buoyed by the progress he has made in the civil rights trouble. He can point to tangible results:

Enactment and enforcement of civil rights legislation; preparation of additional legislation to end Jim Crow justice; specific desegregation gains in towns and cities, and mass registration of voters and decline in racist politics.

There are places in the south —Atlanta, for example—where a northern brand of segregation already has taken hold.

One sociologist painted the South as going through the "easy part" of the inevitable changes in American race relations — the abolition of de jure, or legal, segregation. But the time is not far off when it will face the more complex problems of de facto segregation.

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW, associate professor of social psychology at Harvard University, believes by the 1970's there will be few distinctions between the northern and southern brands of segregation.

Dr. King says the Negro is little improved when he wins the right to sit at lunch counters with whites but cannot afford the price of a meal.

The dreams of freedom that Dr. King has expressed for oppressed Negroes in the South may turn into nightmares of frustrations unless bold steps are taken to pevent the spread of northern-type ghettos in Dixie.

and socially are bound to outstrip what he could reasonably be expected to attain.

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"I don't know of any other way to get it out of 'em. You can't teach it out of 'em and you can't pray it out of 'em. The white folks are beginning to respect 'em in places where there have been demonstrations. In Selma the Negro used to be considered lazy and shiftless with no guts. But not any more. People in Selma know the Negro is a man."

The combination of demonstrations, broad news coverage and action by the federal government has let Negroes master apprehensions that once shackled them to a segregation system and muzzled any voices of protest.

In the past year the same forces have been instrumental in drastically altering the police role in demonstrations from one of restraint to protection.

THE BEGINNING of the change followed the March 7, 1965, news coverage — especially by television — of demonstrators at Selma being beaten back by Sheriff Jim Clark's posse and Col. Al Lingo's state troopers.

The routing of Negroes with tear gas, clubs and whips brought angry cries for federal intervention.

In that incident and subsequent cases in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, federal court orders and FBI investigations of police brutality have brought noticeable changes in the conduct of police officers.

It is not uncommon now to find officers treating demonstrators courteously, sometimes even joking with them.

Beneath an old chinaberry tree in Greensville, Ala., not long ago a state police captain and the Rev. Andrew Young of Dr. King's staff stood facing each other. At a distance it looked like another civil rights confrontation.

BUT THE CAPTAIN couldn't have been more courteous. He was smiling. So was Mr. Young.

"Ya'll keep us mighty busy," the Captain joked, glancing past the young minister at a group preparing to march on the courthouse. "When you gonna give us a break?"

"We gotta march 'til we got our freedom," replied Mr. Young, and they both laughed.

Courthouses, the centers of political power in rural and small town areas where segregation is most deeply rooted, long have been objects of special dread for Negroes who might have ideas contrary to the "Southern way of life. They have been places where the white man carried on the business of governnment and where Negroes visited only to pay taxes or see segregated justice dispensed.

Now the Negroes are begin

MOVEMENT

4/13/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13,

Sammy Davis Jr. Appointed to N.A.A.C.P. Post

Entertainer Named to Head Life-Membership Drive

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

A year ago Sammy Davis Jr. scraped stubborn, Alabama red clay from his expensive cowboy boots. It was a memento of his trip to entertain the Selma - to - Montgomery civil righs marchers.

Today he keeps the mud in a jar in a place of honor in his living room. He says he will keep it for the rest of his life.

This is the serious side of the entertainer, a man whose public image is that of a perpetual-motion, rapid-fire show-business factotum.

Yesterday the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People laid claim to both sides of Mr. Davis, when its board of directors named him chairman of its vitally important Life Membership Committee.

Mr. Davis's serious side will direct the committee's five-member full-time staff and 35 prominent volunteer committee members in a series of recruiting efforts to add more names to the growing list of 18,500 N.A.C.P. life members.

His better-known side will promote the sale of the life memberships, which cost $500. Mr. Davis will offer the memberships which accounted for one-third of the N.A.A.C.P.'s $1,319,900 income last year, to friends in the limelight as well as to fans on the darkened side of the footlights.

Mr. Davis, who performs in about 100 shows yearly without charge for civil rights groups, civic and philanthropic causes, sees some of these organizations as potential "lifers."

Benefits to Help New Job

"From now on," he said, "instead of refusing an honorarium I'll have it used as payment, or partial payment for the group's N.A.A.C.P. life membership." He explained that the total fee can be paid on a time payment basis.

N.A.A.C.P. officials have admitted that the organization is in a serious financial state, because of a loss last year of about 20,000 members, higher operating costs and about $265,000 tied up in bail bonds in Mississippi resulting from civil-rights demonstrations years ago.

The busy actor-singer-dancer-mimic said that the unsalaried position with the nation's largest civil rights group would keep him even busier but that he "could not be prouder" in accepting the committee chairmanship.

"It's a matter of standing up and being counted," he said. "When my kids ask me 20 years from now what did I do in the civil-rights movement, I want to tell them — did my very best—if I didn't now, I wouldn't be able to look them in the face."

The entertainer's wife, May Britt an actress, and their three members. His entertainment children are N. A. A. C. P., life staff gathered recently in Mr. Davis' dressing room in a Brooklyn television studio, expecting to work out some problems remaining in an upcoming television show.

"Now dig this," he greeted them, holding life-membership

Sammy Davis Jr.

brochures, "I want everybody to have one of these—now don't worry about the cost, you don't have to pay it all at once.

Ex-Chairman Promoted

The 39-year-old Mr. Davis replaces Kivie Kaplan, a retired leather-goods manufacturer from Boston, who served as chairman of the Life Membership Committee from 1954 through 1965. The organization had only 221 life members at the time Mr. Kaplan took over the committee.

Mr. Kaplan, 61, who has been active with the N.A.A.C.P. for 33 years in a variety of volunteer roles, was elected president of the 450,000-member organization last January.

In announcing the appointment of Mr. Davis, Mr. Kaplan said yesterday that he had "every confidence that Sammy will give dynamic and productive leadership to the continuing drive to enroll 100,000 N.A.A.C.P. life members."

During his tenure as life membership chairman, Mr. Kaplan sold life memberships to persons in all walks of life and in all places to which he traveled.

With other white and Negro N.A.A.C.P. board members, he toured and tested the integration of public accommodations in Mississippi just days after the civil-rights bill was signed in 1964.

During the tour he approached a man he described as "looking like a prosperous little Jewish businessman" and began a discussion of he need to support the N.A.A.C.P. The man turned out to be a local sheriff who expressed a series of rather profane reasons for not supporting the civil-rights group.

Reminded recently of his predecessor's most famous failure, Mr. Davis said his duties as chairman would probably not extend to recruiting among Misissippi sheriffs.

Civil Rights Group Says It Is in Financial Trouble

'Help Wanted' Is Plea At Labor Department

WASHINGTON, April 12 (UPI)—The manpower shortage struck home today at the Labor Department.

Its executive dining room was closed "because of insufficient help."

A spokesman for Government Services, Inc., the private concern that runs the dining room, said the absentee rate had been unusually high in all Government cafeterias.

"The labor market is rough today for people in our business," he added.

DR. KING'S GROUP SCORES KY JUNTA

MOVEMENT

Calls on Johnson to Weigh a Vietnam Withdrawal

NYT 4/14/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 13 — The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., called on the Johnson Administration today to abandon the ruling military junta of South Vietnam and consider withdrawing from the country altogether.

The executive board of the civil rights organization, which is based here, adopted the resolution at a meeting in Miami. Dr. King announced it at a news conference there.

Although Dr. King has spoken against American involvement in the war before, this was the first time that his organization has taken a formal stand on it. Always before, he had carefully emphasized that his views were personal and did not represent the organization.

Civil rights leaders have debated for months the wisdom of civil rights activists' participating in the peace movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has suffered financially since taking a

Continued on Page 2, Column 4

DR. KING'S GROUP SCORES KY JUNTA

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

militant stand against United States involvement in Vietnam.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the leadership conference, said the organization had lost a few contributions because of Dr. King's previous utterances against the war.

The resolution adopted in Miami said, "We call on our Government to desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, whose efforts to democratize their Government are more in consonance with our traditions than the policy of the military oligarchy."

"If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta under such manifestly vigorous popular opposition," it said.

"We believe the moment is now opportune and the need urgent to reassess our position and seriously examine the wisdom of prompt withdrawal."

Free Elections Sought

The resolution urged the Administration to seek free elections in Vietnam and to abide by the results. It was timed to support the demonstrations of various dissident elements threatening the Government of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky in Saigon.

Mr. Young said the board believed that the time was ripe for it to speak on Vietnam policy because the anti-Ky demonstrators had shown that nonviolent protest could be effective, even in the midst of war.

Dr. King, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is committed to nonviolence as a solution to international problems as well as to American civil rights disputes.

Mr. Young said the resolution did not mean that the leadership conference would participate in peace demonstrations or support them financially.

The Georgia House of Representatives voted earlier this year not to seat Julian Bond, public relations director of the student committee, after he endorsed an antiwar statement that was much more militant than the one adopted by the leadership conference today.

The leadership conference resolution was criticized by Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta.

"Everyone is seriously concerned about our foreign policy and it leads to honest differences of opinion," Mr. Anthony said, "but it is the greatest of mistakes to mix domestic civil rights and foreign policy."

On the other hand, he said, adoption of the resolution indicates "the growing boldness of those who are dissatisfied with the Vietnam policy."

Concern on Congress

Some civil rights leaders have worried over the possibility that antiwar statements by civil rights groups might alienate Congressmen and members of the Johnson Administration and damage the chances of passing further civil rights legislation.

Illustrating the intricacy of political relationships in the civil rights movement, Walter Fauntroy, Dr. King's chief representative in Washington, is vice chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, to be held June 1 and 2.

A recent poll by Louis Harris showed that 4 out of 10 Americans were unfavorably disposed toward civil rights groups opposing the Vietnam war. Forty-one per cent of those polled said that when a civil rights group came out against the war, it made them less in favor of civil rights for Negroes.

Dr. King announced Aug. 12, 1965 at Birmingham that he would ask the leaders of the United States, Communist China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and South Vietnam to halt the war.

The next day, 400 delegates to the annual meeting of the leadership conference approved a resolution authorizing Dr. King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind the effort to end the war.

Dr. King apparently dropped his plan to approach the heads of state when it was pointed out that the Logan Act prohibits a private citizen from dealing with a foreign government.

Some civil rights leaders have opposed involving civil rights organizations in the peace movement. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in January that he could not go along with the student committee's strong statement against the war. The statement called the United States participation in the Vietnam conflict murderous aggression.

The resolution said in part:

"What has aptly been called 'the gangrene of Vietnam' has in recent weeks made a conflict of confused direction a tragic spectacle. American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy.

'Despised by People'

"Our men and equipment are revealed to be serving a regime so despised by its own people that, in the midst of conflict, they are seeking its overthrow. Not only the Vietcong but basic institutions of the South Vietnam society, Buddhists, Catholics and students, are expressing contempt for the bankrupt government we have blindly supported and even exalted.

"The immorality and tragic absurdity of our position is revealed by the necessity to protect our nationals from the population and army we were told were our cherished allies and toward whom we were benefactors.

"Beyond this, the confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestation to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society top the casualty list of the conflict. The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens, both at the front and at home.

"Another casualty in this war is the principle of dissent. We deplore efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal or traitorous, because such attacks on dissent are themselves destructive of our most fundamental democratic traditions.

"More important, S.C.L.C., as an organization committed to nonviolence, must condemn this war on the grounds that war is not the way to solve social problems. Mass murder can never lead to constructive and creative government or to the creation of a democratic society in Vietnam."

Sordid Adventure Seen

MIAMI, April 13 (AP)—Dr. King said today the United States war effort was "rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

"It is imperative to end a war that has played havoc with our domestic destinies," Dr. King said.

Referring to the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference said in a resolution adopted aoday:

"They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta."

The resolution said further "the intense expetcation and hope of the neglected poor in the United States must be regarded as a priority more urgent than pursuit of a conflict so rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

Dr. King said his organization planned no immediate demonstration for Vietnam peace.

"Our first consideration is still civil rights," he said.

Dr. King added "if the war continues and nothing is done to de-escalate it, some elements of our civil rights movement may have to demonstrate to preserve our program of domestic progress."

The Proceedings In the U.N.

YESTERDAY
(April 13, 1966)
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Special Committee on International Law—Closed debate on equal rights and self-determination.

SCHEDULED FOR TODAY
(April 14, 1966)
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Special Committee on Decolonialism—3 P.M.
Special Committee on Apartheid—3 P.M.
Special Committee on International Law—3 P.M.

Tickets may be obtained at the public desk, main lobby, United Nations headquarters. Tours: 9 A.M. to 4:45 P.M.

MOVEMENT

Dr. King's Group Asks U.S. to Study Viet Pullout

Wash. Post 4/14/66

MIAMI, April 13 (AP)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today the U.S. war effort was "rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure" and he called on the Johnson Administration to give prompt consideration to withdrawing from Vietnam.

He said his Southern Christian Leadership Conference has passed a resolution saying the Buddsts and students of South Vietnam are more in tune with the American tradition than the "military oligarchy" this countrty is supporting.

"It is imperative to end a war that has played havoc with our domestic destinies," Dr. King added.

He said the civil rights group took this position at its annual board meeting here.

"The moment is now opportune and the need urgent to reassess our position and seriously examine the wisdom of prompt withdrawal. We further urge that we seriously seek free elections (in Vietnam) and pledge to abide by their result."

"The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home," said the resolution.

The civil rights group called on the government to "desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam whose efforts to democratize their government are more in consonance with our tradition than the policy of the military oligarchy.

"They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war, by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta."

Budget Due May 3

LONDON, April 13 (AP) James Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, will present Britain's 1966-67 budget to the House of Commons May 3, the Treasury announced today.

MOVEMENT

SCLC Says Car Theft Talk Aims to Block Voter Drive

AC 4/15/66

By BILL SHIPP

Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference charged Friday that "Georgia political powers" are trying to link SCLC staffer Hosea Williams to a stolen car case to prevent him from carrying out a Negro voter registration campaign.

The SCLC statement was issued after The Atlanta Journal reported it had obtained an affidavit from Harold Belton Andrews in which Andrews swore that Williams was involved in the theft of cars.

Morris Finley, a contract printer for SCLC, and Andrews have been indicted in connection with the transportation of a stolen car and with receiving, concealing and selling a car which was ultimately traced to SCLC.

Justice department attorneys from Washington have taken over the case from local federal officials.

Finley's attorney, Joe Salem, Friday released an affidavit from Finley in which Finley charged Andrews with lying and said he would take an FBI lie detector test if Andrews would.

Attorney Salem said he was releasing Finley's version of the stolen car transaction because Andrews' version had been published and "I felt the time had come to tell the truth."

"I tried not to talk to reporters relative to this case," he said. "I felt until now that this was a matter for the courts and not a matter that should be aired out in the news media."

Meanwhile, The Atlanta Constitution asked the Justice department why Andrews, a man who has a long criminal record, suddenly decided to tell about stealing cars when he stands a good chance of going to prison. Justice department officials refused to answer. Salem released

Continued on Page 5, Column 7

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SCLC Says Theft Talk Is Aimed at Voter Drive

Continued From Page 1

the text of a recorded conversation in which Finley claimed that he and another Negro man had had sexual relations with a white woman with whom Andrews was acquainted.

Andrews could not be reached for comment Friday. Neither could Williams, who was reported by SCLC to be "out of town." An SCLC spokesman said he did not know where Williams was.

Finley said he was present when Williams confronted Andrews after officers discovered illegal registration on one of the cars that Andrews had provided SCLC. He said Williams cursed Andrews for putting "them hot cars on us."

Finley told of making arrangements through a third party to purchase cars for SCLC from Andrews. Finley said he made this arrangement last summer, and was paid a commission by SCLC.

Finley said checks for the cars were made payable to him by SCLC and he cashed them, took out his commission, and gave the rest to a third party who, in turn, paid Andrews.

Finley was first connected with the case officially when federal agents searched his print shop on the basis of an affidavit given by Andrews in which Andrews accused Finley of printing fraudulent payroll checks on an electrical concern in Nebraska.

Federal agents apparently found no evidence of printing fraudulent checks. Charges have not been pressed against Finley.

Finley has no previous arrest record. Andrews has a lengthy criminal record. Much of his past record involves stolen cars.

Finley and Andrews were indicted jointly in the car theft case. Salem has filed a motion for severance and has accused the Justice department, in his brief, of suppressing evidence.

CORE PLAN UPSETS BALTIMORE MAYOR

MOVEMENT

'Why Us?' McKeldin Asks of Selection as Target City

NYT 4/17/66

Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, April 16 — Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin registered surprise this week at the Congress of Racial Equality's plans to concentrate its resources on fighting what it contends are bigotry and discrimination in the city.

"Why us?" asked Mr. McKeldin, a Republican who has always been a favorite with Negro voters. They helped elect him Governor of Maryland for two terms.

"Baltimore was chosen simply because it is segregated in all areas," said Sampson Green, co-chairman of the local CORE chapter's housing committee.

"There are no particular signs that, unless someone does something positively, it [segregation] is ever going to be changed," said Mr. Green.

CORE officials here convinced Floyd B. McKissick, the national director, and other national officers in New York City that this schizophrenic city with both a Northern and Southern heritage should be singled out for one big push. Mr. McKissick, announced on Thursday that Baltimore had been selected as CORE's "target city."

Housing Tops List

James M. Griffin, chairman of Baltimore's CORE, promised an all-out attack against what he considers the No. 1 problem: housing.

The Negro people, he complained, "have been slapped in the face" by a City Council that has refused to pass a fair housing bill on three occasions.

Mr. Griffin and other civil rights leaders were equally disturbed when recently the State Legislature rejected a bill that would have permitted apartment tenants to withhold rents from slum landlords who refused to repair their properties.

Nearly 40 per cent of Baltimore's approximately 965,000 residents are Negro, and their numbers are growing at a faster rate than the whites.

Hundreds of new Negroes arrive every week, mostly from the poverty-striken Appalachian states nearby, to settle in crowded old red-brick row houses in east, west and central Baltimore.

Poor and uneducated, many quickly join the 14,573 Baltimore families now receiving welfare aid for families with dependent children.

Rats and Landlords Feared

Their enemies, says CORE, are the rats that share their skimpy rooms and the landlords who come each week for the rent and turn the tenants out if the payments are not met.

CORE officials also resent the city's urban renewal officials, who they say have uprooted 1,800 Negroes for six new projects but have returned only one to live in his old neighborhood.

On top of the problems of slums and what CORE considers a bureaucratic shifting of tenants, is another difficulty faced by the city's growing Negro middle class: There is no place for them in segregated suburban neighborhoods just outside the city and most new high-rise apartments downtown are successfully keeping them out.

Mr. Griffin and most other civil rights leaders are convinced that segregated housing is the root of all the other city's racial problems — segregated schools, recreation provisions, and, in some cases employment.

"The situation's bad all over the country," said Mayor McKeldin, "We've done everything possible." He said no one had fought harder for the interests of the Negro than he and, "I've been vilified because of my interest in them."

Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, the president of the City Council, said he was not disturbed "that Baltimore was pinpointed. It's a challenge that will call for a facing up to the problem by government, the power structure and the citizens."

Mr. D'Alesandro was the unsuccessful guide of fair housing legislation in the City Council.

Mr. Griffin refused to say what tactics CORE would employ in its Baltimore drive. But other Negro leaders said that workers from the national office had been in Baltimore for some time laying the groundwork for the summer when the schools let out.

State Regional Aide Named

ALBANY, April 16 (UPI) — Governor Rockefeller appointed a new director of the Office of Regional Development today and gave the present director, Harold A. Jerry Jr., a new job. The Governor named First Deputy of Commerce Commissioner Ronald B. Peterson to head the regional development office. Mr. Jerry will be the new director of special planning and recreation projects in the Conservation Department.

Civil Rights: A Cautious Lull in City MOVEMENT

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

They chanted "Freedom Now!" until they were hoarse and they trudged for miles in tight, police-bordered circles, until their feet were sore. Some of their picket signs were cleverly worded and others were droll.

They were the thousands of white and Negro civil rights demonstrators calling for an end to racial discrimination. But they are seldom seen these days on the streets of New York.

Although the stated goals of the volunteer activists—equal job opportunities, school-integration and housing without discrimination—have not been fully attained, the demonstrations have been greatly curtailed.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced plans for the resumption of big demonstrations if there is no major achievement soon in the employment of Negroes in the building trades. A one-day N.A.A.C.P. picket line marched at a West Side building site here two weeks ago.

Generally, however, there has been a lull for months in civil rights protests in the city. This is attributed primarily to the concentration on the campaign against poverty, and to appointments and other acts by Mayor Lindsay's administration.

Sit-ins, eat-ins, sleep-ins and a host of other activities designed to dramatize the fight against discriminatory practices took place almost daily here two and three years ago. Builders were forced to stop work at some construction sites because demonstrators lay in the path of trucks or were chained to cranes.

Traffic on the Triborough Bridge was once held up by a group from the Congress of Racial Equality, and a proposed "stall-in" kept discouraged traffic from the vicinity of the World's Fair when it opened in the spring of 1964.

But these measures are not in evidence these days.

The idea that the demonstration is only one of the tools available to activists and that it is not meant to solve, or is capable of solving, all problems, was stressed by many civil rights spokesmen.

Jeff Greenup, chairman of the New York branch of the N.A.A.C.P., says: "We don't demonstrate just for the purpose of demonstrating; as long as we can make progress in other ways we much prefer it that way."

The chairman of the New York chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, Roy Ennis, whose group was active

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

MOVEMENT

Lull In Civil Rights Demonstrations Here Marked by Leaders' Watchful Waiting

ANTIPOVERTY PLAN A CURB ON ACTION

But N. A. A. C. P. Proposals Major Protests Unless Employment Gains

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

recently in picketing a Harlem police station, sees the situation differently. Mr. Ennis said the lull in demonstrations began during the summer of 1964.

"President Johnson asked us to lay down our arms temporarily during his campaign against Barry Goldwater," he said, "and many groups simply never picked up their arms again."

The consensus among civil rights spokesmen is that the social legislation passed in the last few years, including antipoverty, voting, civil rights and education measures, has led many activists to feel that direct action in the civil rights movement is no longer necessary.

This, the spokesmen say, has resulted in a loss of membership of N.A.A.C.P. and CORE groups locally and across the country. Many rights advocates say they have been encouraged by the activists of the Lindsay administration. These, they say, appear to be highly effective in fighting racial discrimination.

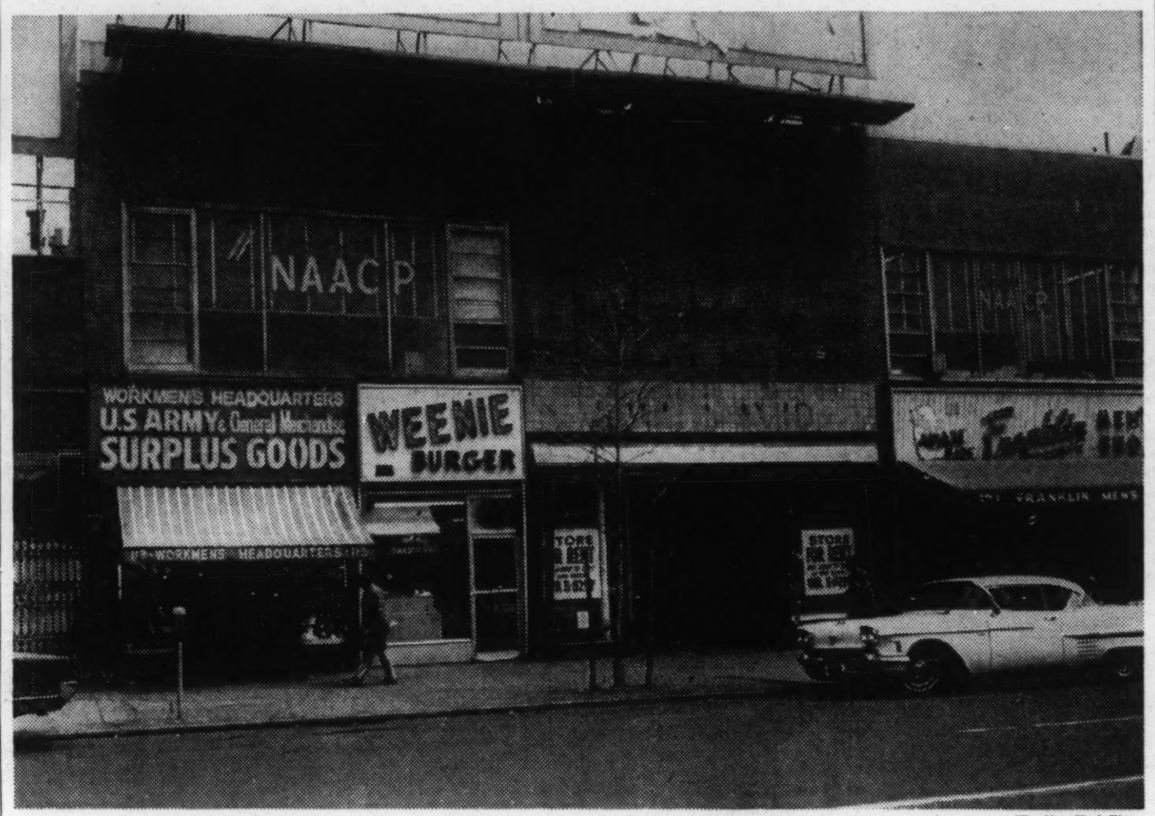
"A civil rights group is a group organized to put itself out of business," was the way a prominent activist put it. "You will naturally see a falling off of activity and of members as government takes over more and more of what was traditionally thought to be civil rights activities," he said.

These, as he saw it, include voter registration, fair employment practices, aid to education and community organization through antipoverty programs.

The activist added, however: "The racial discrimination has not ended, and the rights groups are going to catch the devil trying to maintain the enthusiasm and drive to keep up their memberships, because of the government assistance."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, largest of the civil rights groups, lost about 20,000 of its 465,000 members throughout the country last year. Local chapters counted their own losses by the hundreds, and in some cases by the thousands.

The chapters are currently engaged in recruiting drives to bring civil rights "dropouts" back into the fold. Sources close to the predominantly Negro mass membership organization said the decline had seriously disrupted the group's efforts to exert more influence among the grassroots Negro communities.



The New York Times

N. A. A. C. P. HEADQUARTERS: The second floor of this building at 109 West 125th Street serves as the operations center of the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Directed to Middle Class

"We're now basically middle-class oriented," said one official, "and while we were trying to figure out ways to organize the poorer Negroes, we lost a good number of our regular members."

The president of the New York State Chapter of the N. A. A. C. P., Dr. Eugene T. Reed, said the key to its current program was "getting to and helping the Negro on the bottom rung of the ladder."

The poor, Dr. Reed said, are doubly disadvantaged because they are not only without money but also without knowledge of new programs that might help lift them out of their poverty.

Dr. Reed announced recently that his organization would resume big-scale demonstrations at building sites if the unions did not halt what he called their discriminatory apprenticeship and membership policies.

The N. A. A. C. P. took part three years ago in demonstrations that hindered construction of an annex of the Harlem Hospital, the Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn and Rochdale Village, a housing project in Queens.

The Reed announcement followed a statement by the former N. A. A. C. P. state president, William H. Booth, who now heads the city's Commission on Human Rights, that the commission would hold public hearings on discrimination in the building trades.

Yesterday, Chairman Booth released a telegram in which he warned Peter J. Brennan, president of the New York Building Trades Council, that he would start court action for failing to supply requested information on progress toward integration in the industry unless the data were received "forthwith."

'Reasonable Time' Offered

Dr. Reed maintained that his organization would work independently of the commission and "would allow a reasonable amount of time" for that agency to conduct the hearings and for the city to act.

The national labor secretary of the organization, Herbert Hill, commenting on the possible new demonstrations, said: "To the degree that laws are not enforced, to that degree civil rights advocates will have to take to the streets."

Members of CORE had been in the forefront of the multitude of direct-action projects in the city in recent years. They were often termed the "shock troops" of the civil rights movement.

Their activity and their offices are in the poorer parts of the Negro ghettos and new antipoverty programs in these areas have in many cases hired the local leadership that CORE groups helped to develop, as well as CORE workers themseves.

In addition, "poverty programs palliated the efforts of rights groups and lessened the need, in many cases, for strong civil rights actions," said Donald Smith, public relations director for the national CORE office.

Mr. Smith said the group's emphasis has been shifted to job development and the assisting of community groups to take more active part in political and governmental programs. Its branches have also suffered losses in membership, and some chapters, including the highly vocal East River (River Rats) branch, have been disbanded.

Many Quit for Peace Work

Reliable sources say that many of the young white volunteers who had been active in the organization have shifted to peace organizations.

Mr. Innis, the leader of the New York chapter, believes that the antipoverty program has succeeded in "tranquilizing" the civil rights movement throughout the country. "It promises a lot and robs the movement of some of its best talent, and while it does not solve the problems it maintains the image of a problem-solver."

Several spokesmen for the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have expressed similar thoughts.

This group's field staff of 200 has been reduced by more than 50 because field workers have taken jobs with the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal antipoverty agency.

The personnel situation is so serious for the organization that its chairman, John Lewis, said recently he would spend the rest of the year recruiting college students for work among rural Negroes in the South.

S. N. C. C. workers usually receive a subsistence allowance as field workers. Spokesmen for the Office of Economic Opportunity have said civil rights workers fit easily into antipoverty programs because of their interests and skills in community organization.

Public's Aid Declines

Athough the New York office of S. N. C. C. operates principally as an administrative and fund-raising arm, its workers have often joined or led local demonstrations to protest discrimination in the South.

Both the student organization and the Congress of Racial Equality are currently operating at deficits because of the lack of contributions from the general public. Surveys have shown that direct-action rights groups can expect to receive funds, primarily from white liberals, when they are involved in highly publicized and Southern-based fights against discrimination.

Civil rights workers say contributions often drop off if the activities are unpopular — for example, the proposed World's Fair stall-in. Said one CORE worker: "You can't mount a controversial demonstration in the North and expect to pay the rent on your office."

Spokesmen for the N. A. A. C. P. say their organization is supported primarily by its $2 individual membership fees.

One civil rights group that is prospering currently, however, is the Urban League. Staffed principally by trained social and community workers, the league, its spokesmen say, has received numerous offers from government and industry to carry out research and pilot projects aimed at improving conditions in Negro areas.

League's 1963 Plan Cited

League officials say the war on poverty follows closely the organization's 1963 proposal for a "domestic Marshall Plan."

That proposal took its name from the $17-billion United States program that aided in the rehabilitation of postwar Europe, and it proposed similar efforts on behalf of Negroes in education, employment, housing and health and welfare.

The Urban League has always been oriented toward social work, education, and job opportunities, and its Greater New York branches supported school boycotts and construction-site demonstrations during recent years.

Some rights workers said there were fewer picket lines now in New York because many Negroes were "greatly encouraged" by appointments by Mayor Lindsay and his support of a civilian police review board.

Mr. Greenup, the N. A. A. C. P. leader, said the Negro community was pleased with the appointment of Howard R. Leary as Police Commissioner and the upgrading of Sanford D. Garelik to Chief Inspector and Lloyd Sealy to Deputy Chief Inspector.

Activists called both Commissioner Leary and Chief Inspector Garelik "fair-minded." Deputy Chief Inspector Sealy, the highest ranking Negro on the police force, had been the first of his race to command a Harlem police precinct, following the Harlem riots in 1964. He was hailed by the Negro community at that time and has continued to have their support.

The new Buildings Commissioner, Charles G. Moerdler, in his highly publicized jousts with the city's slumlords, has also won praise from the Negro community. Also praised was the appointment of Robert O. Lowery, a Negro, on the commission.

The Booth Appointment

But by far the most significant administration move, to the civil rights activists, was the appointment of one of their own number to head the city's Commission on Human Rights.

Mr. Booth, often called "Wild Bill Booth" because of his strong civil rights stands in the past, had been a long-time community leader in Jamaica, Queens, where he led the months-long demonstrations at Rochdale Village.

One of his first acts as a city official, Mr. Booth said, would be to remake the image of the commission in the minds of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. Activists from both communities have long complained that the commission served only to placate Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It had deceived minority groups into thinking the agency would help fight discriminatory practices when in fact, it did not, he asserted.

Mr. Booth had been one of the most vocal critics of the commission. It was "used as a shield for the administration and a passive research organization," Mr. Booth said recently, and promised that it would not be that under his leadership.

In office since February, Commissioner Booth has served notice that he will use the powers of City Hall to break down any discrimination that might be found in the hiring practices of business, labor and city agencies. Mayor Linday said recently that he supported these efforts.

In its quarterly report to the Mayor, the commission reported yesterday that the number of discrimination complaints it had received had quadrupled since Feb. 1, but a commission spokesman declined to reveal the precise number of complaints.

Meetings With Minorities

Mr. Booth has set up monthly meetings between the Police Commissioner and community leaders, a concession long urged by Negro and Puerto Rican spokesmen. In addition, the commission's semi-monthly meetings are now held in the various ghetto areas.

Some authorities on mass psychology have said that demonstrations of the type that rocked New York City a few years ago were in effect some of the best activities to prevent riots in depressed areas.

Arthur I. Waskow, author of a recently published book, "From Race Riot to Sit-in," said: "In the absence of creative disorders [meaning organized demonstrations] there might well be riots in the ghettos."

Mr. Waskow, a research fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, said sizable groups of unemployed youths had natural tendencies towards "heroisms and physical activities" that had to find expression, either through demonstrations or violence.

Mr. Waskow said that "creative disorders" were still common in the South and that the Watts section of Los Angeles, where two riots occurred within eight months, "has had the least amount of creative disorders."

Tomorrow: Negroes have hopeful despite problems of the ghettoes.

MOVEMENT NYT 4/21/66

Sabotage in Alabama

Extremist elements in Alabama's civil rights movement have adopted a rule-or-ruin attitude toward the forthcoming Democratic primary there that can only produce frustration and defeat for the state's Negroes.

The current political campaign in Alabama is an exciting, precedent-breaking event. On May 3 the Democratic voters will choose a candidate for Governor from among eleven candidates. The old-line segregationists are backing Mrs. George C. Wallace, a stand-in candidate for her husband, the demagogic incumbent. Her principal opponents are two liberals, Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers and former Representative Carl Elliott. Many local officials are also being chosen.

Negro voters are in a position for the first time to play an important and perhaps decisive role in the primary. Since the enactment of the Voting Rights Act less than nine months ago, the number of Negro voters in the state has more than doubled. They now account for about one-quarter of the total registration.

If they fuse their strength with liberal white voters they can achieve tangible gains in fairer administration of justice and better treatment from state and local government. Already their presence on the voting rolls has done away with race-baiting and raised the level of the campaign.

Under these circumstances, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's call for Negro voters to boycott the primary is destructive mischief-making. It derives from the same attitude of extremism for the sake of extremism that prevailed in the senseless demonstration against Sargent Shriver in last week's antipoverty conference in Washington and in the refusal of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats to accept a generous compromise worked out in their behalf at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

The SNCC officials insist they would prefer segregationist officials because their presence would keep Negroes aroused and militant. In other words, they reject reforms and improvements that could be achieved politically in favor of a revolutionary posture toward all of society and Government.

The end result of the disruptive doctrine they espouse could well be the one of which the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, secretary-elect of the World Council of Churches, warned the rebels who broke up the meeting of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty: "There won't be anything to take over after you've taken over."

MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 24, 196

NEGRO TRAINING BEGINS 2D PHASE

Urban League Program Will Stress Political Role

By M. S. HANDLER

The National Urban League announced yesterday that its program to discover, identify and train a self-conscious political Negro community leadership in the United States was about to enter its second phase.

In its first year—1965—the program concentrated on establishing contact with groups and interesting people in neighborhoods to develop leadership skills.

This year, community action assemblies will be convened in 10 cities to deal with political education of potential community leaders and the role of citizens in public education.

The Urban League program, financed with a $475,000 Rockefeller Foundation grant, is aimed at filling the void of Negro leadership in communities throughout the country. The void was uncovered when scores of Federal, state, and local antipoverty programs got under way several years ago.

Assisting Government

The Urban League, a service organization in the field of civil rights, is engaged today in educational, welfare, health and job-training programs. It has become one of the most favored vehicles of United States Government departments, big industry and business and private foundations in efforts to bring Negroes into the mainstream of American life.

Under the second phase of the leadership program the 10 community assemblies will consider the following four questions in the field of political education:

¶What are the major problems in our town that should be considered by the political leadership?

¶How do we involve citizens in affecting change through the political process?

¶How can organizations such as churches and neighborhood groups use their influence for change?

¶How can we organize the community for political goals, including voter registration?

The basic goal on the issue of public education will be to define the role of citizens in participation in education.

April and May Assemblies

Nine assemblies will take place this month and in May, and a 10th will be in New Orleans in September. The April-May assemblies aill be held in Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Springfield, Ohio; Baltimore, Cleveland, Miami, Wichita, Kan., and Washington, D.C.

The assemblies are counted on to turn up at least 1,000 potential Negro leaders to be trained to form the core of neighborhood self-help projects and for membership on the boards of community organizations.

The third and final phase of the project will be to place these people on the boards and set in motion processes by which they will be able to involve the rest of the community.

According to the Urban League, last year's fruits of the first phase of the program were encouraging. One man who participated in an early leadership seminar has been elected mayor of a small town near Cleveland. Mayors in Miami and Los Angeles have requested resumes of persons who could become involved in local governmental activities.

Chemical Exports Rising

Shipments by American chemical manufacturers have risen more than 6 per cent annually since 1958, the Commerce Department says. Factory sales of power, distribution and specialty transformers may total $780-million this year, the department estimates. This would be a 6 per cent gain over 1965.

MOVEMENT

NAACP Is Ruled Liable for Damage

By REMER TYSON

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court dismissed Wednesday an appeal to exempt the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from responsibility in an $85,793 damage award to a Savannah, Ga., food market owner.

The ruling split the court, 5 to 4.

A dissenting opinion by Justice William O. Douglas argued the evidence was insufficient to make the national civil rights organization responsible for the event that took place at the Tropical Market in Savannah after May 30, 1962.

Pickets organized by the Savannah NAACP branch marched at the open air market in a predominantly Negro neighborhood after Robert Lee Bolton, a 14-year-old Negro boy, charged that Halred Overstreet, owner of the market, beat him. The boy was employed by Overstreet, who denied beating Bolton and said he fired him for stealing food.

Violence erupted during the picketing and Overstreet charged that his business was damaged by the demonstrations.

The market owner filed a damage suit against W. W. Law, president of the Savannah NAACP branch and head of the Georgia NAACP branch; the Rev. F. P. Jordan, first vice president of the Savannah NAACP; the Georgia NAACP, and the NAACP of New York.

A Chatham County Superior Court jury returned a judgment of $35,793 compensatory damages and $50,000 special damages against the defendant.

The Georgia Supreme Court eliminated the state NAACP as a defendant and affirmed the judgment against the others.

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed in December to hear arguments on one of four questions contained in an appeal.

The question was whether the NAACP of New York was deprived of due process of law by being held liable in damages for acts performed without the national organization's knowledge and by persons beyound its control.

Rights Leader Williams Released After Traffic Charges in Chatham

MOVEMENT

RC 4/27/66

SAVANNAH, Ga. (UPI)—Civil rights leader Hosea Williams has been released from the Chatham county jail on orders of County Commissioner Charles F. Wood.

Williams was freed Monday night when Wood, chairman of the county police committee, called county police headquarters and told a desk sergeant to release the Negro leader pending a hearing in police court.

Williams was jailed earlier in the night on charges of speeding, reckless driving and "tail-gating," or following too closely.

A second county commissioner, John Rousakis, was present at the Chatham County jail when Williams was released. Rousakis asked Williams if had been treated roughly and the Negro replied, "No." But he added that the charges of reckless driving and "tail-gaiting" are "brutalities in themselves."

Williams said he refused to post bond because "I didn't commit no crime."

However, he admitted to Rousakis that he had been speeding, stating that "If the speed limit there was 40, then I certainly was doing 50."

But he added "How was I reckless driving?"

County police officer J. J. Davin said Williams, one of Rev. Martin Luther King's chief lieutenants, left a car rental parking lot at the Savannah Municipal airport late Monday at a high rate of speed and made a sharp turn in "a reckless manner."

Davin said Willliams passed several cars and increased his speed to 60 miles an hour in a 40-mile-an-hour zone and kept moving across the center line trying to pass other vehicles.

The police officer said he stopped Williams and ordered him to follow the police car to the downtown police headquarters. He said Williams started speeding again and also "tail-gated" the police car. Davin said he then told Williams that he was committing a state offense and that the Negro leader replied: "Don't read the law to me, boy. If you don't like the way I drive the car, drive it yourself."

Williams came to Savannah from Atlanta to officiate in a local beauty pageant to elect a "Miss Tan."

Williams is a former resident of Savannah and was a leader in civil rights demonstrations in Savannah two years ago.

MOVEMENT 1966

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 28,

N.A.A.C.P. APPEAL REFUSED BY COURT

High Tribunal Lets $85,739 Picketing Judgment Stand

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27 — Without explnation, the Supreme Court let stand today an $85,739 judgment against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arising out of the picketing of a Savannah, Ga., store.

The action drew a vigorous dissent from four Justices, who said it opened the way for "crushing verdicts that may stifle organized dissent."

Writing for the dissenters, Justice William O. Douglas charged that the majority of five, without giving reasons, had raised "a threat to political association." Joining him in the dissent were Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas.

The Court's ruling was announced in the following unsigned nine-word decision that had the effect of rejecting the N.A.A.C.P.'s appeal:

"The writ of certiorari is dismissed as improvidently granted."

This wss an unusual procedure for the court, which usuall feels compelled to decide a case on its merits if four Justices vote to grant a petition for a writ of certiorari (review).

Unusual Reversal

Although Justice Douglas did not discuss this point in his dissent, apparently review was granted upon the votes of the four dissenters, and then after the parties briefed the case and argued it on March 29, the five other Justices outvoted then and ruled that the appeal should never have been accepted.

The Justices in the majority were Hugo L. Black, Tom C. Clark, John M. Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron R. White.

As a result of the decision, Haldred Overstreet, a white grocer, may collect the damages from the national N.A.A.C.P. organization, its Savannah branch or two branch officers.

The dispute arose in 1962 over charges that Mr. Overstreet had beaten a 14-year-old Negro boy in his store. After Mr. Overstreet denied the charges, the boy's mother persuaded the Savannah N.A.A.C.P. branch to organize a boycott of the store.

The picketing that continued for the next three weeks involved intimidation of potential customers, blocking of sidewalks and scattered incidents of violence.

Unaware of Boycott

There was no evidence that members of the local N.A.A.C.P. group were personally responsible for the misconduct, and the national group did not know about the boycott until it was served with a court order to end it.

Mr. Overstreet contended that the defendants had conspired to damage his business, and the jury awarded him $50,000 in punitive damages and $35,793 in compensatory damages. Only the national group appealed the decision.

In his dissent, Justice Douglas contended that the national group could not have been liable for the damage under the law of agency, because there was no proof that it had any control over the persons who did the acts, nor any knowledge of the boycott.

He said the Judge's instructions to the jury had not made this clear, and indeed made it appear that the "affiliate" branch chapter was tantamount to an "agent."

Justice Douglas concluded that, although the agency question was a matter of state law that is usually outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, these cases threatened political freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Federal Constituttion.

Thus the First Amendment should be held to prohibit state damage judgments against a national organizations unless there is proof that it specifically authorized or ratified the illegal conduct, he said.

Robert L. Carter of New York argued the case for the N.A.A.C.P. Rlying upon his written brief, Mr. Overstreet's lawyer did not appear before the high court.

Rehearing To Be Sought

Mr. Carter, general counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., commented here yesterday:

"We are of course very much disappointed with the Court's decision today. We will of cour apply for a rehearing. "In any event, this is not a decision on the merit and we will continue to engage in peaceful picketing and other forms of peaceful protests in the furtherance of the civil rights cause."

Aide to Dr. King Released

SAVANNAH, Ga., April 26 (AP).—A top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has been released from jail on the condition that he return on May 6 for a hearing on three traffic charges. Hosea L. Williams was jailed briefly Monday night, but released on order of Charles F. Wood, a county commissioner who stipulated that a subpoena obligates Mr. Williams to return. Mr. Williams, an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had refused to post bond, contending he did not commit a crime.

BALTIMORE FREES SIX CORE PICKETS

Judge Removes Restriction at Apartment Building

MOVEMENT

Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 14 — Six members of the Congress of Racial Equality were released from jail today by a city judge who had charged them earlier with contempt for breaking restrictions imposed against picketing an apartment house.

The six celebrated with an hour's demonstration against Horizon House, high-rise project that stands as a CORE symbol of segregated housing in the city.

Their release came after city officials asked Judge Charles D. Harris to modify his injunction, which restricted picketing to 2 to 5 P.M. on Sundays.

Judge Harris announced that he would temporarily lift restrictions until Monday, when lawyers for the city, CORE and owners of the apartment meet to decide what, if any, modifications can be made in the original order.

Among those released from jail today were Lincoln O. Lynch, 46 years old, associate national director of CORE's New York headquarters, and Stuart Wechsler, 23, also of New York, a field worker for the organization.

Mayor Insistent

Judge Harris's about-face was prompted by Joseph Allen, City Solicitor and a former associate of Judge Harris on the bench, at the insistence of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin.

Last night in New York, Floyd B. McKissick, CORE's national director, threatened to marshal all 200 local chapters of the organization for possible convergence on Baltimore to protest the court's injunction.

In April Mr. McKissick announced that Baltimore would be CORE's "target city" in a war on discrimination this summer. He said the injunction could affect all future demonstrations if it was allowed to stand.

In a statement released at noon today, Judge Harris said all restrictions would be lifted until after Monday's meeting by lawyers. He added that the six prisoners arrested Thursday and yesterday had been released "to relieve existing tensions."

Klansmen Turn Up

Orderly demonstrations by CORE's local chapter started weeks ago in front of the commercial dwelling. But on May 1 they took a more dramatic turn when members of the Ku Klux Klan, wearing hooded robes, set up counterpicketing on the same street corner.

Carrying anti-Negro placards, Klansmen brought along what they called their own security guard. Despite the presence of 20 city policemen, three large dogs, led by booted, gray-clad Klansmen, patrolled the picket lines.

Lawyers for Horizon House asked Judge Harris on May 6 to enjoin demonstrators because of a "threat of violence and disorder."

In a telegram to Mayor McKeldin, local CORE leaders charged the court with "unconstitutionally blackmailing Baltimore's 350,000 Negro citizens" by preventing "their freedom to protest against the injustice of segregation."

The civil rights group urged the Mayor to "exert your leadership through meaningful immediate action before an explosive situation develops in Baltimore that is no longer controllable."

Mr. Lynch and Mr. Wechsler joined three CORE pickets in defiance of the order on Thursday, saying they were not testing the injunction, but merely "exercising our constitutional rights."

They were arrested and jailed when they refused to promise not to return. On Friday, four more pickets arrested at Horizon House joined the pair in jail, including James Griffin, 37, local CORE chairman, and Willard Dixon, 18, both of whom had been arrested the day before.

SNCC Dumps Top Leaders, May Push Black Pantherism

MOVEMENT AJ 5/17/66

By JACK NELSON
Los Angeles Times News Service

The already-militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has unceremoniously dumped its two top leaders in favor of younger Negroes who apparently will more aggressively promote Black Panther politics.

The shakeup, which saw longtime leaders John Lewis and James Forman replaced by Stokely Carmichael and Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson, coincided with SNCC's emerging policy of deemphasizing involvement of whites in the civil rights movement in the South.

Carmichael, 25, of New York City, has been the committee's senior field secretary in Alabama where he has organized and promoted all Negro political movements under a Black Panther emblem. He replaces Lewis, 26, as chairman.

Mrs. Robinson, of Atlanta, a graduate of Spelman College, has worked with SNCC since 1960 when as a 17-year-old high school senior she took part in some of the earlier sit-ins. She succeeded Forman, 37, as executive secretary.

ELECTIONS, held in an all-night session near Nashville Saturday but not announced until Monday, cast the student group further adrift from the main stream of the civil rights movement.

Lewis, obviously bitter over his ouster, has been SNCC's main link to the more conventional activities of the movement. He is the member of the executive board of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and has been SNCC's ceremonial head and spokesman since 1963. He has represented the committee with the National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and in White House meetings between civil rights leaders and the President.

Sources in other civil rights organizations interpreted the change in officers to mean a more militant and, perhaps, Black Nationalist orientation for SNCC.

Some sources in the movement earlier had sharply criticized SNCC for its Black Panther activities in Alabama. Hosea Williams, a top aide to Dr. King, calling it "reverse racism," said, "they've run some of the white people out of the movement."

CARMICHAEL, considered one of SNCC's more radical leaders, got his start as an activist in the protest movement while in high school in New York.

In Lowndes County, Alabama, Carmichael helped form the Freedom Organization, an all-Negro party under the Black Panther emblem. He called the move necessary because white Democrats in Lowndes had excluded Negroes from party activities and added:

"To ask the Negroes to get in the Democratic party is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

Lewis and Forman were elected to the central committee, but this may have been little more than a face-saving gesture to two veteran civil rights leaders who had been beaten and jailed many times in the South. There are eight other members on the committee.

Lewis, who has been arrested 40 times in civil rights demonstrations, suffered a fractured skull in March, 1965, while attempting to lead a voting rights demonstration at Selma.

JULIAN BOND, SNCC communications director, said the change in leadership will mean more emphasis on organization and administration, something he said SNCC feels is necessary if Negroes are to gain political power in black belt counties where they have voting majorities.

A summer voting project scheduled for Alabama probably will be directed by about 60 volunteers, all Negroes, he said.

"This is not racism," he said. "The big trouble in the past is the White Northern volunteers work for a summer and then go home, leaving a gap. We hope to recruit Negroes who will stay and work all the time."

MOVEMENT

Negro Help Listed By Commerce Aide

By MICHAEL DAVIS

Eugene P. Foley, assistant secretary of commerce, told a group of Atlanta Negro businessmen Friday that the day has come when the Negro wants to do something more than protest and prosecute the cause of civil rights in the courts.

He addressed the closing session of a three-day economic development institute sponsored jointly by the National Urban League and the National Business League.

AGENCIES EXPLAINED

Foley explained the existence of a number of federal agencies created to extend credit to Negroes and other individuals who wish to strike out and create small businesses of their own.

"Like everyone else," said Foley, "the Negro has a need to create something positive, something concrete and what is holding him back more than anything else is the lack of economic tools to get started."

Foley, former administrator of the Small Business Administration, cited examples where economic aid from the federal government has been instrumental in fostering the birth and the growth of private business.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

Foley said he was sure that integration was going to come from the middle-class Negroes in America. He said this group has served traditionally as the springboard for ethnic assimilation and that the Negro middle class will be the group that will move to the suburbs and subsequently into the mainstream of American life.

He predicted that poorer Negroes, as poor members of other ethnic groups, will have a tendency to stay fairly close to other members of their group and that this in itself will have a tendency to preserve the racial ghettos that exist in many regions.

For this reason, Foley urged that "we make the ghetto livable during the period of transition by providing jobs and economic resources for private enterprise."

Julian Bond to Quit SNCC And Write Book, Paper Says

MOVEMENT AC 5/20/66

Rep.-elect Julian Bond is reported to be leaving his job with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Bond, SNCC communications director, first will take a leave of absence from the militant organization to write a book, then resign immediately thereafter, The Atlanta Inquirer, a Negro weekly newspaper, reported Thursday. Bond is a former editor of the Inquirer.

Bond denied Thursday night that he would resign from SNCC, but said he is planning on taking a leave of absence to work on his book. Asked if he were disturbed by the recent ouster of SNCC Chairman John Lewis, Bond said, "No, it's just like the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. They have an election every year, and so do we."

Bond, a Negro, was denied his seat in the Georgia House last January because he endorsed a SNCC statement opposing the war in Viet Nam and counseling avoiding the military draft.

He was reelected in a special election, and again challenged by some members of the House. The House Rules Committee will conduct hearings beginning Monday at 10 a.m. to decide whether Bond will be sworn in as a representative.

Although Bond is one of the founders of SNCC, the Inquirer said, he will take a 60 to 90-day leave of absence to write the book, then resign.

The title of Bond's book: "The Georgia House Is Not a Home."

The Inquirer also reported that James Forman, who did not seek reelection as executive secretary of SNCC, remains one of the organization's guiding figures. Forman, 37, has been named national office manager.

It was learned Thursday that SNCC is purging its organization of most of its white workers.

"When a baby is little, it needs someone to teach it how to eat," one SNCC official said in explaining the ouster of white civil rights workers. "This baby is now big enough to eat by itself."

The SNCC official did not want his name used.

A white magazine reporter visited SNCC headquarters in Selma, Ala., Thursday and was told that henceforth SNCC would deal only with Negro newsmen.

Bill Mahoney, who apparently has taken over the job of publicity for SNCC in Bond's absence, said there apparently was some misunderstanding about the Selma incident. However, he also refused to give any specific information about SNCC activities to an Atlanta reporter.

SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1966. MOVEMENT

NEGRO BUSINESSES URGED TO EXPAND

Tradesmen Told They Must Seek Out White Markets

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 21 — About 300 Negro businessmen ended an unusual conference this week. They heard speakers urge them, on the one hand, to go after the "total market," and, on the other, to acknowledge that Negroes would probably be their best market for some time to come.

The businessmen, ranging from shopowners and insurance salesmen to bankers, attended a three-day Economic Development Institute at the American Motor Hotel sponsored by the National Urban League and the National Business League. Government, academic and business representatives also took part.

Workshop sessions included such subjects as how a community might organize a commercial bank, a credit union, an investment club or a mortgage brokerage concern.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, told the businessmen that they must now compete on an equal basis with white businessmen, must be alert to trends in advertising and public relations, and must join trade associations.

"Negroes will not respond to racial appeals by their businessmen any more," he declared. "They will buy where the price and the goods and the service are right. And Negro businessmen must attempt to penetrate the whole market and not restrict themselves to a fast-shrinking 'captive market.'"

Need for Skills Cited

In many cases, Mr. Young continued, Negro companies have not developed the managerial skills necessary for successful competition.

"Unless we develop a strong business community," he said, "we will be frustrated in our attempts to close the gap in income and status which now exists."

In Harlem, Mr. Young said, only 18 per cent of the businesses are Negro-owned and operated. Negro family income has moved past the $4,000 level but the Negro business community "has a long way to go before we can reap the benefits of this economic boom," he said.

Dr. James Green, an economics professor at the University of Georgia, suggested that Negro businessmen were neglecting opportunities in urban renewal areas. He said Negro efforts in the past had been limited by such factors as social rigidities and the persistence of agrarian values.

"The rules of the economic game have changed quite sharply in favor of Negro entrepreneurship," Dr. Green asserted. "Some will say the door to Negro entrepreneurship is still not open far enough, but once you've got a foot in the door the job is more than half done."

Frank L. Stanley, publisher of The Louisville Defender, who is president of National Newspaper Publishers Association, urged small businesses that could afford little advertising to pool their funds for joint advertisements appealing to whites as well as Negroes. He stressed the size of the Negro market.

"When considering 11 per cent of the population it does not seem to be too important a factor," he said. "However, when you consider that the Negro is concentrated in 78 markets, and here becomes more than 25 per cent of the population, it must take on added importance."

MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 22,

CC

New Leaders and New Course for 'Snick'

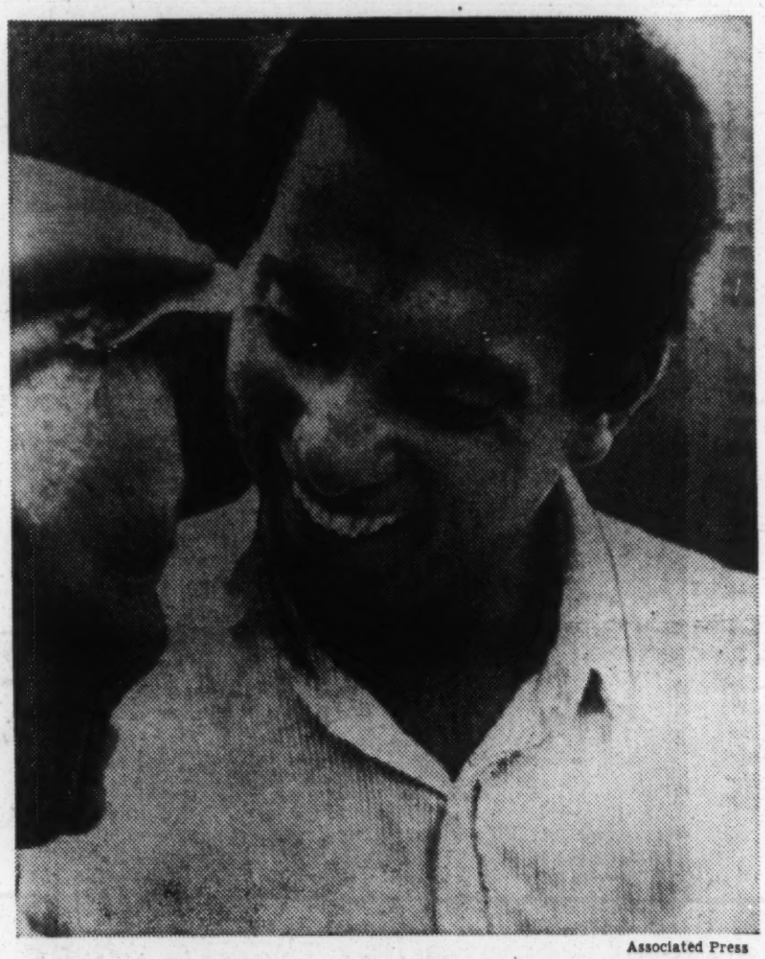
By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 21—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("Snick") changed its top command this week and, in doing so, publicly acknowledged that a major shift in its civil rights philosophy has taken place.

Voted out of the committee chairmanship was John Lewis, a 26-year-old minister who believes in nonviolence as both a "way of life" and as a way of forcing concessions from the "white power structure" in the South.

The new chairman is Stokley Carmichael, who at 24, is disillusioned with using nonviolent protest to force integration from reluctant white communities. Mr. Carmichael does not advocate violence, but neither does he believe in turning the other cheek. And, above all, he is opposed to demonstrating in order to force white officials to accept Negroes in the white schools or other public facilities. This, he believes, demeans the Negro by making it appear that white facilities are best simply because they are frequented by whites. "White schools are best all right," Mr. Carmichael says, "but only because they get more money than the Negro schools."



Associated Press

'BLACK PANTHER': The shift from mixed white and Negro to all-Negro participation in the civil rights movement in the South was dramatized last week when Stokley Carmichael, organizer of Alabama's all-Negro "Black Panther" political party, was chosen to head the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Third Parties

What Mr. Carmichael proposes is that Negroes form independent or "third" political parties and seize political power in areas where he headed Snick operations idea he began to put into practice in Alabama in Lowndes County—when he headed Snick operations—with a militant all-Negro party under the emblem of the "Black Panther." This, the theory goes, will force whites to bargain with Negroes—rather than vice versa—and also will make it possible for Negroes to use public funds to equalize schools and other facilities.

All of this, of course, presupposes that Negroes will win political power. And, as Mr. Carmichael and the student committee see it, this cannot be done by working within the Democratic or Republican parties, which they regard as "racist" and hopelessly middle class. "To ask Negroes to get in the Democratic party," Mr. Carmichael said recently, "is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

What the committee wants are independent parties at the city and county levels. They would be run by and for poor people, and would not hesitate to tear down existing political institutions which the student committee feels are being used to "exploit" poor Negroes.

In organizing the Negroes into the "Poor People's" parties, the student committee will abandon its long-time policy of using integrated civil rights teams. "We will not fire any of our white organizers," Mr. Carmichael says, "but if they want to organize, they can organize white people. Negroes will organize the Negroes."

The new philosophy is a major development in the civil rights movement because it stands in such sharp contrast to the philosophy of the committee when it was organized in 1960 by Southern students—both Negro and white. Then the committee dreamed of integration as an end in itself. Committee members believed it could be achieved by love, conscience and morality if people were willing to risk their lives in nonviolent protest.

In Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and other parts of the South, student committee members showed that there was no risk they would not take. They sat-in, kneeled-in and marched, and were arrested, jailed and beaten by segregationist whites who often were supported by Southern policemen, courts and the full weight of state government.

New Philosophy

Although publications like the Trotskyite "Militant" and the Communist party's "Worker" could be found from the beginning in pockets of some committee members, their popularity increased as the committee penetrated deeper into Mississippi and the Alabama Black Belt. And few committee members were more interested in the search for a new philosophy than Mr. Carmichael, a Howard University graduate who started reading Marxist literature while in high school in New York.

But while Mr. Carmichael and his supporters feel, for example, that there is a bond between the American Negro and the Vietcong, they say they prefer their own dialectic to any ready-made one they have come across.

Mr. Carmichael refers to Communists as "stale guys" who are still advocating "outmoded plans" for eradicating poverty and promoting equality. "We don't have any master plans," says Mr. Carmichael. "We just believe in putting power in the hands of the poor and letting them make their own plans."

MOVEMENT

SNCC Attacks LBJ On Racial Meeting

AJ 5/23/66

By the Associated Press

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, de-emphasizing integration as a goal, rejected Monday any participation in the White House conference on civil rights. SNCC implied the conference seeks to recover U.S. prestige damaged by war efforts.

SNCC labeled the planned conference useless and unnecessary.

In a statement read at a news conference, SNCC said the civil rights meeting was called by President Lyndon B. Johnson "at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the Viet Nam civil war, the Dominican Republican, the Congo, South Africa and other parts of the world.

"We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to use black Americans to recoup a loss of prestige internationally."

Mrs. Clifford Robinson, recently elected SNCC executive secretary in a leadership change, read the statement. She said SNCC feels the White House conference would be used to give what the organization considers a false image of racial progress and good will.

THE STATEMENT said:

"Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference, we know that the executive department and the President are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black Americans."

SNCC said there have been beatings and jailings of Negroes by police who "were, in effect, given a blank check by the executive department of this government to inflict these lawless acts upon Negroes."

Stokely Carmichael, 24, a native of Trinidad, West Indies, the new chairman of SNCC, said integration is merely a "subterfuge for white supremacy." He said integration is irrelevant.

"That's not our problem — to initiate it anymore," he said. "Political and economic power are what's important."

The former SNCC chairman, John R. Lewis, declined privately to comment further on the statement. He has attended several White House conferences in the past as SNCC chairman.

But Carmichael told a newsman it made no difference who was chairman because the staff on SNCC decided against participation in the conference this year.

In a statement, Lewis said there was no schism or conflict within SNCC. "I will continue to be a participant in SNCC and in the struggle," he said.

MOVEMENT 1966

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1

Rights Unit Quits White House Parley

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 23 — The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said today that it was withdrawing from the White House Conference on Civil Rights, scheduled for June 1 and 2.

A statement by the organization's central committee said that President Johnson was not serious about insuring constitutional rights of Negroes. It said the Federal Government had done nothing about the beating, jailing and murdering of Negroes and civil rights workers.

Furthermore, the statement said, the conference had been called when the nation's prestige was suffering because of United States involvement in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa "and other parts of the Third [nonwhite) World."

"We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to use black Americans to recoup a loss of prestige internationally," the statement said.

"Our organization is opposed to the war in Vietnam," the statement continued, "and we cannot in good consience meet with the chief policymaker of the Vietnam War to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam."

The committee's withdrawal, announced at a press conference at its headquarters here, reduces the representation of the militant left at the conference.

The conference, which is to submit proposals to President Johnson, was designed to attract a cross-section of American life. Some 2,400 persons hav been invited and all the major civil rights groups have participated in its planning. Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway, is the conference chair man.

John Lewis, chairman of the student committee until he was voted out of office last week, was a member of the 29-member council that met each weekend for the last two months to draft proposals for the conference.

Reconideration Urged

Mr. Lewis was at today's news conference but had nothing to say. He remains a mem ber of the committee's central committee and he signed the withdrawal statement, along with Stokley Carmichael, the new chairman.

Mr. Heineman, learning in advance of the student committee's possible withdrawal said he hoped it would reconsider because he believed it could make a contribution to the conference.

The withdrawal is in keeping with the committee's new spirit

Mr. Carmichael, 24 years old, said today of white liberals that "liberalism is an extension of paternalism." Liberals do not want Negroes to be truly independent, as they must becom he said.

Mr. Carmichael said "The goa of integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what black people have to have."

The committee's statement announcing withdrawal from the conference said:

"The foundation and consequences of racism are not rooted in the behavior of black Americans, yesterday or today. They are rooted in an attempt by Europeans and white American to exploit and dehumanize the descendants of Africa for monetary gain. This process of universal exploitation of Africa and her descendants continues today by the power elite of this country.

"In the process of exploiting black Americans, white Ameri has tried to shift responsibility for the degrading position in which blacks now find themselves away from the oppressors to the oppressed.

"The White House conference, especially with its original focus problem with which America on the Negro family as the mai must deal, accentuates this process of shifting the burden of the problem."

MOVEMENT AC 5/24/66

SNCC Drops Integration for Economic and Political Goal

By JOE BROWN

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is no longer interested in integration but now seeks political and economic power for Negroes, the chairman of the militant civil rights group said Monday.

"The role of integration is irrelevant. That's not our goal," newly elected SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, 24, told newsmen in Atlanta.

He warned that if the group cannot obtain its aims through peaceful means it may resort to violence.

SNCC will concentrate on building the "Black Panther Party," said Carmichael adding, "It is already a reality."

"We will vote for the candidates we can control," he said. "SNCC has to give the Negroes across the country something they don't have to beg for."

Carmichael said the group would not object to Negroes living in ghettoes as long as the area was controlled by Negroes.

"The Jews own their own ghettoes. The Negroes do not," he said.

At the same press conference SNCC released a statement bitterly denouncing the Johnson administration and a proposed White House Conference of civil rights.

The statement read by SNCC Executive Secretary Ruby Doris Robinson said, in part, SNCC "believes the White House Conference entitled 'To Secure These Rights' is absolutly unnecessary and rejects its invitation to participate in the useless endeavor . . ."

"Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference, we know the Executive Department and the President are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black Americans," Mrs. Robinson said.

The statement charges, "The President has called this conference within the United States at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the Viet Nam Civil War, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa and other parts of the third world.

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MOVEMENT

Court's Picket Rule Called Rights Peril

WASHINGTON (AP) — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People told the Supreme Court Wednesday its very survival—and that of the entire civil rights movement—may have been imperiled by a recent decision to let an $85,793 Georgia picketing judgment stand.

Asking the justices to reconsider the case, the NAACP said the high court's action opened the door to damage suits which could "harass, impoverish and eventually paralyze" the organization.

The Supreme Court dismissed without explanation April 27 an NAACP appeal from a Georgia ruling that the national association can be held liable for picketing ordered by its Savannah branch.

The 5-4 ruling produced a furious dissent by Justice William O. Douglas, who warned that "juries might run pell-mell" to destroy "unpopular groups" like the NAACP.

The NAACP had argued that it had no control over the picketing of a Savannah grocery store whose owner sued it, the local branch and local offices for damages.

Since the decision was announced, the NAACP said in a brief filed with the high court, it has been named a defendant with the local branch in a similar suit in Virginia and has been threatened with a third such suit in Philadelphia.

The NAACP brief gave no details of the cases, but an official told a reporter that in one the owner of a Victoria, Va., department store is asking $100,000 in punitive damages as a result of pamphlets passed out in front of his store.

In the Philadelphia suit, the official said, nursing homes which were picketed have threatened to sue for $100,000 in damages.

"If, in less than a month," the NAACP brief said, "petitioner has already incurred the onerous obligation of defending two such actions involving activities of its local branches, the course of future events is not difficult to anticipate."

Throughout the country, the civil rights organization continued, people "antagonistic" to its work and goals "have seen and will continue to see in this court's action yet another device with which petitioner and its affiliate branches may be harassed and their work — and indeed that of the entire civil rights movement — impeded, if not completely halted."

On the local level, the NAACP said, branches can no longer assume that peaceful protests will not subject them, their officers and the national organization to suits for damages.

As of April 30, the NAACP continued, it had an accumulated deficit of $112,899.60 "and the issue of its basic survival has been very much in doubt unless the financial situation materially improves."

Now, the NAACP said, the Georgia ruling requires it to take on "an impossible financial and structural burden which, as a practical matter, would drain all the personnel and funds of the local affiliates and national organization."

MOVEMENT

Rights Group Kills Viet War Protest

AC 6/3/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The White House Conference on Civil Rights shoved aside dissatisfaction from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Thursday and gave overwhelming support to the Johnson administration.

The conference, at the conclusion of a two-day session brushed aside a CORE resolution calling for withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Viet Nam.

One of the 12 committees, where votes were taken on resolutions, adopted another resolution on Viet Nam following the policy of President Lyndon B. Johnson. When the CORE resolution on Viet Nam was presented to other committees, the motions were either ruled out of order or were shouted down.

Committees also adopted numerous other resolutions which had the substance of endorsing the conference council's 100 page report to improve Negro economic and social levels.

The afternoon conference "consensus" came after a number of top administration leaders, including UN ambassador Arthur Goldberg, made the rounds at the 12 committee sessions Thursday morning.

Goldberg told a press conference that he did not think the Viet Nam war is affecting the civil rights cause at home.

CORE director Floyd McKissick said Thursday morning that his organization would make a major effort to pass a Viet Nam resolution and others

Continued on Page 8, Column 4

Rights Conferences Shelves CORE Protest of Viet War

Continued from Page 1

at the concluding committee sessions. The CORE effort fizzled by the afternoon.

Other administration leaders who visited committee sessions Thursday morning were Robert Weaver, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; John Connor, Secretary of Commerce; and UN representative James Roosevelt.

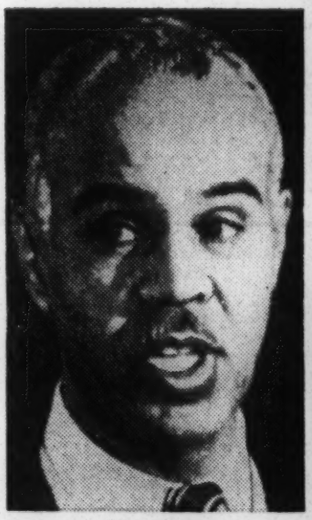
A committee which shouted down the CORE resolution on Viet Nam when presented by McKissick adopted another resolution urging the "President to continue and intensfy his efforts to bring the war in Viet Nam to an early and honorable end so that a greater level of federal funds may be devoted to fulfilling these rights."

J. M. Nabrit Jr., this country's Number Two man at the UN and a native of Atlanta, presided over that committee.

Another committee, presided over by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, adopted a series of resolutions aimed at assisting Alabama Negroes, who might be forced from farms and other employment because they voted in recent elections.

T. Y. Rogers of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, president of the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, said: "We just lost the primary and a run off." Rogers said there is fear of massive displacement of Negroes in Alabama's Black Belt because they voted in the elections.

"It is already beginning to happen," he said.



Associated Press Wirephoto
OUTLINE PLAN
Roy Wilkins

6/6/66 MOVEMENT

Doomed Literacy Drive

Powell's Pressure on Poverty Office To Withhold Funds Believed Decisive

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 5 — Political pressure crushed James Farmer's proposed project to combat illiteracy with an $860,000 antipoverty grant. Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was on the verge of signing the grant more than six months ago, but outside forces deterred him. Subordinates in the agency pointed to Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, as the pressure point.

News Analysis

In the interval, Mr. Shriver spurned all of Mr. Farmer's efforts to communicate with him. Mr. Farmer, the former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, called the antipoverty agency's inaction a "betrayal" and said he was withdrawing the proposal.

Mr. Powell, Mr. Shriver and agency spokesmen take bland public positions on the controversy. Political pressure is not something people in politics discuss in public unless they are girded for a public fight and are ready to take the consequences.

However, the demands made by Mr. Powell in his powerful role as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee make common conversation among subordinates of Mr. Shriver. Democrats on Mr. Powell's committee and other leading Democrats in Congress know about some of these pressures.

Mr. Powell was reported today to be out of the city. His administrative assistant, C. Sumner Stone, would say for the record only that "the chairman received a number of telephone calls from Congressmen saying that they were opposed to it [the literacy project]."

Committee Chairman Strong

A committee chairman is in a strong position to enforce his demands because he can affect the course and character of legislation under his jurisdiction. For example, Mr. Powell probably has the power to transfer significant antipoverty agency operations to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and leave Mr. Shriver holding a half-empty shell.

What is not entirely clear is Mr. Powell's motivation in this case. His opposition to Mr. Farmer's proposal was implied, though never publicly expressed, when he announced last March that he proposed to amend the antipoverty law to give a big literacy project to the Depart-

dications that the President was still interested.

The proposal went through extensive processing. Last December, newspaper articles reported that Mr. Farmer was going to resign as CORE director to head a literacy project. Mr. Farmer, while annoyed by what he considered premature publicity, did not deny it and resigned his CORE position.

The project was so close to approval that newsmen were told one day in December or January that the announcement might come that afternoon.

The project was discussed in January or February at a White House meeting attended by President Johnson, Mr. Powell, Representative Sam M. Gibbons, Democrat of Florida who is chairman of the Antipoverty subcommittee; Charles L. Schultze, budget director, and others. The decisions, if any, were never made known.

However, some unexplained delays developed at the antipoverty office. Mr. Shriver found flaws in the proposal and sent it down the executive line for changes. He wanted a sponsorship that was broader than civil rights leadership. He wanted individuals who were identified with education added to the project's board of directors.

All these and other objections were met. Mr. Farmer, unaware that the problem was political, laid plans to move from New York to Washington. His wife signed a paper for the purchase of a house, but no money changed hands.

At that point, March 7, Mr. Powell made known his inclination to favor Health, Education and Welfare with a big literacy project.

On March 30, Mr. Farmer checked with Bernard L. Boutin, at that time the deputy director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Farmer said Mr. Boutin had told him that the proposal had run into trouble "in the committee." No names were mentioned.

Mr. Shriver, nevertheless, permitted his staff to continue processing and reprocessing Mr. Farmer's proposal. Some weeks ago, the staff completed the work and sent the proposal to Mr. Shriver with a memorandum that said, "This project is ready for funding." The grant figure was reduced to $780,000.

Mr. Shriver scratched on the same sheet, "Anybody who thinks this is out of his head," and shuttled it back to Theodore M. Berry, Director of Community Action.

What went on in the last

RESIGNS FROM CORE: Lillian Smith, the writer, has quit the advisory committee of the rights group charging that "haters" and "nihilists" now control it.

CORE IS ASSAILED BY LILLIAN SMITH

Author Attacks Leadership and Resigns as Adviser

Lillian Smith, the author, quit the advisory committee of the Congress of Racial Equality yesterday, charging that "nihilists" and "old-fashioned haters" had taken over the organization.

The 68-year-old white author, who wrote "Strange Fruit,, and other works dealing with the Negro's struggle for equality, wired her resignation to Floyd B. McKissick, CORE's new national director.

Miss Smith, who lives at Clayton, Ga., said: "I strongly protest the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence in effecting racial change. I am therefore resigning."

Refers to 'Black Power'

She referred to the new militant advocacy o "black power" by CORE and to statements by Mr. McKissick that the doctrine of nonviolence had outlived its usefulness.

Miss Smith has worked with CORE since 1946 and has been a member of its advisory committee for more than nine years. Earlier this year, she was critical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, another Negro civil rights group, which she had long befriended.

According to Mr. McKissick, CORE opposes the initiation of violence by its members and only invokes the right of self-defense against attack. But Miss Smith, in her wire, charged, "CORE has been infiltrated by adventurers and by nihilists, black nationalists and plain old-fashioned haters who

CORE'S EX-LEADER HIRED BY JERSEY

Farmer Will Be Consultant in Fight on Adult Illiteracy

By Walter H. Waggoner
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, July 5 — James Farmer, former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has been hired as special consultant on adult illiteracy for New Jersey's anti-overty program.

Mr. Farmer broke angrily with the Office of Economic Opportunity, the national antipoverty agency, over the weekend when he charged that it had failed to support the new Center for Community Action Education, an organization he headed in the belief that it would be backed in its first year with $860,000 in Federal money.

The New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity announced today that Mr. Farmer would prepare, within the next several weeks, a report that would form the basis of action by Gov. Richard J.Hughes' Tak Force on Adult Literacy Opportunities.

The task force, headed by Dean Ernest McMahon of Rutgers, the State University, has been granted $150,000 by the Legislature to carry out res on adult illiteracy and to establish experimental programs for alleviating it.

John C. Bullitt, the state antipoverty director, said Mr. Farmer was retained because of "his deep personal interest and understanding of the problems of the disadvantaged in our society."

"Mr. Farmer's advice will make an outstanding contribution to the task force's charge of developing the most effective and widespread adult literacy program possible," Mr. Bullitt declared.

A spokesman for the state antipoverty agency said, it was estimated there were 750,000 adult illiterates in Jersey, "a large number for a population of less than 7 million." The national illiteracy figure is estimated at 11 million.

A spokesman for the state program said there was no connection between Mr. Farmer's break with the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity and his appointment by New Jersey. The spokesman said that Mr. Farmer had discussed the prospect during three visits to the O.E.O. office in Trenton early last month and that an agreement to put him to work on a temporary basis for the state was reached June 18.

Mr. Farmer is expected to work nearly full time for much of July and August at a consultant's fee of $80 a day.

His activities will include research and statistical analysis of the state's illiteracy problem—"finding out who and where the adult illiterates are," a spokesman said.

Mr. Farmer will also evaluate Jersey's existing programs for reaching the poor, and will canvass some of the efforts being made across the country, to determine what might be most useful here.

He said he was approaching foundations and industry and labor groups in an attempt to get funds for his work on a nationwide scale. He declared that he had been "encouraged" by the results, adding that "some have expressed interest, although we have not yet got down to brass tacks."

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Mr. Powell was reported today to be out of the city. His administrative assistant, C. Sumner Stone, would say for the record only that "the chairman received a number of telephone calls from Congressmen saying that they were opposed to it [the literacy project]."

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What is not entirely clear is Mr. Powell's motivation in this case. His opposition to Mr. Farmer's proposal was implied, though never publicly expressed, when he announced last March that he proposed to amend the antipoverty law to give a big literacy project to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

When Mr. Powell was asked about Mr. Farmer's project, he said variously, "No comment" and "That's a matter for administrative decision."

Mr. Shriver, however, is known to have asked Mr. Powell in Mr. Powell's office what he held against Mr. Farmer.

Mr. Powell, a Harlem minister, is reported to have placed his hand on a Bible and with tongue in cheek said, "I don't even know the —."

But Mr. Powell's purposes remain in the speculative area, and speculation runs to a belief that Mr. Farmer either had failed to pay obeisance to an important committee chairman or that Mr. Powell had sensed a political threat in Mr. Farmer's activities. Both are prominent in the Negro community.

To Mr. Farmer, the bitter irony is that the project was conceived in the White House. Mr. Farmer was there on Dec. 6, 1963, at the invitation of President Johnson.

He said he had told the President, "We must continue to knock down the barriers and must add to that fight a national literacy program and remedial education."

Mr. Farmer said the President had agreed and had asked for a memorandum detailing how such a program could be set up. Mr. Farmer submitted three memoranda in October of 1964, when he believed the national political situation was settled. On Aug. 17, 1965, he submitted a firm proposal to the antipoverty agency. The White House acknowledged all these communications, with insigned a paper for the purchase of a house, but no money changed hands.

At that point, March 7, Mr. Powell made known his inclination to favor Health, Education and Welfare with a big literacy project.

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Mr. Shriver, nevertheless, permitted his staff to continue processing and reprocessing Mr. Farmer's proposal. Some weeks ago, the staff completed the work and sent the proposal to Mr. Shriver with a memorandum that said, "This project is ready for funding." The grant figure was reduced to $780,000.

Mr. Shriver scratched on the same sheet, "Anybody who thinks this is out of his head," and shuttled it back to Theodore M. Berry, Director of Community Action.

What went on in the last few days was little more than academic. Mr. Farmer assailed Mr. Shriver for "double talk" and said he was withdrawing the proposal.

Hyman H. Bookbinder, a special assistant to Mr. Shriver, have been funded" and that he knew of no mayors who had opposed the project, as Mr. Farmer had contended.

The antipoverty agency's public position that "it was Farmer who withdrew it, not O.E.O. that denied it" is a bureaucratic technicality. The project could have been revived because Mr. Shriver had not advised Mr. Farmer that he had killed it.

Mr. Farmer was president of the Center for Community-Action Education. The directors included university presidents, foundation officials and other prominent persons.

Mr. Farmer, reached in New York today, said:

"What I object to most is not O.E.O.'s failure to fund the project. That is Mr. Shriver's administrative prerogative. But I object to his failure to say anything for months and months.

"An O.E.O. spokesman now implies in the press that there are still unmet conditions. If that is true, then O.E.O. deserves censure for not communicating those to me. Why should they keep the requirements secret from the only person who can meet them?

"As a matter of fact, we were told months ago by O.E.O. staff persons that there were no other conditions which we had not met and no conditions have been brought to our attention since."

tional director.

Miss Smith, who lives at Clayton, Ga., said: "I strongly protest the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence in effecting racial change. I am therefore resigning."

Refers to 'Black Power'

She referred to the new militant advocacy o "black power" by CORE and to statements by Mr. McKissick that the doctrine of nonviolence had outlived its usefulness.

Miss Smith has worked with CORE since 1946 and has been a member of its advisory committee for more than nine years. Earlier this year, she was critical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, another Negro civil rights group, which she had long befriended.

According to Mr. McKissick, CORE opposes the initiation of violence by its members and only invokes the right of self-defense against attack. But Miss Smith, in her wire, charged, "CORE has been infiltrated by adventurers and by nihilists, black nationalists and plain old-fashioned haters, who have finally taken over."

'Killers of the Dream'

Miss Smith, who wrote "Killers of the Dream" dealing with white supremacy in the South, described the new leaders of CORE as "new killers of the dream." She said that CORE had once refused tactics "dictated by anger and hate." But white Americans, because of their inertia or their violence, "must carry much of the moral burden" for CORE's new tactics, she added.

She blamed the "stubbornness and dishonest methods of segregationists, the violence of the [Ku Klux] Klan, and the blind complacency of many white church people." These factors made it easy for the "haters" to take over from wiser and more patient leadership, she said.

Her wire concluded that none of the foregoing reasons justified the use of violence, "however great the temptation."

"We are working for something bigger than civil rights," she said. "We are working for better human beings, we are working for excellence in our cultural life."

tion to the [illegible] of developing the most effe[illegible] and widespread adult lite[illegible] program possible," Mr. B[illegible] declared.

A spokesman for the [illegible]

DR. KING RECEIVES $100,000 DONATION

Gift From Swedish People Is Single Largest Gift

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. received a check for $100,000 yesterday from the people of Sweden for the work he is doing with the Southern Christian Leadership Council. It is the largest single contribution ever given to the Civil rights organization.

The money is part of a fund set up in Sweden, the Martin Luther King Fund of Sweden, from the proceeds of a concert and a recording Dr. King and Harry Belafonte, the singer, made last March in Sweden.

The check made out to Dr. King was presented to him by the Swedish Consul General Tore Tollroth at the Swedish Building, 8 East 69th Street.

Mr. Tollroth noted that this was not all of the funds that would be received by Dr. King and his group. He said the people of all the Scandinavian countries were behind Dr. King and his movement "for justice without ever resorting to violence or letting loose the forces of hate."

Dr. King said the money would be used mainly in the voter registration drive in Mississippi and to help the housing, economic and slum drive in Chicago, a program that he called "one of our most important this summer."

Dr. King took issue with Floyd B. McKissick, the director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and statements he made on Monday concerning "black power," the war in Vietnam and the Selective Service system.

Dr. King said he did not like the term "black power" because of the semantics involved. "It connotates black supremacy and an anti-white feeling that does not or should not prevail," he said. "It leaves a feeling that the Negro wants to go it alone, which he can not do. It also carries implications of Black Nationalism."

When asked about Mr. McKissick's statements that CORE would support those persons who did not want to serve in Vietnam, Dr. King said he believed the CORE leader meant to support those who wished to be conscientious objectors.

"The right to be a consciencious objector is provided for in the Selective Service Act and it should be honored. If though, he meant to help people dodge the draft I could not agree."

"I cannot agree with the teaching of defensive violence," Dr. King said. "People will defend themselves anyway.

"I can understand why CORE feels the way it does, but I cannot agree. We do not need to have a program for defense. The line of demarkation between defensive and aggressive violence is too thin."

FOR NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE MOVEMENT

It's 'We Shall Overcome' —At the Pay Window

AC 6/12/66

By JOHN ASKINS

The National Urban League is a different sort of civil rights organization.

It doesn't picket, sit in, lie in, or march. Its battlegrounds historically have been the conference tables of big business, where the traditional "We Shall Overcome" might be translated as "We Shall Achieve More Job Opportunities for Negroes."

Not that the organization isn't as eager as any for an end to discrimination in all areas of American life where discrimination exists. But the focus has been on economics.

As National Deputy Director M. T. Puryear put it Friday night in the annual meeting of the Atlanta Urban League: "The other groups end at the bargaining table, where the Urban League begins."

Because of its approach, the league has had its share of criticism from the more militant groups. But its defense has always been that the gains won in the streets will be of little use without the skills and training to take advantage of them.

AND AT LEAST some of the other civil rights groups are beginning to agree tentatively. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the past four years has been conducting citizenship education schools for "grass roots" Negroes, and the week-long schools offer liberal doses of practical economics. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, too, recently gave integration a back seat in favor of politics and economics.

Because the focus now — thanks partly to the federal government, and partly to the outbreaks of violence in Watts, Harlem and other ghettos—is on poverty, and the realization is that no people can long sustain an interest in voting if there is not enough food on the table.

The other organizations have some distance to go, however, before they catch up with the Urban League in sheer number and variety of programs. The annual report of the Atlanta office, issued Friday night, listed these projects:

—Assistance to dispossessed families and new arrivals in finding adequate housing.

—The encouragement of profit-making and nonprofit organizations that will build low and moderate-income housing.

—Support for city improvements like parks and recreational facilities, hospitals and health centers, street widening and neighborhood rehabilitation.

—A DEMONSTRATION project designed to strengthen the family life of parents in poverty areas, known as Project ENABLE (Education and Neighborhood Action for Better Living Environment).

—The acquaintance of youngsters with "industry in action" by taking them on visits to local industries and technical schools, the aim being to provide them with first-hand information about the world of work.

—Career guidance conferences and workshops for high school and college students.

—Clerk - typist and secretarial training for deprived persons.

—On - the - job training programs for unemployed and underemployed persons.

—Maintenance of a "reservoir" of skilled-job applicants. The applicants are recruited and catalogued according to skills for placement in better jobs, often involving moving from one part of the country to another.

FOR THE COMING year, the league plans expansion of existing programs and development of new ones, including a human resources and development program in cooperation with the Georgia State Department of Labor's bureau of apprenticeship and training and with Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. This program is designed to help the deprived, criminals, school dropouts and others to become more employable through remedial training, intensive counseling and job placement.

But Mr. Puryear suggested Friday night that all this might not be enough.

"Negro citizens may not be making the progress you think they're making," he said.

"In 1940 the Urban League discovered it was impossible to get a wider variety of jobs because of educational lacks. Eighty per cent of the nation's Negroes were janitors and maids. They made 60 per cent of what other groups made.

"Twenty years later they had picked up three years in education. But now 84 per cent were employed in jobs at the bottom, and their income was only 55 per cent of that of other groups.

"In 1965 they had gained another year and a half in education and their income was $1,500 more than it was in 1940 but now 85 per cent were in jobs at the bottom and their income was only 54 per cent as much as other groups."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

REP. POWELL DENIES PLAN TO WED AIDE

PARIS, June 11 (AP) — Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., denied categorically Saturday that he planned to marry his staff assistant, Corinne Huff.

"It's absolutely untrue," he said about published reports that he and the former Miss Indiana would wed.

Powell was in Paris en route to Geneva for the annual meeting of the International Labor Organization.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

6/12/66

Whites' Role Splits Leaders of March

MOVEMENT

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

BATESVILLE, Miss., June 11—Civil rights leaders kept a close watch on the Mississippi segregationists who stood along the marching route to Jackson this week, but what they talked about most often was the Northern white liberal.

"We've received a lot of help from white liberals and we appreciate it," said Floyd B. McKissick, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, as he set a brisk pace along Highway 51.

"But the situation is sort of like when you are sick and your neighbor comes in to help you. You need his assistance, but you don't want him to run your house or take your wife."

The scene was typical of the hot, dusty march to Jackson. The marchers are providing the

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NORTHERN WHITES DIVIDE MARCHERS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

first major convention of civil rights activists since the drive against segregation in Selma, Ala., more than a year ago, and they are taking advantage of it by doing as much talking as walking.

Their philosophical differences are vast and center more than ever before on their relationship to the white man, but the civil rights movement appears to be thriving on the controversy as it did in Selma, Birmingham and in the days of the sit-ins and freedom rides.

The differences of the organizations come into focus even over the make-up of the marching column. Staff workers from the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference are continually thanking Northern white marchers for coming South for the march.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wonders aloud if whites ought to be on the march at all. Mr. McKissick walks in the middle, welcoming the whites but insisting that the decision-making be done by Negroes.

Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney Young of the Urban League quietly decline to support the march, contending that the march "manifesto" was too critical of President Johnson and society in general and might damage their relationship with the President and liberal Congressmen.

However, there are many areas of agreement among the civil rights leaders and those who are marching are finding them along the way.

Support Is Wanted

The leaders, for example, want the white liberals' financial contributions and moral support, but almost all of them complain as they march that many white civil rights organizers don't "fit in" in the Northern slums and in the rural South. And the steadily dwindling number of white financial supporters, they say, often wants to write civil rights policy along with its checks

"White organizers usually are highly dedicated and worked hard, but some of them just don't understand the problem," said one of Dr. King's top aides. "Instead of drawing the Negro community together, they divide it by trying to make too many decisions.

"We can understand why Snick [The Student Committee] no longer will let whites organize in rural areas, but we don't agree that it's wise to make such a hard and fast rule. We are just becoming more selective about the whites we use."

"We've got some white people on our staff who have stuck with us through thick and thin," said Mr. McKissick, "and thank God for them."

But he went on to complain that he was spending much of his time "holding hands" with white financial supporters who had grown disenchanted because of what they believed was rising anger and racism among Negroes.

Other civil rights organizations are also experiencing declining white financial contributions and feel a common bond in trying to create a new financial base among Negroes.

Mr. McKissick said, however, that no matter how angry the Negro might sometimes sound, the civil rights movement was not becoming "Black Nationalist" but simply developing a sense of racial pride.

Stokely Carmichael, the new chairman of the Student Committee, is also sensitive about the charge of racism and Black Nationalism.

"I'm for the Negro," he says, "I'm not anti anything."

But he has yet to convince liberals, whose disenchantment with the movement increased last month when the Student Committee announced it would no longer participate in the White House Conference on Civil Rights and would step up its campaign to seize power in areas where Negroes outnumbered whites.

Other civil rights organizations think that the decision on the White House Conference was a mistake on the part of the Student Committee, but they have less quarrel with the committee's appeal for Negro political power.

The Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are urging their followers to win a majority voice in Government when they can, but they prefer to put it more subtly than the Student Committee and they shun the use of the word "power."

The rights activists are walking a thin line, one that might conceivably cause the white North to disengage itself from the rights struggle in the South as it did in the waning decades of the last century. But they are saying in Mississippi that they see no other way to activate Negroes and make them develop a sense of "somebodyness."

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is aware of the dangers of following this course, and it is trying to reassure the nation's liberals that it will not let the thrust of the movement carry it too far.

Last night at a church in Batesville, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, one of Dr. King's top aides, mounted the podium in a Negro church and said:

"If you got any notions that Negroes can solve our problems by ourselves, you got another thought coming. We welcome white people."

Then he paused and said:

"Ain't that right?"

"That's right," the audience shouted.

Local Marches for Rights Are Urged

By PAUL HOFMANN

A new liberal-radical alliance called yesterday for local marches throughout the nation to support the Mississippi civil rights march and Negro voter registration.

The National Conference for New Politics said in a motion adopted at the first meeting of its executive committee here that the marchers should "demand full Federal protection for Negroes registering to vote in Mississippi and full Federal provision of mobile registrars in every county" of that state.

The marches should be organized locally in close relation with "voter registration work in the North and West," the motion suggested.

Two Southern civil rights leaders participated in the meeting of the 18-member executive committee, which was held at the New York Friends Group Peace Information Center, a Quaker unit, in a brownstone building, 218 East 18th Street. They were Victoria Gray, a militant in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, and Julian Bond, a co-chairman of the new alliance who arrived from Georgia shortly after noon.

Mr. Bond has been elected to the Georgia Legislature but denied his seat because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam. The other alliance co-chairman is Simon Casady, former president of the California Democratic Council, a Democratic party liberal organization, and also an outspoken critic of the Administration's Vietnam policy.

Mr. Casady said in an intermission at yesterday's meeting that the committee had started evaluating primary contests in New York, Mississippi, Ohio, California and Oregon to select candidates it would back.

The conference was formed to support candidates in this year's elections who advocate "new politics" to end the war in Vietnam and spur civil rights and antipoverty programs. The conference includes liberals and radical activists.

Originally conceived as a service organization to provide the "new politics" candidates with funds and manpower for their campaigns, the conference appeared yesterday to move toward a permanent coalition of antiwar and civil rights groups. Paul Booth, national secretary of the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society and a member of the conference's executive committee, said that "the potential exists" for such a coalition.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, the pediatrician who also is a committee member, remarked that there was "considerable parallel" between the conference's interests and those of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Mr. Booth broke in to say he wasn't so sure about this.

Mr. Casady said that "old liberals," the new radical campus generation, antipoverty and civil rights groups and such still amorphous labor movements as those of farm workers could cooperate for "new politics." He said that "the upper echelon of organized labor is beginning to take on the same coloration of the establishmen."

The establishment, in left-wing parlance, is the dominant power structure as opposed to movements for political and social change. Antiwar groups complain about lack of support from labor unions.

Discussing the chances for antiwar and civil rights movements to merge, Mrs. Gray expressed confidence, citing support that her party, which champions the rights of Mississippi Negroes, was receiving from whites.

28% of Nonwhite Children Have One Parent in Home

Twenty-eight per cent of the nonwhite children living in families in New York City are in homes with only one parent, according to a report to be issued tomorrow by the Community Council of Greater New York. The report says that 8 per cent of the white children are in similar homes.

The study, "Families in New York City: Social and Economic Characteristics," was written by Miriam P. Suckow and Florence E. Cuttrell, who based their findings on census data.

Other highlights of the report show that median income of the city's more than two million families rose from $3,526 in 1949 to $6,091 in 1959. This represents a 43 per cent increase in purchasing power, after allowances for higher price levels.

The report notes, however, that 15 per cent of the city's families had annual incomes under $3,000. Twenty-seven per cent of nonwhite families fell in this category.

Bonanza Lists Record Traffic

Bonanza Air Lines reported record traffic during May on its routes serving California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona. The line's DC-9 jets carried 72,354 passengers last month. May boardings were up 28 per cent over last year, and 2 per cent over April, 1966.

6/21/66

'Black Power' Plea Decried by Dr. King

MOVEMENT

By United Press International

ATLANTA, June 20 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. appealed today for an end to talk of "black power" among some Negro leaders.

"It is absolutely necessary for the Negro to gain power, but the term 'black power' is unfortunate because it tends to give the impression of black nationalism," Dr. King said in an interview shortly before he rejoined the freedom march in Mississippi.

The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference made his statement the day after Negroes taking part in the march had chanted "black power, black power" as they entered the town of Belzoni, Miss.

It also came a day after Stokely Carmichael, newly elected head of the Student

Continued on Page 30, Column 6

1966.

DR. KING DEPLORES 'BLACK POWER' BID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and James H. Meredith, whose shooting turned the Mississippi march into a mass effort, both told national television audiences that nonviolence did not go far enough to solve racial problems.

"We must never seek power exclusively for the Negro but the sharing of power with the white people," Dr. King said.

"Any other course is exchanging one form of tyranny for another," he added. "Black supremacy would be equally as evil as white supremacy."

Dr. King, who helped get the mass Mississippi march started after the wounding of Mr. Meredith, spoke of "grave consequences" should his own nonviolent approach to the civil rights program be discarded.

He emphasized that he did not want to increase speculation that there had been a major rift among the civil rights organizations over tactics and strategy. He insisted that the major responsible Negro leaders—and the Negro masses—were committed to a peaceful solution to the Negro's problems.

The implication was clear however, that Dr. King was seriously disturbed by the growing militancy of some racial groups, including the Mississippi marchers, and the fighting words of some of the new breed of Negro leaders.

Dr. King saw in Mr. Carmichael's militant approach a danger of spreading unrest in such tension spots as the Watts district of Los Angeles and in Chicago, where Dr. King now has a major civil rights campaign in full swing.

Mr. Carmichael's call for "power for the black man" was quickly echoed on the Mississippi marching line with a yell for "white man's blood."

Such talk, Dr. King said, simply stirs the hatred of equally militant whites without solving any of the basic problems.

"I see no significant trend in the country toward black nationalism," Dr. King said. "The civil rights movement is generally strongly opposed to this philosophy. It is really a very small segment that turns to such measures."

Dr. King insisted that Negroes "have made their greatest strides" through adherence to nonviolence.

MOVEMENT

King Appeals for Halt To 'Black Power' Drive

AC 6/21/66

United Press International

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King made his statement the day after Negroes taking part in the march chanted "Black power, black power" as they entered the town of Belzoni, Miss.

It also came a day after Stokely Carmichael, newly elected head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and James Meredith, whose shooting turned the Mississippi march into a mass effort, both told national television audiences that non-violence does not go far enough to solve racial problems.

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"Any other course is exchanging one form of tyranny for another. Black supremacy would be equally as evil as white supremacy."

King, who helped pick up the reins of the Mississippi march after the wounding of Meredith, spoke of "grave consequences" should his own non-violent approach to the civil rights program be discarded.

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6/22/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W

DR. KING DISPUTED ON 'BLACK POWER'

MOVEMENT

He Misunderstands Aims of Negro, CORE Aide Says

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

The associate director of the Congress of Racial Equality said yesterday that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "shows a basic misunderstanding of what the Negro on the farm and on the streets is really asking for."

The official, Lincoln Lynch, was referring to Dr. King's rejection on Monday of the call by some Negro leaders for "black power." Dr. King had said that the Negro must seek to "share" power with whites.

"This power, economic, political and psychological has been denied the black man for too long and it must be realized," Mr. Lynch said. "We need black people standing on their own two feet and all the shouts of 'freedom now' are meaningless and empty phrases until we accomplish this."

Mr. Lynch said in a telephone interview that the greatest need of the Negro was that he be convinced that he can achieve all the changes necessary in this nation himself.

"The white man will not respect you until you can stand toe to toe with him and eyeball to eyeball," the second highest official of CORE said.

"History has shown that if you're really depending on the vast majority of whites to help you're really leaning on a very broken reed," he added.

Mr. Lynch insisted that he was not voicing black nationalist themes but facing "realities." He said that many whites joining the movement liked to think of themselves as "saviors of the Negro people when they should think of themselves as partners in the struggle."

The popularity of the "black power" theme in recent days, and especially on the current civil rights march through Mississippi, comes because "Negroes, old and young alike, now realize that the ways of Booker T. Washington and other moderates have not worked," Mr. Lynch said.

The CORE official said this issue of black power would probably force an even wider breach between the more moderate positions taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the position of the more militant groups, including CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"As time goes by the militants will appear more militant and the moderates more moderate," he said. "But what we must remember is that no man can be 'moderately' free."

Dr. King had said that any course, other than sharing power with whites, would be just another form of tyranny, and he added:

"Black supremacy would be equally as evil as white supremacy."

Stokeley Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and a leader in the "black power" advocates, has maintained that it is impossible for Negroes to work within the Democratic and Republican parties. Asking Negroes to join either party, Mr. Carmichael said recently, was like "asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

POLICE

A citywide police phone number is available for emergency calls. It is 440-1234. The Police Department requests that emergency callers be brief, explicit and calm. All nonemergency calls and routine business calls should be placed through local administrative police numbers.

12,000 Rights Marchers in Jackson

United Press International Telephoto

Leading march are, from left: the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James H. Meredith, who began march; Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Floyd McKissick, director of Congress of Racial Equality. Marchers were near Jackson.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Mr. Meredith later with the State Capitol in background

End Trek in Mississippi Under Heavy Protection

MOVEMENT

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 26—A wave of 12,000 to 15,000 civil rights advocates, most of them Mississippi Negroes, pressed around the State Capitol today as the long civil rights march through Mississippi ended.

Civil rights leaders, shouting their pleasure at the size of the crowd, said the demonstration ranked as the third largest march in civil rights history, behind the march on Washington in 1964 and the march from Selma to Montgomery in Alabama in 1965.

Hundreds of state highway patrolmen, National Guard men and sheriff's deputies guarded the last eight-mile leg of the march. There was tension but no violence.

A white man shoved Justice Michael A. Musmano of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court from his lawn and then dashed into his house as more than 100 Negroes surged toward him.

Three houses away, a white man stood by a no-trespassing sign with a brick in his hand, but two of the 11 Negroes on the Jackson police force quickly stepped between him and the marchers.

An Illinois Central railroad engine moved toward the marchers as they stepped over a crossing. While the engine was still moving, Robert Green of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and 10 others rushed in front of it, mounted its cow catcher and shouted, "Stop, stop."

The engine ground to a halt within 10 to 15 feet of the marching column.

James H. Meredith, who started the march from the lobby of the Peabody Hotel in Memphis on June 5 and saw it grow after he was shot a day later, complained about his leg wounds and hiked only briefly.

"It's everybody," Mr. Meredith said from a car at the head of the march column as it neared

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

12,000 Stage Rally in Jackson, Miss., as Civil Rights March Ends

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

the Capitol. "You can't do any better than that."

The march was led in his stead by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Floyd B. McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, and Whitney Young, director of the National League.

Missing from the marching column was Charles Evers, Mississippi field director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other leaders of the N.A.A.C.P.

They were banned from the Capitol rally program during a strategy session of march leaders that started late last night and continued into this morning.

The reason the march leaders gave for the exclusion was that Mr. Evers had repudiated the "march manifesto" during the first week of the march. He said then that it was "too critical" of President Johnson and that he feared many of the marchers would "leave with the cameramen" when the march was over and leave Negro Mississippians "holding the bag."

However, Mr. Evers joined the marching column two weeks ago and said he was convinced the march was benefiting Mississippi Negroes by encouraging voter registration.

"Charles Evers is a good man," Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, said, He said Mr. Evers had been prevented from signing the march manifesto by the N.A.A.C.P. national office.

Rally Platform Limited

The Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party voted to limit the rally platform to leaders of organizations that had signed the manifesto.

Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Medical Committee for Human Rights voted against the proposal.

Whitney Young, director of the National Urban League, was allowed on the platform after he had agreed to sign the manifesto. The manifesto demands that President Johnson send Federal voting examiners into 600 Southern counties, make sweeping changes in his pending civil rights bill and start a massive aid program for Negroes.

Organizational rivalries repeatedly flared in today's march on the Capitol. The Student Committee passed out placards that said "Move on Over or We'll Move on Over YOU" and depicted a lunging black panther, the symbol of the committee's independent Negro political movement.

CORE passed out posters saying "Freedom Now," and the Leadership Conference distributed hundreds of plastic United States flags.

The sight of the waving flags sent Willie Ricks, a field secretary for the Student Committee, rushing into the march column. "Give me those flags," he said. "That flag does not represent you."

The Rev. John Morris, director of the Episcopal Society of Cultural and Racial Unity, rushed over to Mr. Ricks and urged him to leave the flags alone.

Supporters of the Student Committee repeatedly roared the organization's new chant, "Black power, black power." Supporters of the Leadership Conference tried to drown out the chant by yelling, Freedom,

Mr. Meredith made it clear that he supported "Black power."

A Student Committee partisan yelled the chant, and James Orange, a field secretary for the Leadership Conference, bellowed "Freedom" in response.

"Shut up," Mr. Meredith said with a wave of his swagger stick at Mr. Orange.

"You mean you can say 'Black power,' but we can't say 'Freedom?'" Mr. Orange asked.

Mr. Meredith stared ahead.

It was the wounding of Mr. Meredith on his pilgrimage into Mississippi to encourage voter registration that sent civil rights leaders hurrying from throughout the nation to the ambush scene to pick up the march.

During most of the circuitous 260-mile hike into Jackson, the marching column ranged from 150 to 300 persons. It occasionally dropped to as few as 34 persons as marchers fanned out to encourage voter registration, and it climbed to as many as 3,500 as it passed through towns and cities.

Some 2,000 persons left the Tougaloo College campus today for the last lag of the march and picked up recruits along the way. Within an hour, the colunm had grown to more than 3,000 and it continued to swell.

Mrs. Molly Gray, a 61-year-old Negro domestic, placed chairs under her mimosa tree and served water to more than 20 Negroes who were waiting on her lawn to join the march.

As she sat under her tree, a truckload of Student Committee workers passed shouting "Black power."

Mrs. Gray chuckled and yelled "Black power."

Mrs. Lilliemae Poats shielded her four children from the sun with a purple parasol as they waited to "march for our freedom."

Near the end of the march, Mr. Green of the Leadership Conference charged that a city policeman had threatened to shoot him. He said that he had received permission from police officials to drive a truck alongside the line of march to pick up tired marchers.

He said the policeman had stopped him, jumped on the hood of the truck, aimed his pistol at Mr. Green's head and said, "Get that God damned truck out of here, nigger, or I'll blow your God damned hea off."

A crowd of whites standing nearby yelled, "Shoot him shoot him," Mr. Green said.

He drove the truck away.

Most whites simply stared silently as the march passed, and a handful grinned and waved at the marchers. Some had Confederate flags, and one had a sign saying, "Go Home."

Associated Press Wirephoto

Civil rights marchers, waving banners and signs, as they neared Jackson, Miss., the goal of their protest journey

MOVEMENT

THE

Snag on Literacy Drive Worries Ex-CORE Chief

By M S. HANDLER

James Farmer said yesterday that he wondered whether he made the right decision earlier this year when he resigned as the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. Farmer left CORE in the expectation that the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity would finance his project for a national anti-illiteracy drive under the sponsorship of the Center of Community Action Education.

None of the $860,000 to finance the first year of the anti-illiteracy campaign has arrived, however, although the applications were submitted last Aug. 16.

Mr. Farmer said he had no word from Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty agency, and that members of Mr. Shriver's staff had told him only that there was a controversy about the project in Congress.

While waiting for a decision, Mr. Farmer is earning a livelihood with lectures and consultantships. He said he would wait only a few weeks after the enactment of the antipoverty bills and then decide what to do.

Farmer, 'Twiddling Thumbs,' Awaits U.S. Decision on 10-Month-Old Fund Plea

NYT 6/27/64

"I am currently twiddling my thumbs waiting for the Office of Economic Opportunity to stop twiddling its thumbs," Mr. Farmer said in an interview on the Columbia Broadcasting Company radio program "Let's Find Out."

Asked if he regretted having left CORE, Mr. Farmer replied:

"Well, one wonders sometimes as to whether that was the right decision, inasmuch as the [anti-illiteracy] project has not yet gotten off the ground."

He stressed the urgency of the illiteracy program.

"There are in our country now some 11 or 11½ million people who are functionally illiterate; that is, whose reading and writing skills are below the sixth grade. You can't talk about training a man for a skilled job if the fellow can't read."

On civil rights, Mr. Farmer said that while he opposed violence, "Negroes are no more nonviolent than white people are, in the civil rights movement or outside the civil rights movement."

'Black Power'

Questioned about the slogan "black power" that is being heard in Mississippi and elsewhere in the civil rights struggle, Mr. Farmer, who is still a board member of CORE, replied:

"When you shout the phrase 'black power' before a mass meeting, it sounds terrifying. I think we should not be overly impressed with the rhetoric that is used. We should analyze it."

The road to power, he said is through the ballot box. He said Negroes should vote for any candidates, black or white, who agreed with "our position."

MOVEMENT

Negroes Wind Up March With Rally in Jackson

AC 6/27/66

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Thousands of flag waving Negroes ended the marathon Mississippi civil rights march Sunday with a surprisingly subdued rally behind the heavily guarded state capitol.

The imposing limestone structure was ringed by police and national guardsmen as the march leaders spoke, braced to throw back any attempt to reach the capitol itself. The rally was orderly.

Officers estimated 16,000 Negroes, with a few hundred whites among them, flowed through the streets to pack a portion of the capitol grounds and adjacent areas.

They were led by James H. Meredith, who is a hero figure to Mississippi Negroes, and by a cluster of national civil rights leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King.

All of them spoke, but only Meredith drew a great response from the crowd, which couldn't hear half of what was going on at the flatbed truck which served as the speaker's platform.

"The fear that grips the Negro in America to his very bones" must be erased if civil rights are to be won, cried Meredith.

People on the perimeter mil-

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

Associated Press Wirephoto

JAMES MEREDITH (LOWER LEFT) ADDRESSES CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY AT JACKSON, MISS.
Talks to Crowd, Estimated at More Than 16,000, From Grounds of Mississippi State Capitol

Negro March Ends At Jackson Rally

Continued from Page 1

led about restlessly as the leaders stepped, one by one, to the forest of microphones. Some drifted away before the speeches ended.

In his brief talk, Meredith said the whites of Mississippi are basically decent but "there is a thing in Mississippi that is preventing white people from being decent.

"That thing is white supremacy. The purpose of the march that I started three weeks ago today was to point up and challenge the thing at the base of the system—fear. A fear that grips the Negro in America to his very bones."

Meredith pointed out that he was shot on the second day of his march "but as you can see here, that didn't end a thing."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was ousted from the final program by the other civil rights groups at the last minute on the ground that it did not lend sufficient support to the march.

Chanting "Black Power," a crowd of militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers moved truculently into the lead as the column, 20 abreast, made the last mile.

No serious incidents were reported along the eight-mile route from Tougaloo College to the Capitol. Temperatures were in the low 90s. City police swarmed along the route.

50 KLANSMEN

The majority of whites watching near the Capitol were impassive. They included 50 sullen Ku Klux Klansmen wearing green pants and shirts, with white ties and white belts.

"We just came down here to make sure these niggers don't cause any trouble," said a leader, who identified the group as Black Knights of the Green Forest. "If they don't, we won't."

There was a brief flurry as the column passed by a downtown building. A white man appeared at a third floor window and a cry of "sniper" went up. However, Negro parade marshals pushed the line back into shape.

CARRY FLAGS

Little American flags fluttered in the hands of the marchers.

Many whites among groups clustered at intersections waved Confederate flags—which have become a segregationist symbol in some areas of the South.

Meredith was wounded by blasts of birdshot fired by a white man who ambushed him near Hernando, Miss., June 6. After recuperating in New York, he rejoined the column Saturday.

"It is as much an honor for every Negro here as it is for me," said Meredith, who rode most of the way in a car at the head of the procession due to a muscle spasm in his wounded leg. "It looks like they all came out."

"I hope there will be no necessity for another march," he added.

Meredith, a controversial figure in Mississippi, started the march on the theory that if he could expose himself without meeting violence, Negroes living in the state would feel it was safe to register as voters.

TOOK A VOTE

The NAACP was barred from the capitol program, the climax of the marathon march, at a vote taken by sponsoring organizations at a meeting at Tougaloo Saturday night.

Voting against the NAACP, a spokesman said, were the SNCC, Congress of Racial Equality, the Delta Ministry and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Aligned with the NAACP, but outvoted, were the SCLC and the Medical Committee for Human Rights. The Urban League was present but not allowed a vote because it was not a major sponsor.

Though the civil rights leaders all swung in behind Meredith on the final lap, the appearance of unity was deceptive. SNCC leaders have been angrily criticizing the moderate policies of CORE and SCLC.

MOVEMENT

Rights March Disunity

Campaign in Mississippi Emphasized A New 'Black Consciousness' Force

6/28/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 27—The civil rights march through Mississippi has made it clear that a new philosophy of "black consciousness" is sweeping the civil rights movement. When the march began, the philosophy was only an idea in the mind of Stokely Carmichael and other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. But when the three - week - old march ended yesterday, the new philosophy had given rise to a distinct movement within a movement. It had Mr. Carmichael as its leader and the late Malcolm X as its prophet. It also had a battle cry, "Black Power," and a slogan directed at whites, "Move on Over, or We'll Move on Over YOU."

News Analysis

Just how many adherents the black consciousness movement has is a matter of heated debate, but there appear to be hundreds in Mississippi, with hundreds more fascinated by it.

Its principal appeal is for Negroes between the ages of 15 and 30, but it also provides an emotional release for older Negroes.

As the rights march drew to an end yesterday a truckload of "black power" advocates passed a 61-year-old Negro domestic sipping ice water under a Mimosa tree.

"Say black power," those in the truck yelled to the woman under the tree.

"Black power," she yelled back and then giggled and shook her glass of ice cubes at the audacity of it all.

For all of its appeal to younger Negroes, however, the movement is potentially the most disruptive force yet in the rights movement. The Rev. Dr. [illegible] tograph Mr. Carmichael as he demonstrates and talks alongside the older civil rights leader. This is an advantage that Malcolm X never had as he exalted the Negro and attacked the "duplicity" and "hypocracy" of the white man.

Should Dr. King decide to step up his attacks on the new philosophy, his task would be difficult because the philosophy almost defies definition. It has been called black nationalism, but that term has been used in the past to describe paramilitary movements, back to Africa movements and "separate Negro state" movements. And none of these is what most Negroes are calling for when they chant "Black power."

The new philosophy has also been called racist and separatist, but the Student Committee, unlike the Black Muslims, are prepared to work with whites, providing the working relationship is built upon terms laid down by Negroes.

Although the movement is amorphous and could grow more strident at any moment, the term "black consciousness" appears to suit it best for the present.

It is an angry movement, designed to shake the Negro into political action by telling him repeatedly that he is as good as the white man, that white society has failed him, that it is demeaning to ask the white man for anything, including school desegregation, and that whatever the Negro wants he should take by drowning "white paternalism" in a sea of black votes.

All this is enough to make the new philosophy an "umbrella "philosophy, broad enough to give shelter to paramilitary organizations such as the

Campaign in Mississippi Emphasized A New 'Black Consciousness' Force

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For all of its appeal to younger Negroes, however, the movement is potentially the most disruptive force yet in the rights movement. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his aides in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are alarmed that the "black power" chant might alienate white supporters from the rights drive and make it more difficult to get new legislation through Congress nd financial and moral help from Northern white liberals.

All this has strained an already tenuous working relationship among civil rights organizations, but Dr. King has stopped short of disassociating himself from the Student Committee, a development that would strip him of much of the youthful support he needs to mount successful demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Dr. King is in the position of helping to popularize the black consciousness movement and the "black power" chant.

Reporters and cameramen drawn to a demonstration by the magic of Dr. King's name stayed to write about and photograph Mr. Carmichael as he demonstrates and talks alongside the older civil rights leader. This is an advantage that Malcolm X never had as he exalted the Negro and attacked the "duplicity" and "hypocracy" of the white man.

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All this is enough to make the new philosophy an "umbrella "philosophy, broad enough to give shelter to paramilitary organizations, such as the Deacons for Defense and Justice and to Negroes, who dislike white people because they are white.

It is also emotional enough to lead Mr. Carmichael, in the heat of a speech, to talk of "tearing down" courthouses, and Willie Ricks, a Student Committee field secretary, to declare that "white blood will flow" if black blood does.

After the speeches are over and the emotionalism is gone, Mr. Ricks and Mr. Carmichael spend hours explaining that they are not antiwhite but are simply trying to make the Negro feel pride in his race.

If white liberals do not understand this, Mr. Carmichael says, then this simply proves that they are not willing to grant the Negro full equality.

But there are Negroes, as well as whites, who fail to follow the Student Committee's dialectic, and thus, the civil rights movement appears to be entering its stormiest period.

Snub of N.A.A.C.P. In Jackson Called 'Petty' by Wilkins

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said yesterday that the exclusion of its representatives from the rally that ended the Mississippi civil rights march in Jackson Sunday was "a petty act."

Mr. Wilkins quoted Charles Evers, the Mississippi N.A.A.C.P. field director, as having said after he had been barred from the platform at the Jackson rally:

"It's all right. I'll be here when they're all gone."

Mr. Wilkins, in the statement released to the press here, said the N.A.A.C.P. would be "steadily at work on civil rights in Mississippi long after the marchers have departed."

March leaders voted to exclude N.A.A.C.P. leaders from the Capitol rally because they said Mr. Evers had repudiated the march "manifesto" by refusing to sign it and saying the marchers would "leave with the cameramen" after the demonstration had ended.

He joined the march after the first week, however.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, announced yesterday that the league would establish a branch in Jackson, Miss., to provide services for the city's Negro population.

The Jackson office, he said, will set up job training centers, a counseling service and "a forum for meaningful dialogue between the races."

Mr. Young released the text of a telegram from Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz that said: "Extending our joint efforts into Mississippi is certainly an exciting prospect and I welcome the opportunity to sit down and talk with you about it."

Mr. Young was on the platform in Jackson Sunday night at the civil rights demonstration around the Mississippi State Capitol.

He denied a report in yesterday's edition of The New York Times that he was not allowed on the platform until he had signed a manifesto demanding that President Johnson send Federal voting examiners into 600 Southern counties, make sweeping changes in his pending civil rights bill and start a massive aid program for Negroes.

A spokesman for the league said the league agreed in principal to the manifesto two weeks ago, but had had several reservations about it, including one that it seemed to call for black nationalism.

MOVEMENT

Dr. King's SCLC to Go It Alone in Mississippi Drive

AC 6/29/66

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) decided Tuesday to "go it alone" in a Mississippi summer campaign because of disagreements with other civil rights organizations.

A major cause of dissension was over payment of the costs of the recent Memphis-to-Jackson "Mississippi freedom march" for James Meredith.

The decision apparently brought to an end long-standing but unsuccessful efforts by civil rights groups to work together. The march itself was plagued with discontent and arguments among leaders almost from the start and Meredith was at times acidly critical of the entire leadership.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the SCLC, told United Press International that King's organization first agreed to pay most of the expenses and "ended up having to pay practically all of them."

Young estimated the march cost SCLC between $25,000 and $30,000.

He said the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) agreed to "pay a share" of the expenses but "apparently were unable to do so because of a shortage of funds."

It was reported that a rip-roaring argument developed between the civil rights leaders in a long secret meeting after the march wound up in Jackson Sunday. Young declined to discuss details of any such dispute in keeping with standard SCLC policy of soft-pedaling fighting within the ranks.

Young said Hosea Williams, who has become one of King's top "action lieutenants," was designated by SCLC to command the organization's summer program in Mississippi.

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Dr. King's SCLC To Go It Alone

Continued from Page 1

Williams is now in Jackson with a staff of about 10 but this group will soon fan out from the state capital, Young said.

Williams was reported "burned up" with other civil rights leaders over disputes that plagued the march most of the way to Jackson.

Young said as a result of disagreements that seemingly could not be repaired "we have decided to conduct our own campaign in Mississippi and let the others run theirs."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a pioneer in Mississippi civil rights work, was virtually boycotted and was not represented at the closing ceremony in Jackson.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, said Tuesday his organization does not need marches to promote its work.

The National Urban League took only a small part in the Meredith march, which got going strong after Meredith was wounded early in his one-man march to Jackson. King and other leaders worked out the continuation of the march from Meredith's hospital room but, as it turned out, the agreement was a thin one.

Young told a reported that "we ran into all kinds of problems" over direction and leadership of the march.

"We felt we were doing all the work and paying all the bills but somebody else was getting all the credit while handing up all the blame for things that went wrong" Young said.

MOVEMEN

DR. KING'S GROUP PLANS SOLO DRIVE

6/30/66

To Campaign in Mississippi Alone After Disputes

ATLANTA, June 28 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference decided Tuesday to "go it alone" in a Mississippi summer campaign because of disagreements with other civil rights organizations.

A major cause of dissension was over payment of the costs of the recent Memphis-to-Jackson "freedom march" for James H. Meredith.

The decision apparently brought to an end long-standing but unsuccessful efforts by civil rights groups to work together. The march itself was plagued with discontent and arguments among leaders almost from the start and Mr. Meredith was at times critical of the entire leadership.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the King group, said the organization first agreed to pay most of the expenses and "ended up having to pay practically all of them." He estimated the march cost $25,000 to $30,000.

He said the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality had agreed to "pay a share" of the expenses but "apparently were unable to do so becausse of a shortage of funds."

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Mr. Young said Hosea Williams, who has become one of Dr. King's top "action lieutenants," was designated to command the organization's summer program in Mississippi. Mr. Williams is in Jackson with a staff of about 10, but this group will soon fan out from the state capital, Mr. Young said.

Mr. Williams was reported annoyed with other civil rights leaders over disputes that plagued the march most of the way to Jackson.

Mr. Young said that, as a result of disagreements that seemingly could not be repaired, "we have decided to conduct our own campaign in Mississippi and let the others run theirs."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a pioneer in the Mississippi civil rights work, was virtually boycotted on the march and was not represented at the closing ceremonies in Jackson.

The National Urban League took only a small part in the march, which developed after Mr. Meredith was wounded early in his one-man journey to Jackson. Dr. King and other leaders worked out the continuation of the march from Mr. Meredith's hospital room.

N. A. A. C. P. Plans Drive

Expansion of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's voter registration campaign in Mississippi was announced here Tuesday by Roy Wilkins, executive director.

Mr. Wilkins expressed confidence that the summer drive would surpass the recent campaign during which 36,800 Negroes were added to voter rolls.

"Our people in that state have demonstrated their ability to carry through with a steady, hard, unspectacular voter registration drive," Mr. Wilkins said.

"They have done this year in and year out without fanfare and without marches or shoving matches with officials and police. Our people supply the work while others contribute philosophy."

The Rev. Allen L. Johnson was appointed to assist Charles Evers, Mississippi field director of the N.A.A.C.P., in the summer registration drive.

Four additional workers will be assigned to each of the state's five Congressional districts. Local volunteers will assist in door-to-door canvassing of unregistered Negroes.

Lewis Quits S.N.C.C.; Shuns 'Black Power'

TITLE MYT

MOVEMENT

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA, June 30—Underscoring a struggle over what direction the civil rights movement takes, an officer and former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said today he was quitting the organization.

"It is a bad assumption for any group to say it can make it alone, said John Lewis, 26 years old, who has submitted his resignation effective July 22 after six years with organization, incuding three years as chairman.

"There is a danger in S.N.C.C. of fumbling the ball," Mr. Lewis said in an interview He said he disagreed with the organization's new slogan of "black

Continued on Page 19, Column 2

John Lewis, Rights Aide, Quits; Shuns Concept of 'Black Power'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

power," but did not specify that as his reason for resigning.

Mr. Lewis turned in his resignation June 11, one week after the Mississippi civil rights march began. It was in the latter phases of the three-week march that leaders of the group took up the chant of black power.

Disclosure of Mr. Lewis's decision came admidst controversy within the civil rights movement over ideology and tactics: integration and nonviolence versus black power, defined by exponents as Negro control of Negro areas and third-party political efforts.

Stokely Carmichael, 24, elected chairman of the group when Mr. Lewis was unseated May 14, defended black power during and after the march. He said it was neither black supremacist nor antiwhite.

"There is no reason for anyone in this country to get scared of black power," he said after the march ended at Jackson, Miss. "Everybody else has theirs."

Mr. Lewis, who was named chairman of the committee on international affairs in the May elections, said he was concerned over keeping the civil rights movement nonviolent. During the march, there was much talk of retaliatory violence.

"I'm not prepared to give up my personal commitment to nonviolence," said Mr. Lewis. When asked his reasons for leaving he replied:

"I spent almost six years working full time in S.N.C.C., three years as chairman of S.N.C.C. I feel there are other things I could do or would like to do. I will continue to be active in the civil rights movement. I hope to study and do some writing."

He would not elaborate. A student source said, however, that Mr. Lewis had become disillusioned with the organization after the May 14 elections in which he was re-elected and then four hours later was ousted in an all-night session at Nashville.

This source said the fact that Mr. Lewis was on the executive board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was used in arguing against Mr. Lewis.

Concerned Over Terminology

Concerned over the new terminology and hoping to unify civil rights forces, Dr. King in an interview called for "a third force—a coalition of the forces f gdwill." He said the term black power was an unfortunate one.

"It gives the impression that we are calling for exclusive power and a kind of black nationalism that does not involve a coalition with whites," he said.

"We must all work unrelentingly for power for the Negro. Part of the dilemma of the Negro is his basic powerlessness. Power is the right to use of strength."

The ideological dispute burst forth into the open in the Mississippi march to Dr. King's surprise. He said the debate over black power and retaliatory violence blunted the march's effectiveness.

John Lewis

But he stopped short of outright repudiation of the student group.

"I still see my role as that of a reconciler," Dr. King said. "I am trying to understand the forces and the psychological atmosphere. I can't spend my time fighting force within the movement."

Dr. King said exponents of black power must "more clearly define the term." He also said also that the Mississippi march gave Mr. Carmichael a platform that he never would have had otherwise.

Kennedy Notes a Peril

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP)—Senator Robert F. Kennedy says that black power, with its implication that white leadership is not needed, "could be damaging not only to the civil rights movement but to the country."

Mr. Kennedy, who as Attorney General was in charge of civil rights enforcement, deplored the split in Negro leadership he saw manifest in the march begun by James H. Meredith in Mississippi.

He said in an interview that the black power slogan, which has been variously interpreted, could be damaging if it indicated that Negro leaders were spurning white help in their fight for equality.

The New York Democrat credited the march as showing a determination on the part of Negroes to keep up their efforts "until they establish equality."

"But it also indicates a split within the Negro leadership and I think it also demonstrates that there is a militant group of Negroes who are not anxious to work with the white community to try to find answers to these problems," Mr. Kennedy said.

"My judgment for the future of the country is that whites and Negroes must work together. There seems to be a group amongst the Negro leaders who do not think that is necessary and that could be damaging not only to the civil rights movement but to the country."

Public Education Held Still Far From Equal

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 7/2/66

By TOM SEPPY

WASHINGTON (AP) — Public education is largely unequal in most sections of the country despite the 1954 school desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, the U.S. education commissioner reported Friday.

Commissioner Harold Howe II, in a report to President Johnson and Congress, said the inequality is especially marked where Negroes form any significant proportion of the population.

"The great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated," the report said. "Among minority groups, Negroes are by far the most segregated."

The report said almost 80 per cent of all white pupils attend schools that are from 90 to 100 per cent white. And at least 97 per cent attend schools that are 50 per cent or more white.

"For Negro pupils, segregation is more nearly complete in the South (as it is for whites also), but it is extensive also in all the other regions where the Negro population is concentrated: the urban North, Midwest, and West," the report said.

"More than 65 per cent of all Negro pupils in the first grade attend schools that are between 90 and 100 per cent Negro. And 87 per cent at grade one, and 66 per cent at grade 12, attend schools that are 50 per cent of more Negro. In the South, most students attend schools that are 100 per cent white or Negro."

The report, entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity," is based on a survey done by the U.S. Office of Education of 4,000 schools, 605,000 children and 60,000 teachers.

The survey was made under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which required the education commissioner to conduct a survey and make a report concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities in public educational institutions.

The commissioner released a summary of the report Friday, in advance of a two-year filing deadline Saturday. A complete 400-page report will be issued next month.

The report does not include any recommendations of what policies or programs should be mounted by federal, state or local government agencies to improve educational opportunity in the light of the findings.

Howe told a news briefing on the report, however, "In the months ahead, the U.S. Office of Education will use its own staff and seek the help of advisers to determine how it can use the results of the survey to enhance the educational opportunities for all citizens."

Jury Weighs Civil Rights Case Against 3 Klansmen in Georgia

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

ATHENS, Ga., July 1 — The Federal Government's conspiracy case against three Ku Klux Klansmen went to an all-white jury in the United States District Court here this afternoon.

Two of the defendant, were acquitted in 1964 of the murder of a Negro educator.

In the conspiracy trial lawyers sought to convince the jury that the defendants engaged in a months-long conspiracy in 1964 to "injure, intimidate or oppress" Negroes in the exercise of their rights.

There is no Federal statute prohibiting murder except on Federal property. Murder is a state crime.

However, the Government contended that the alleged conspiracy by the Klansmen reached a climax on July 1, 1964, when Lemuel A. Penn, a Negro educator from Washington, D.C., was slain.

Mr. Penn, who was passing through Georgia in an automobile, was killed by night-riders who overtook his car on a lonely road 20 miles from here and fired two shotgun blasts into it from their speeding station wagon.

Was Returning From Camp

Mr. Penn, 49 years old, was an assistant superintendent of education in the District of Columbia public school system and a lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserve. He was returning home from a tour of active duty at Fort Benning, Ga.

The fact that Cecil William Myers and Joseph Howard Sims, two of the three defendants in the conspiracy trial, were acquited of murdering Mr. Penn was the unspoken—or nearly unspoken—reason for the Federal prosecution under a little-used Reconstruction era civil rights statute.

Mr. Myers, Mr. Sims and George Hampton Turner, the third defendant, were indicted by a Federal grand jury under Section 241 of Title 18 of the United States Code. The statute, passed in 1870, makes it a felony, punishable by up to 10 years in prison, to conspire to intimidate any person in the exercise of his civil rights.

The United States Supreme Court last March interpreted the law of 1870 to include interference with free interstate travel.

Defense Argument

William J. Hudson, the Klansmen's lawyer, told the jury in a final argument this morning that "these boys are not being tried for murder."

"They did not kill Mr. Penn," he declared.

As for an incident on July 4, 1964, in which Mr. Sims was said to have told two other out-of-state Negro motorists to get "back to New Jersey where you came from," Mr. Hudson said:

"You could look at that in one way as inviting these people to travel in interstate commerce."

United States Attorney Floyd M. Buford declared this afternoon that "we've got two men on trial here that participated in that killing." Holding an outstretched finger only a few inches from Mr. Myers and Mr. Sims, Mr. Buford shouted that they were "cowards who hid behind masks."

Judge William A. Bootle instructed the ten men and two women jurors, all but one of them from rural Georgia communities, that the Government was not required to show, in order to prove its case, that any of the defendants killed or intended to kill Mr. Penn.

It was only necessary for the Government to have shown that the defendants intended to intimidate "a class of persons," the judge declared, for the jury to find them guilty. He added that free interstate travel "is a basic right under the Constitution."

CORE CHIEFS CALL FOR SELF-DEFENSE

MOVEMENT

Parley to Get Resolution on Dropping Passive Role

NYT 7/2/66

BALTIMORE, July 1 (UPI) — The Congress of Racial Equality prepared today to abandon nonviolence in its drive for Negro rights.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a leading advocate of the nonviolent approach, abruptly canceled a scheduled address at CORE's national convention here.

Floyd B. McKissick, CORE national director, told reporters that a move would be made during the four-day convention to adopt a resolution to end passive resistance and nonviolence in the civil rights struggle.

Mr. McKissick said that the resolution, if adopted by the more than 200 delegates representing CORE chapters throughout the nation, would state that Negroes had a right to self-defense and a right to retaliate if subjected to violence.

The possibility of a major change in tactics in his organization's drive for "total equality," Mr. McKissick said, is a result of the failure of state and Federal law enforcement officials to maintain law and order.

An unsuccessful attempt to adopt a similar resolution was made at CORE's convention last year in Durham, N.C.

'Not Unmanly' to Fight

Lincoln O. Lynch, associate national director of Core, declared that "it is unmanly not to retaliate, not to defend your self, your home, your wife and family."

He charged that "nonviolence is another move to dehumanize the Negro man—to take away his last remaining right."

Jackie Hayes, the organization's public relations spokesman, said Dr. King had been scheduled to join Mr. McKissick on the platform for a convention address on Sunday. Mr. Hayes said that in checking with Dr. King's office to confirm the speaking engagement he had been told that when Dr. King committed himself to address the convention, he had forgotten that he was to address his own church congregation in Atlanta on that date.

The convention is being held in the Knox Presbyterian Church in a predominantly Negro slum section of this city.

Lynch Defines Goal

BALTIMORE, July 1 (AP) — Mr. Lynch, declared today:

"CORE will not initiate — and I emphasize that — any form of violence, but when one is attacked, he should defend himself and the convention will have to speak out on it."

Carmichael Scores Rights Bill; Newsmen Walk Out at Interview

MOVEMENT 7/2/66

WASHINGTON, July 1 (AP) — Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the Student nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said today the Administration's civil rights bill was "a sham" and saw newsmen walk out on him when he refused to comment on leadership changes within the rights movement.

"The bill is totally useless and unnecessary," he told a news conference called by the student committee's Washington unit. "President Johnson is trying to take himself off the spot again."

Ntwsmen, who had turned out in large numbers for the conference, then tried to question Mr. Carmichael about "Black Power," the group's new slogan, and about the resignation from the committee yesterday of John R. Lewis, who was ousted as chairman last May 14.

Mr. Carmichael and Mrs. Claire Hancock, a member of the Washington unit, declared the questions out of bounds.

"The press will not decide what our press conferences are to be," Mr. Carmichael said.

Mrs. Hancock said the announcement for the session said it would be about civil rights legislation.

When further questions also were turned aside, most of the newsmen attending the conference at the Mount Bethel Baptist Church in a Negro section of the city walked out.

In calling the civil rights bill a sham, Mr. Carmichael said the Attorney General already had the power to file lawsuits to get Negroes represented on Southern juries and that President Johnson could ban 80 per cent of housing segregation by signing an Executive order.

KLAN ASKS NEW YORK TO POLICE ITS MARCH

WASHINGTON, July 1 (UPI) —A leader of the Maryland Ku Klux Klan asked Governor Rockefeller of New York yesterday to guarantee protection to Klansmen for a planned march through Harlem on Aug. 1.

Zavier Edwards of Savage, Md., Grand Dragon of the Interstate Klan Knights of the KKK, asked in a telegram to Mr. Rockefeller that the Governor "repeal a certain unconstitutional law and give proper protection at the same time for us." Edwards said:

"We know about your anti-Klan law but feel that since you welcome the un-American Communist party and such hate groups as the black nationalists you can surely do something toward our 100 per cent American cause."

An aide to Mr. Rockefeller said yesterday that Mr. Edwards's telegram had been sent to the New York City Police Department on the ground that the Governor's office had no jurisdiction.

Police headquarters said that the telegram had not been received, and that the Ku Klux Klan had not applied for a permit to march.

No march can be held without a permit, it was explained.

Burglar Does Thorough Job

ST. JOSEPH, Mo. (AP)—St. Joseph has a burglar who is thorough in his work. When he broke into the George Hoyt filling station, he not only took a number of motor car supplies, pumped 17 gallons of gasoline into his car, took an electric clock, a radio, an electric razor and some cigars—he scooped up all the empty soda pop bottles and took them with him.

Litter Figures Given

The Good Outdoor Manners Association is quoted by United Press International as reporting that if a piece of paper weighing only one ounce drops daily from every car on the road, it would make 910,000 tons of trash in one year.

CORE Leaning to Retaliation

MOVEMENT

AE 7/2/64

BALTIMORE, Md. (UPI) — The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) prepared Friday to abandon non - violence in its drive for Negro rights. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leading advocate of the non-violent approach, abruptly cancelled a scheduled address at CORE's national convention here.

CORE national director Floyd B. McKissick advised newsmen Friday that a move would be made during the four-day convention to gain passage of a resolution to deal a death blow to the technique of passive resistance and non-violence in the civil rights struggle.

McKissick said the resolution, if it is approved by the more than 200 delegates representing CORE chapters throughout the country, would state that Negroes have a right to self-defense and a right to retaliate if subjected to violence.

Lincoln O. Lynch, associate national director of CORE, declared "it is unmanly not to retaliate, not to defend yourself, your home, your wife and family."

Jackie Hayes, CORE public relations spokesman, said Dr. King had been scheduled to join McKissick on the platform for a convention address on Sunday. Tayes said that in checking with King's office to confirm the speaking engagement he had been told that when Dr. King committed himself to address the convention, he had forgotten that he was to address his own church congregation in Atlanta on that date.

Black Nationalists Gain More Attention in Harlem

MOVEMENT NYT 7/3/66

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

The men came in long, plowing robes and sandals and some carried lion's tails that they whisked in the hot, Sunday afternoon air. The women wore multicolored, sarong types of sheaths and some carried small children on their backs.

"Alafia?" they greeted one another, asking in Yoruba if each had peace and health.

"Alafia ni adupe," came the frequent reply to say, in the West African language, that they were fine.

It looked much like an African village, but it was the plateau atop the large hill in Harlem's Mount Morris Park. The Negroes there, who prefer to be called African-Americans, had come weekly during the spring to take part in the "Harlem People's Parliament," and affiliation of the Yoruba Temple, to promote "Ujamaa" or "African socialism."

"Ujamaa is the only solution for the black man," the parliament "prime minister," Baba Adefumi, told his followers, "Ujamaa," he explained, "means common ownership of Harlem resources for the good of Harlem residents." The parliament now meets in more secret sessions at the temple at 28 West 116 Street, so that they can work out a detailed program with only their membership present.

The Yoruba Temple is one of the most active of more than two score black nationalist groups that function openly in Harlem.

Loosely applied to a variety of pro-African and Afro-Americans, as well as antiwhite schools of thought, the term black nationalist is one of the most frequently confused concepts coming out of the Negro ghettos.

The black nationalist label has been misapplied by some in recent weeks to Negro militants on the Mississippi march who called for "black power." What is now being stressed as black power has long been one of the underlying themes of the militant civil rightists' preachings. It seeks a basically integrated community where Negroes have a voice commensurate with their numbers and where Negroes, not white people, lead toward that goal.

So caught up with the do-it-yourself attitude of their violently pro-Negro concept, the adherents of black power are often accused of antiwhite pronouncements and some observers say they seem even to loose sight of their goal of integration.

But the man who first used the phrase, Stokely Carmichael, insists that black power supporters are neither antiwhite nor black supremists. "Every other group has power in this country," Mr. Carmichael said recently. "Why shouldn't the Negro?"

The black nationalist, however, has long given up on the white man; he is convinced that integration will not work and seeks a complete racial separation. Some black nationalists preach black supremacy.

Young black nationalists

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

Black Nationalists of Many Different Views Gain More Attention in Harlem

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

have, in recent weeks, provided some of the leadership that resulted in the controveries, violence and arrest of five persons at Harlem's Public School 175 last week. Nationalist elements supported school boycotts there and advocated more Negro teachers in Harlem, control of school policies by parents in the area, and a tress on African history studies.

"We have black counterparts to Charlemagne and Queen Mary," one black nationalist leader said recently.

The over-all black nationalist community is thought to be a very small part of the total Negro population, but close observers feel it is having a small but steady growth. Said a civil rights organizer: "Everytime we fail to deliver something positive to that man in the street you can look for another convert to black nationalism."

Most black nationalist groups are reluctant to discuss their numbers, some tend to give highly inflated figures, and still others concede they represent "paper organizations" and carry their groups "in my pocket." Estimates of the number of black nationalists in New York City, with varying degrees of acitivity and commitment, have been given by several sources as ranging from 1,000 to 10,000.

Although black nationalists as a group have been lumped with those Negroes who would mount a war against white people, there seem to be very few black nationalists who could be called violence-prone extremists. No black nationalists support the nonviolent approach normally associated with the civil rights movement, however, and they have historically advocated Negro self-defense.

Generally speaking, the black nationalist represents an angry, amorphous and fragmented community that, by choice, is out of both the American and the American Negro mainstreams.

Pride in Being Black

Themes common to the majority of black nationalists are far fewer than those that keep the several groups apart and they include: a fierce pride in being black; support for Negro enterprise; the belief that racial integration will not work; the idea that Negroes should own their own communities and the feeling that Negroes who are not yet committed to black nationalism will "soon see the light."

While these attributes are also common to the Black Muslim followers of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim is primarily a religious man, while black nationalists are not necessarily religious.

The confusion about the black nationalists is not totally the fault of those on the outside looking in, for the groups accepting this general classification express many differences in their own goals and philosophies. This fragmentation is quite clear in New York City, where some black nationalists advocate going back to Africa, others want a separate nation within the United States, and still others want Harlem as a city unto itself.

Some wear only African garb and study African languages. Some say they hate whites, while others tolerate whites in business or impersonal dealings, and still others are married to whites or have white girl friends. Many black nationalists are former Black Muslims who either came to disagree with the stern discipline or teachings, or backslid from the group.

"The nationalist is nothing but a con man," said one Harlem resident who listened recently to speakers at the traditional black nationalist gathering point, 7th Avenue and 125th Street. "He's just after the dollar like the preacher and everybody else."

The participation of black nationalists, as a group, in the Harlem riots of July, 1964, is also a source of conflict. Some were observed urging youths to join in the battles against the police, while others talked against rioting.

United Press International

Stokely Carmichael, who is leader of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Council.

James Farmer, then the executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality, was unsuccessful in persuading black nationalists to use their influence in stopping the riots during a clandestine meeting two years ago. On the other hand, some other known black nationalists joined Mr. Farmer in the streets in urging youths to quit the fighting and go home. Black nationalists were among the leaders who formed the United Council of Harlem Organizations that sought to end the rioting.

In addition, there is a preponderence of black nationalists, or Afrophiles, among those who seek to import into Harlem a culture based mainly on the music, art and styles of the African continent.

Identification With Africa

At the same time there are many Negroes who identify themselves strongly with Africa and support the growing black consciousness here, but who object to being labeled black nationalist. "What's the difference," asked a pro-African and non-nationalist businessman in Harlem, "between a Negro identifying with Africa and whites joining St. Patrick's Day, Columbus Day and Pulaski Day parades?"

The African identity trend is especially notable among young Negroes in large, urban centers, with the popularity of "Afro" or natural hair styles; the growth of interest in the study of African history, music and dance and the general acceptance (often a preference) for the substitution of the term black or Afro-American for Negro.

A well-to-do Negro suburban housewife, whose strictly race-related activities normally extend no further than supporting an annual dance by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recently shocked white friends by declaring that her national hero had been Malcolm X, because of his interest in Africa. Internationally, she liked Jomo Kenyatta, the former Mau Mau leader who now heads the East African nation of Kenya.

A highly successful Negro musician who is an Afrophile, sees this interest among young people as "very positive, "but he says he hopes" it makes them push harder for their share of America."

Discussing the formal black nationalist community, however, Dr. Kenneth Clark, the psychologist, wrote in his book, "Dark Ghetto": "They recruit most successfully from the lower socio-economic and marginal classes."

Dr. Clark, who is a Negro, wrote that the black nationalist philosophy is "rooted in hatred and despair" and reflects "the American racist simplifications of the importance of skin color."

"The dramatic twist which these groups give to American racism," he went on, "is that they preach the supremacy of blacks and the inherent degradation of whites. This reversal is dramatic, disturbing, and terrifying to whites and to some middle and upper-class Negroes as well."

Today's black nationalist groups are for the most part followers of the teachings of the late Marcus Garvey, who stressed the need for economic, cultural and political independence.

Malcolm X's Effect

Malcolm X, who voiced strictly black nationalist sentiments for only about a year, nonetheless had a significant effect on current black nationalist thinking, especially among the younger advocates. (Malcolm X became a black nationalist spokesman in March, 1964, after breaking with the Black Muslims and was killed in February, 1965.)

Malcolm X also served to a great extent to bring black nationalism to nationwide attention after a virtual blackout of information to outsiders when the Garvey era passed. In recent years some black nationalists have found that they are being increasingly heard in Harlem and beyond on a variety of issues, and they have been extremely vocal.

Sketches of some of the black nationalist groups active in Harlem today follow:

YORUBA TEMPLE

Members of this group wear African dress all the time and study the Yoruba language. They are followers of the Orishi Vudu religion, which they say is the same as that practiced in West Africa and Haiti, and called Voodoo. The group, said to number 120 persons, seeks reparations in money and land from the United States for the former slavery of Negroes here. They support the Viet Cong and advocate bringing Negro soldiers home.

THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST PIONEER MOVEMENT

Founded by the late Carlos Cooks 25 years ago, this organization played a leading role in the "buy black" campaigns where Negroes were told not to buy from stores that did not hire Negro workers. Many nationalist-minded young business people in Harlem concede they were influenced to go into the commercial field by Mr. Cooks. Thousands attended Mr. Cooks' funeral held at a Harlem ballroom recently. The organization, said to number 500 persons, is building a two-story headquarters building at 8th Avenue and 141st Street that will be called the Marcus Garvey Memorial Hall.

THE BLACK ARTS

This was formed about a year ago by poet-playwright, LeRoi Jones, as a theatre-school for Harlem youths that would promote racial pride and give instructions in the theatrical and other creative arts. Its biggest push came when it joined the Haryou summer program, Project Uplift, and gave nightly performances throughout Harlem and later in Central Park. While many praised the group, others complained about antiwhite themes in its productions and about some profanity. The police raided the organization's offices earlier this year and said they found several guns and knives. Three former Black Arts members were arrested several weeks ago on charges of attempted bank robbery. The group is apparently not operating at this time and efforts to locate Mr. Jones were not immediately successful.

THE AFRICAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

This group is led by the husky-voiced street-corner orator, Edward Davis, whose central theme is financial independence for the Negro through business ownership and education. A former laborer, Mr. Davis has numerous contacts with Harlem's grass roots elements and currently works as a community organizer for Haryou. The group is said to number close to 100.

UNITED AFRICAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT HARLEM COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

James R. Lawson, considered by many to be highly knowledgeable of black nationalists affairs, leads both of these organizations, each said to have about 100 members. Mr. Lawson is a supporter of the need for Negroes to become active in business and in politics. He said black nationalist influence among Negroes was so strong that they could take over any civil rights group at will. Rights spokesmen have denied this. Mr. Lawson works for the Haryou antipoverty program, also, as an adviser on business affairs.

AFRICAN JAZZ-ART SOCIETY & STUDIOS

This is an advertising agency-promotion unit on 125th Street that specializes in productions that have pro-African themes. It is run by the brothers, Cecil, 29 years old, and Ronnie Braithwaite, 28. Cecil is a professional layout man and Ronnie a photographer. They produce several popular extravaganzas annually featuring African clothing and styles, and models who wear no make-up and natural hair styles. The organization advocates the return of Negroes to Africa; has picketed wig shops in Harlem and bars whites from their Harlem-based shows and dances, because their presence might cause a disturbance.

AFRICAN NATIONALISTS OF AMERICA

"Professor" Lewis Michaux leads this back-to-Africa group, said to number about 350, that has its headquarters in the National Memorial African Book Store on Seventh Avenue, near 125th Street. This is a center of black nationalist activity and the site of almost weekly anti-establishment speeches. Mr. Michaux, who is 72 and still quite active, maintains that there must be some good white people in the world, but he adds: "I haven't found any yet."

"Professor" Michaux is a brother of Elder Lightfoot Michaux, known as the Happy Ami Preacher, who for 32 years has conducted religious broadcasts from Washington, D. C. and is president of the Gospel Spreading Association.

The ideological separation of the two brothers shows dramatically how black nationalism can divide members of the same family.

"We came out of the same pea," the "professor" said yesterday, "but we're boiling in different pots. My brother advocates going to heaven. I want to see some of this heaven on earth. And there is heaven with milk and honey here. I just came from a Jewish store and they had milk and they had honey."

The Elder, in an interview yesterday in Virginia said: "I believe in respecting the Government. We have achieved much as we have gone along all these years. We believe that God will righten the wrongs."

AWARENESS

Twenty-six-year-old Akeyele Awolowo runs this commercial art shop on West 123d Street. Mr. Awolowo, who gave up a job as an illustrator for a Madison Avenue firm and changed his name from Maurice Irwin, said he preferred working in an all-black community. He works closely with other black nationalist and Muslim artists, and as a self-styled "minister of propaganda" promotes the concept that all elements of the Harlem community should work together despite their philosophical differences.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY

Mrs. Ella Collins of Boston, half-sister of the late Malcolm X, assumed leadership of the Organization of Afro-American Unity after Malcolm X was killed last year. She has proposed a program of economic development for Negroes that includes the buying of farms for all-black communal living. Some of the members of this group followed Malcolm X out of the Black Muslims, and other came later. Mrs. Collins says the group is nonreligious and nonprofit. The group is said to have about 75 members in New York and about 250 in Boston, where Mrs. Collins lives.

MOVEMENT

Why the Cry for 'Black Power'

NYT 7/3/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Ga., July 2—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's "black consciousness" philosophy and its "black power" chant were formally unveiled on the recent civil rights march through Mississippi, but they grew out of six years of cumulative anger on the part of student committee members.

This anger has been given fuel by incident after incident, disappointment after disappointment, in the drive for civil rights. In the minds of the student committee members, the most damning indictment of white society is the fact that there have been more than 30 civil rights killings in the last decade and only three convictions —none for more than 10 years.

All of this lent credence to the rhetoric of Communists, Trotskyites and followers of Malcolm X, the one-time Black Muslim, who have worked with the student committee from time to time since soon after its organization in early 1960.

New Slogan

But in the end the student committee settled on its own "black consciousness" philosophy, one that has Malcolm X as its prophet but its own war cry, "black power," and a new slogan directed at whites: "Move on over, or we'll move on over you."

The black power movement is not "black nationalism" in the sense that the term is normally used. It is not paramilitary or dedicated to all-black states or to the transport of Negroes back to Africa. And, unlike the Black Muslims, it does not exclude whites —providing that they are willing to join on the student committee's terms.

All in all, the philosophy tells Negroes that white society has failed them, that American democracy is a collection of impressive catchwords that command only lip service from the white man, that the Negro is as good if not better than the white man, and that his only salvation lies in seizing political power wherever he possesses the numerical strength to outvote the white man.

Rival Leaders

It is one of the ironies of the civil rights movement that for all of its talk of "black power," the student committee's leaders have been less successful in organizing Negroes than two rival civil rights leaders—Charles Evers, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi, whose organization outvoted whites in two Mississippi counties in recent elections; and Dr. Martin Luther King, whose Southern Christian Leadership Conference-backed candidates came close to upsetting white officeholders in almost a dozen counties in Alabama this spring. But Dr. King and Mr. Evers got results by forming a coalition of the dispossessed Negro and the middle-class Negro, and the student committee opposes this as being contrary to the interest of the impoverished Negro.

Perhaps if the "black power" movement ended with talk of black-dominated politics it would merely strip away some liberal white support from the civil rights movement, amounting to just another of the many schisms the civil rights movement has withstood.

But there is something intoxicating about the chant "black power." It leads Stokely Carmichael, the student committee chairman, to talk of tearing down courthouses. And it leads Willie Ricks, an aide to Mr. Carmichael, to mutter that "white blood will flow."

Many student committee members now say that the Negro can prove his manhood only by fighting back at the white man with whatever arms he may possess, and some quietly tell others in the civil rights movement that a riot is the only language the white man understands.

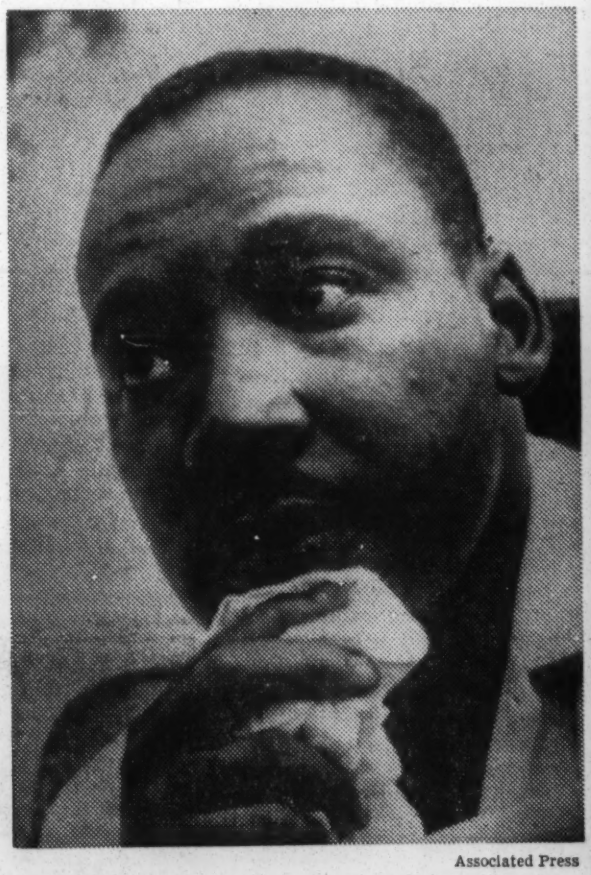
After six years of being the cutting edge of the civil rights movement, of being frightened and jailed more times than they care to remember, many student committee members are now too weary to listen to the argument against their new philosophy—that civil rights murders and nonviolent reaction have led to legislation while riots and retaliation have produced reaction and inaction.

Carmichael Sums Up

Perhaps Mr. Carmichael, who at 24 has been jailed 27 times and has seen friends die in the civil rights cause, summed up the new mood of the student committee best just ten days ago. It was after 2,500 Negroes and white supporters had been routed by tear gas from a public school for Negroes in Canton, Miss., where they had been trying to pitch tents for the civil rights march.

Two student committee members held up Mr. Carmichael, who had been immobilized by tear gas fumes, anger and emotional exhaustion. "I'm so tired, so weary, so tired," Mr. Carmichael said again and again before disappearing with his friends into the darkness.

Chaplan from Nancy Palmer



Associated Press

RIGHTS SPLIT: The new cry of the militants, led by Stokely Carmichael, left, is "black power," self-defense and the "irrelevance" of integration. But the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., right, remains committed to full integration and nonviolence.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 3, 1966.

NEGRO VOTE BLOC PRESSED BY CORE

MOVEMENT

Delegates to Convention See Registration Drive Going On

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, July 2 — The Congress of Racial Equality, moving toward a harder line on civil rights, heard members at its 23d annual convention lecture on the importance of Negro block voting to give black communities the majority vote or a determining voice in contested elections.

Delegates were taken out this afternoon on demonstration projects to observe the techniques that are being employed in Baltimore to register Negroes, to force open occupancy, to desegregate bars and restaurants, and to organize workmen into all-Negro unions.

Contest Between Groups

Symptomatic of the change in CORE's direction, most speakers in today's workshops on various aspects of community action no longer used the word "Negro." Instead they used the term "black people" to stimulate the black consciousness that CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee are trying to arouse in Negro communities throughout the nation.

Last night's attacks on the Negro bourgeoisie, the "black preachers who sold out the black people during the Reconstruction Period and are ready to do so today," white liberals and the United States "establishment," also reflected according to experienced observers, the emergence of class conflict within black communities as well as antipathy toward the white middleclass.

The attacks drew thunderous cheers, strengthening the opinion of observers that the civil rights movement had entered a phase of severe competition between big established organizations such as the ational Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, on one hand, and the smaller but more action-oriented groups, on the other, for the leadership of the nation's Negroes.

Observers also noted after last night's plenary session that the radical reorientation of CORE and the student group was centered on the personality of Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the student group, who addressed the convention. A group of Negro intellectuals from many parts of the United States gathered in a motel last night and agreed that Mr. Carmichael seemed to possess the personality that might eventually produce in him a black leader of national importance.

Compared to Malcolm

"Stokely," observed a man from Chicago, "has the charisma, the personality fascination, that make him a man who may reach the black masses as did Malcolm X during his later years.

"Stokely is young but the resemblance to Malcolm's power of social analysis, ability to control a crowd, turn it on and off at will, his uncompromising attitude toward the Negro and white middle classes and the United States Government make him a natural."

"The situation today in the United States," said a Washington Negro, is ready-made for Malcolm, and if he were alive today he would set this country on its ear. Stokely may do it. What we have seen today at the convention may well mark a revolution in the civil rights struggle."

The right to self-defense, as expounded by Mr. Carmichael and Floyd B. McKissick, the new national director of CORE, has found almost unanimous acceptance among the delegates to the convention, which is being held in the auditorium of the Knox Presbyterian Church.

CORE officials insist that this attitude toward nonviolence has been distorted by the mass media to mean that the Negroes now favor the use of violence as an instrument of power after long acceptance of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s doctrine of nonviolence.

Mr. McKissick has explained that CORE opposes the initiation of violence by its members. What it believes today, he explained, is that if a Negro, his family, hime or friends are attacked they have the right to defend themselves. Reports that CORE has abandoned its commitment to nonviolence were criticized as wilful misinterpretations.

Calls Doctrine Outdated

Mr. McKissick told reporters this afternoon that the doctrine of nonviolence had outlived its usefulness and could no longer "be sold to the black people."

He contended that "the right of self-defense is a constitutional right and you can't expect black people to surrender that right while whites maintain it—this puts too great a strain on black people."

"If you want a doctrine of nonviolence, you can't have white people who practice violence and expect black people to remain passive," he declared. "Nonviolence is a two-way street. If you want nonviolence then the white people must also practice it."

Press reporting of the civil rights struggle and particularly of the recent march in Mississippi were violently attacked last night by Mr. Carmichael and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. Both accused the press of distortion of facts and misinterpretation of events.

MOVEMENT

CORE Sets Speech by Muslim

7/4/66

Non-Violence Idea Comes Under Fire

BALTIMORE, MD. (UPI)—The Congress of Racial Equality impatient with the civil rights movement's technique of non-violence, prepared Sunday to welcome an advocate of racial separatism to its national convention here.

Minister Lonnie Shabazz, who left a college teaching job at Atlanta University several years to join self-proclaimed prophet Elijah Muhammed's racist religious sect, was to discuss Negro self-identification, a CORE spokesman said.

Shabazz, who holds a Ph. D. degree in mathematics from Cornell University, was scheduled to be one of three speakers at a mass rally Sunday night at the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge in west Baltimore.

James Farmer, former national director of CORE, and Julian Bond, state representative-elect of Georgia who was denied his seat because of his views on the war in Viet Nam, were scheduled to join Shabazz at the rally.

Adopting a controversial theme of "Black Power" at its convention, CORE officials reportedly were busy Sunday preparing resolutions that could change the course of the entire civil rights movement.

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, earlier in the week said his civil rights group would seek to adopt a resolution calling for an end to non-violence in the struggle for racial equality. He added that "the philosophy of non-violence is dying," and said Negroes must protect themselves when subjected to violence.

FARMER DROPPING LITERACY PROJECT

MOVEMENT

Ex-Chief of CORE Assails Shriver for Long Delay on Poverty Fund Request

7/4/66

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, July 3—A proposed literacy drive aimed at reaching millions of Americans appeared doomed today when James Farmer abandoned the proposal and blamed Sargent Shriver for its failure to get off the ground.

Mr. Farmer accused Mr. Shriver, director of the Federal antipoverty agency, of affronting the nation's Negroes by not carrying through with the drive.

Mr. Farmer said the drive had once been unofficially approved by Mr. Shriver's agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was to have provided much of the money for it.

In a telephone interview before coming here to address the 23d annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality, Mr. Farmer said from New York that he had withdrawn the proposal in a telegram to Mr. Shriver today.

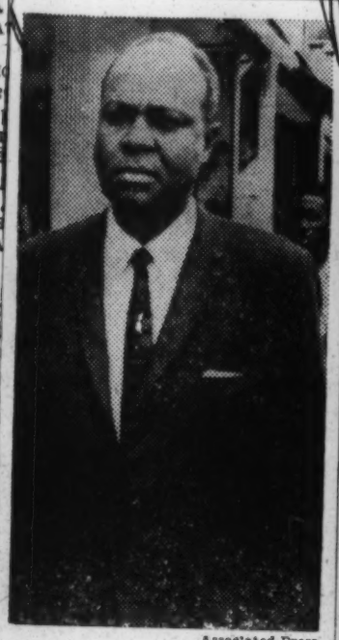
Mr. Farmer, who originally submitted the proposed program last Aug. 17, said he had met all the conditions put to him by various Government agencies.

The former national director of CORE said he had told Mr. Shriver in the telegram that the proposed literacy campaign had been widely endorsed but that Mr. Shriver and his associates had nevertheless given him "the silent treatment," failing to reply to his communications.

Such treatment, Mr. Farmer declared in the telegram, was worse than a personal affront to himself. It was, he said, an affront to millions of Americans and a reflection on Mr. Shriver's leadership of the antipoverty program.

Mr. Farmer had reportedly been led to believe that his literacy campaign would receive $860,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the first year of the drive to wipe out functional illiteracy in the United States, which is said to

Continued on Page 16, Column 7



Associated Press

ASSAILS SHRIVER: James Farmer, the former CORE leader, charged Sargent Shriver, head of Federal antipoverty administration, affronted Negroes.

FARMER DROPPING LITERACY PROJECT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

involve more than 11 million persons.

All the established civil rights groups had endorsed Mr. Farmer's program. And in response to suggestions from various Government agencies, Mr. Farmer had enlarged the board of directors of the proposed organization.

At the convention this afternoon Robert Curvin, regional vice chairman of the Northeastern region of CORE, based in Newark, challenged the "black power" slogan as a policy. He insisted that the convention state specifically what it meant by black power and how black power was to be achieved.

He pleaded with the convention to take into account what the slogan and policy of black power would mean to the white members of CORE, and to weigh the repercussions of any affiliation with the Black Muslims if "black power" required affiliation with the Muslins.

Mr. Curvin declared that it was ridiculous for Negroes to believe that they could go it alone in American society and achieve their objectives without outside support, if that was what the slogan "black power" meant.

Political Policy Questioned

Observers at the convention today questioned CORE's ability, in its present condition, to carry out meaningfully its new policy of political action.

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The policy is to organize Negro communities into a "third political force" capable of winning elections or of decisively influencing their result.

The present condition of CORE was described by some Negro observers as financially "catastrophic," structurally in disarray, and at the lowest point of efficiency in its history.

While officials of the organization agree that its financial condition is serious, they do not agree that it is catastrophic. They acknowledge that CORE has had to curtail its staff and operations, but they still believe that the new policy can be put into effect.

CORE has closed its regional offices in California and Louisiana due to a lack of money. The national headquarters staff has been substantially reduced. Nevertheless, the leadership, under Floyd B. McKissick, the new national director, plans to initiate a nationwide campaign of "politicizing" the Negro masses.

Officials of CORE say the organization's income began to decline after Congress passed civil rights laws in recent years, thus leading many contributors to conclude that the civil rights struggle was no longer as urgent as in the past.

These officials note that other rights organizations have also suffered a decline in income. But observers say that CORE's income in particular began to shrivel after a CORE leader in Mount Vernon, N.Y., uttered hostile remarks about jews during a biracial meeting.

Jewish liberals, committed to social change, have been among the strongest white supporters of the civil rights movement.

Observers who discern apathy and inefficiency at CORE's headquarters report that because of the decline in income, some staff members have not been paid for as long as six to eight weeks.

Officials of the organization confirm a lag in salary payments but they do not confirm that anyone has gone six to eight weeks without pay.

Revenue Short of Budget

Revenues fell far short of CORE's last year's million dollar budget. While no income figures are available for the last few months, observers maintain that the monthly income rate has fallen sharply below last year's monthly rate.

Accumulated debts for services and goods are estimated between $200,000 and $300,000.

In their reduced financial circumstances, CORE leaders hope that local chapters will finance local projects with the help of "seed money" provided by headquarters. The Baltimore project of organizing Negro labor unions, voter registration, and campaigns for open occupancy and desegregation of bars and restaurants is being locally financed.

Successful CORE field workers, convinced that the new nationwide program of political action can succeed, say CORE was not designed to operate with big staffs direct from national headquarters. They argue that decentralization and local autonomy have been the mainsprings of the organization's past successes.

MOVEMENT

Non-Violence in Rights Is Voted Out by CORE

AC 7/5/66

BALTIMORE (UPI) — The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Monday unanimously adopted a resolution calling for an end to nonviolence in the civil rights movement.

"We do not find self-defense contradictory to non-violence" CORE's associate national director Lincoln O. Lynch told newsmen outside the Knox Presbyterian Church, where the organization had just concluded its four-day national convention.

The resolution marks a new militancy for the organization, which has embarked on a drive for total racial equality through the acquisition of "black power."

Lynch said the CORE organization also adopted a resolution condemning America's involvement in the war in Viet Nam and calling for a withdrawal of troops from the war effort there.

CORE also adopted a resolution calling for an end to the draft. Lynch said CORE would undertake an educational program "to describe this racist war to the American people."

Commenting on the conven-

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

CORE Votes To Toss Out Non-Violence

Continued from Page 1

tion's controversial theme of "black power," Lynch said a resolution was approved explaining what black power is all about. He refused to go into detail, saying a statement would be released later to newsmen.

The deliberations were reported to have been charged with emotion. At one point, one white CORE worker stalked out of the meeting near tears.

Mrs. Marjorie Turanski of the Philadelphia, Pa., CORE chapter, entered a press room adjoining the convention auditorium and immediately became engaged in a discussion with a Negro Mississippi CORE member over the issue of nonviolence.

Mrs. Turanski, who said she spent 14 months in a Nazi concentration camp, told the unidentified Negro that "civil rights workers will be slaughtered" if they take up arms.

MOVEMENT
AC 7/6/66

RALPH McGILL

Power Struggles And Semantics

A power struggle has begun among the civil rights organizations. Two of them, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE, managed to deny the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a seat on the platform at the culmination of the Mississippi March in Jackson.

Roy Wilkins, who was a veteran in civil rights activity before most of the SNCC group were born, calmly and correctly described this as a petty act. He said that organization of voters by NAACP will continue.

SNCC leadership presently is committed to an anti-white, anti-U.S. philosophy. This was revealed by the slogans asking for spilling white blood and by the snatching of American flags from Mississippi Negroes who were told, "That flag does not represent you." SNCC had compiled a magnificent record. In the past two years it has lost direction.

Dr. King's group has broken with SNCC and CORE. The announced reason is that they did not pay their share of the costs of the march, but there is no attempt to conceal the fact that CORE and SNCC bear the brunt of criticism for actions harmful to the civil rights movement.

Legal Arm

The NAACP, a legal arm, has been the great rock of the civil rights movement. It will remain so — of necessity, as well as by agreement.

The white toughs of the Mississippi towns that cursed and jeered and threw stones and bottles at paraders played into the hands of the more radical elements as did the man who attemped to kill James Meredith at the outset of his march. Without the philosophy of these cursing, violent white men, there would be no need for marches and demonstrations. Without them SNCC would have to find a legitimate objective rather than take one that is merely anti-white and anti-government.

A Negro teacher in Georgia says, in an honest, frank letter, that for her, and for most Negroes, the phrase "black power" is a matter of semantics. She writes a truthful and courageous letter. The signs, "For

Continued on Page 8, Column 6

Ralph McGill

Power Struggles And Semantics

Continued from Page 1

Whites Only," "Colored Served in the Rear," "No Negroes Allowed," etc., she correctly says, were slogans of "white power."

Voting Power

"The term 'black power,' in or out of context," she writes, "has meant for the Negro who has suffered the consequences of 'white power,' no less nor more than the determination to obtain power to vote out undesirable city, state and national figures who have been and still are responsible for injustices rendered on the basis of race. It means the determination to insure representation in matters affecting the freedom, economy and citizenship of Negroes 'too.' I do not believe that any person having used the term has meant to even imply that Negroes are seeking power to overthrow the government, but certainly 'power' to share more fully and more effectively in its functions, and to reverse the too long tolerated and too long accepted advertisements of 'white supremacy.'

"The term 'black power,' then," she writes, "can be equated with the term, 'block vote,' in its true interpretation of purpose. So let's take semantics out of the term 'black power,' just as we ignored the purpose which the signs, to which I have referred, so obviously conveyed. 'Power' is in service to mankind and knows no color."

This same teacher writes that Negroes will, of course, notice the semantics of other newspaper and television reports. An example was the use of the phrase "Negro militants" to describe the marchers. But, neither the word militant nor any other adjective was used in reporting the foul - mouth cursing, jeering white men and women who lined the streets of Mississippi and threw rocks, bottles, eggs and other objects at the marchers.

Eugene Patterson

AC 7/8/66

A Change in Negro Course?

MOVEMENT

John Lewis' resignation from SNCC, and Martin Luther King's cancellation of his appearance at the Baltimore convention of CORE, show how rapidly and decisively the civil rights movement is being reconstituted following the ideological debacle of the Mississippi march.

The "black power" zealots now in charge of SNCC and CORE miscalculated badly when they handed over the weapon of nonviolence to Mississippi whites. It was instantly used against them.

Their misjudgment lay in assuming they could taunt and goad Mississippians into violence by their own violently provocative incitements. This was precisely the same miscalculation that whites like Bull Connor and Jim Clark made at Birmingham and Selma. When they failed to provoke the violence they wanted, they were defeated. Public sympathy and national action rewarded the nonviolent.

White Mississippians did foolishly lapse into spasms of force at Philadelphia and Canton during the recent march. Generally, however, Gov. Paul Johnson's leadership was effective in forestalling violence. As in the days when Martin Luther King gave the same kind of leadership to Negroes, victory went to the nonviolent and a harsh public reaction settled against the SNCC and CORE rowdies.

CORE's Baltimore convention, which Dr. King shunned, showed the militants had learned nothing from their Mississippi failure. They moved even further down the road of repudiating nonviolence. Turned around, that means encouragement of violence in practical effect, regardless of any theoretical denial they may wish to make.

Such a policy, if it were to take hold of the American Negro community, would be something far worse than irresponsible. It could be fatal to the cause of civil rights. Heedless leaders who do not seem to care about that are false leaders.

Dr. King, along with other such Negro leaders as Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, know they can't do business with such betrayers of the Negro revolution. A sharp line is being drawn at last between them.

Out of their contest will come a fateful choice for American Negroes. The ugliness of the Stokely Carmichael-Floyd McKissick power move is ranged against the forces of nonviolence and progress typified by Dr. King and the others. For the good of Negroes as well as the country, Americans had better hope that massive support will swing unhesitantly behind the responsible men and isolate the new radicals at once. They must be opposed as implacably as the violent whites of the Ku Klux Klan have been.

'. . . He Just Snorted In Here Like He Owned the Place!'

MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 5, 1966.

CORE Delegates Adopt Policy of Insisting on 'Black Power'

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, July 4—The 23d annual convention of the annual convention of the Con-Congress of Racial Equality adjourned today after making formal its determination to generate "black power" as a new factor in the American political, social and economic system.

In the opinion of observers here, CORE's new orientation, which parallels the line laid down by Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, opened the possibility of class conflict within the Negro communities throughout the nation.

The resolution implied open opposition to other civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League and an undeclared war on the civil rights and antipoverty programs of the Johnson Administration.

CORE's rejection of established procedures for achieving full equality for America's 22 million Negroes was flaunted at last night's rally in the Masonic Hall by Floyd McKissick, CORE's new national director, who said:

"The civil rights movement in 1966 has reached the moment of truth. The leaders have not told the people the truth."

Mr. McKissick denounced the Federal Government's antipoverty program as a failure because, he said it had produced only "token gains."

"The black masses have not been elevated by the program," he said. "As long as the white man has all the power and money, nothing will happen because we have nothing. The only way to achieve meaningful change is to take power."

Mrs. McKissick dismissed President Johnson's massive civil rights programs. Referring to the President's rhetoric and performance, he said:

"L.B.J. made a brilliant speech at Howard University—a speech that would make a rattlesnake cry."

Mr. McKissick also referred to President Johnson as the "great white father" to whom the "Toms" always appeal for help.

During the conference, speakers assailed the Negro bourgeoisie, the Negro "Ph.D's," the "black preachers," "the Toms," "the establishment."

At yesterday's plenary session at the Knox Presbyterian Church, Jesse Gray, a guest speaker who tried to organize rent strikes in New York, told cheering delegates that the decisive fight of the Negroes for equality would ultimately be fought in the "back streets and alleys" and that the main effort should be directed toward reaching the submerged black masses. His formula for battle was a united action by all groups that share this approach.

Islam Guards on Stage

Symptomatic of the new approach to "black power" was the appearance at the Masonic hall rally last night of large numbers of uniformed Black Muslims and Muslim "sisters." One of the invited speakers was Lonnie X, the Muslim minister.

About 20 Fruit of Islam guards filed into the auditorium and took up positions at various points in the main hall, the rooms leading to the stage and on stage.

Lonnie X wore the new "Fruit of Islam" uniform, which is deep blue with silver piping on the jacket, red epaulets, silver stripes down the middle of the outer side of the trousers and rimless Muslim-type hats with silver embroidered letters on the hats. The sisters wore long flowing nun-like dresses and veils.

Lonnie X talked of the Negro self-image. He contended that the white man had instilled in the black man deep self-hatred and dislike for all things black by exposing him to the idea from childhood that everything black was inferior and everything worthwhile was white.

Observers at the convention said that the dislike of the Negro bourgeoisie that appear to be spreading among the direct-action groups such as CORE and S.N.N.C. could be attributed to the belief that every time Negroes march in the South and North, get killed or beaten or arrested, the result is that more educated Negroes receive high-paying Federal jobs in the numerous new Federal agencies.

They believe there is a direct correlation, it was said, between the number of Negroes killed and beaten in the South and the number of high-paid jobs distributed to college-trained, middle-class Negroes.

The rejection of the Negro bourgeoisie was accompanied at the CORE convention by a rejection of the white middle-class. Responding to this sentiment, white members refrained as much as possible from participating in open discussions.

2d and last d CORE

Wilkins Defines Term

LOS ANGELES, July 4 (UPI)—Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said today his organization differed with other civil rights groups on the concept of "black power."

He told a news conference on the eve of the start of the N.A.A.C.P.'s 57th annual convention:

"The trouble with 'black power' is it implies 'antiwhite' and we can't have anything to do with it. We are loath to talk about it."

He said the term itself was "a bad choice of words" and explained, "we believe in the legitimate use of power."

"It ought never to be ethnic or racial," he said. "The N.A.A.C.P., for example, has always been a believer in the unfettered ballot for the Negro. We have counseled him on the use of his ballot power for advancement of his race.

"Our whole situation in interracial, not antiracial."

LEGAL UNIT AVOIDS N.A.A.C.P.'S SESSION

NYT 7/6/60

Civil Rights Lawyers Asked to Remain Away From Convention on Coast

MOVEMENT

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 5—The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the principal legal arm of the civil rights movement, was not represented today at the opening of the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

It was the first time that the fund, which has argued almost all the major civil rights cases in the Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts since the 1954 school desegregation decision, has not been represented at a convention of the N.A.A.C.P.

Although convention sources said that there had been no open break between the two organizations, it was understood that friction had developed as a result of competition for financial aid and a feeling among some members that the legal defense fund should be a Negro.

In past years, it has been customary for the director of the fund, Jack Greenberg, a white lawyer, to hold luncheons and discussion sessions parallel to the functions of the N.A.A.C.P. convention.

This year, however, Mr. Greenberg received a letter from Dr. John A. Morsell, the assistant executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., which, in effect, suggested that he and his

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N.A.A.C.P. PARLEY SHUNS LEGAL FUND

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

associates not attend the convention.

One reason put forward by Dr. Morsell was that the N.A.A.C.P. did not wish to have the activities of the fund divert national attention from the deliberations of the convention.

Today, Dr. Morsell said that the meetings of the fund might also have detracted from tonight's keynote address by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P.

Dr. Morsell asserted that the absence of Mr. Greenberg and his associates did not conceal any ideological or personal difficulties between the N.A.A.C.P. and the fund.

The Fund, an incorporated, separate tax-exempt entity, raised $1.75-million last year to prepare and fight major civil rights legal actions. This year it is seeking to raise $2-million.

It has received financial support from the white community and from foundations, and has been able to enlist some of the best legal minds in the United States to help prepare its briefs.

The N.A.A.C.P. also has a legal section that is becoming progressively more involved in civil rights action. Its cases deal mostly with specific grievances that do not necessarily raise constitutional questions. Last year the legal section of N.A.A.C.P. raised $350,000.

MOVEMENT

SNCC Sound Truck Assails 'White Jesus' in Vine City

AC 7/7/66

By BILL SHIPP

"What has your white Jesus done for you today?" roars the voice in the sound truck parked on a playground in Atlanta's poverty-stricken Vine City area. "Black Power!" expounds the voice.

The sound truck is operated by the militant black racist Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The "white Jesus," referred to by SNCC, is Hector Black, a white self-styled slum fighter who lives with his wife and three children in Vine City.

SNCC wants Black to get out of Vine City. They also want his half-dozen white volunteers to leave. In fact, they don't want any white people working and living in Vine City.

SNCC's cry for Black Power in Vine City, however, is leaving the area more powerless than before. Two major civil rights organizations said Wednesday they have no intention of working in Vine City until the Black Power crowd goes away.

A spokesman for the financially well off Southern Regional Council said SRC would spend no money in the area until "the confusion" is cleared up. Some SRC employes have worked, on their own time, with Black and the Vine City Council, of which he is co-chairman.

Mrs. Florence Robin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, said Wednesday that the ACLU planned to conduct civil rights workshops in all Atlanta's slum areas—except Vine City.

"We will not start in Vine City, although the need is great, because we do not wish to exacerbate tensions created by the black power syndrome," Mrs. Robin said.

Black, 41, who was instrumental in getting a $4,700 government anti-poverty grant to work with some Vine City youngsters, refused to say

Continued on Page 9, Column 5

'White Jesus' Hit By SNCC Here

Continued from Page 1

whether he and his white colleagues planned to pull out. But it was reliably reported that Black is considering leaving.

The SNCC sound truck, labeling Black "a white Jesus" and "a fraud," operates almost at his back door.

Black, an honor graduate of Harvard University, was recently summoned to a meeting of the all-Negro Vine City Improvement Association. He was sharply criticized for getting the anti-poverty grant. The association went on record opposing the money going to the Vine City Council.

One prominent Negro leader appeared at the meeting and declared: "That's the American way. The white man puts in an application for a government grant and he gets it. A Negro puts in an application and he get turned down."

A few days later a second meeting of Vine City residents was held. Black got a 65-0 vote of confidence. Bill Ware, director of SNCC's Atlanta Project, addressed the group and labeled both Black and the meeting "a fraud."

Ware, 30, who has operated the soundtruck for SNCC, refused Wednesday to talk about the soundtruck or his Black Power campaign in Vine City.

"Our position is, as it was before, the black people should organize black people and white people should organize white people," Ware said.

WELTNER ANGRY

Meanwhile, Atlanta Rep. Charles Weltner, whose constituency includes the 1,150 families of Vine City, scored SNCC's Black Power move Wednesday.

"It is particularly distressing that at this point in our long and sometimes unhappy history, a small group should come forward with the advocacy of what they call 'Black Power.' The doctrine is nothing more and nothing less than the old outworthy concept of 'white supremacy' with changed colors," Weltner said.

". . . long range progress and real achievement for American Negroes depend upon the good well and sense of community of all Americans. Black Power, at the most, can only appeal to but one tenth of our people . . . It is reckless. And it can only end in failure, bitterness and grief," he added.

HUMPHREY [illegible] N.A.A.C.P. IN FIGHT ON BLACK RACISM

Tells Convention the Nation Has No Room for Such Dogma of Any Color

MOVEMENT

SEPARATISM DENOUNCED

NYT 7/7/66

Vice President Calls for New Initiatives by the States for Equality

Excerpts from address by Humphrey on Page 22.

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 6—Vice President Humphrey denounced black racism tonight.

He aligned the Federal Government with Roy Wilkins and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in their struggle against advocates of "black power."

Mr. Humphrey did not use the term "black power" in his prepared address but this was the message clearly understood by the 1,500 delegates to the 57th annual convention of the N.A.A.C.P. when he said:

"Yes, racism is racism—and there is no room in America for racism of any color. And we must reject calls for racism, whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black."

Mr. Humphrey said that the N.A.A.C.P. policy of integrating the Negro people into American society must be achieved. He rejected separatism, or apartheid as he called it, as a solution of the Negro problem.

Endorses N.A.A.C.P. Aims

"We must strive," Mr. Humphrey said, "to create a society in which the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the civil rights movement can be achieved."

In his address at a mass rally of the convention at the First Methodist Church, Mr. Humphrey, a long-time member of the organization, confronted the black power issue raised by Stokeley Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, at CORE's Baltimore convention last weekend.

Mr. Wilkins, in a speech at the convention last night, bitterly denounced the black power aspirations of S.N.C.C. and CORE as well as the modifications in the policy of nonviolence. He acknowledged that a

Continued on Page 22, Column 5

HUMPHREY BACKS FIGHT ON RACISM

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

fundamental divergence had developed in the civil rights camp, which in the past had always agreed on ultimate aims if not always on methods.

Translating black power to mean racism, Mr. Humphrey met the issue in his speech.

"It seems to me fundamental that we cannnot embrace the dogma of the oppressors — the notion that somehow a person's skin determines his worthiness or unworthiness," Mr. Humphrey said.

"Yes, racism is racism — and there's no room in America for racism of any color.

"And we must reject calls for racism, whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black."

Asserting that "we seek advancement — not apartheid," Mr. Humphrey continued:

"Integration must be recognized as an essential means to the end we are seeking — the ends of freedom, justice and equal opportunity for all Americans."

The Vice President urged that "we must understand there are no easy answers, no instant solutions, to problems generations in the making."

'True Freedom' Cited

"It is one thing to cry 'Freedom now' on the picket lines," he asserted, "but it is another to achieve true freedom in the squalid world of the ghetto.

"It is one thing to demand the Federal Government to meet its growing responsibility in civil rights. But it is another to generate in our states and localities the commitment and urgency required to produce significant improvement in the lives of people."

It was on thing, Mr. Humphrey said, to overcome flagrant examples of racial prejudice, but another to "eliminate the more subtle and sophisticated techniques which effectively restrict true freedom of choice of jobs, education and housing."

Certain problems require priority attention, he went on, as "we strive to translate legal promises of equality and freedom in reality." The Federal Government, he said, accepts its growing responsibilities, which include the pressing for more legislation.

But, he said, "there exists an urgent need for new initiatives and responsibilities in civil rights matters by our states and local governments."

Slum War Stressed

The battle against slums and poverty and for quality education must be waged by local communities with Federal and state assistance, he said. The same initiative by local communities, he added, must be shown in the field of rental and sale of housing.

The Federal Government is prepared to play a major role in this process, Mr. Humphrey said, but the impact of Federal assistance would be greatly magnified if local communities fully committed themselves to these goals.

The old argument of states rights, the Vice President contended, should be replaced with a more meaningful development of states responsibilities, as well [illegible] responsibilities of com[illegible] and individuals.

Excerpts From the Talk by Humphrey

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 6—Following are excerpts from Vice President Humphrey's speech prepared for delivery to the 57th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here today:

America is marching on the road to freedom.

I am proud to be back among my friends of the N.A.A.C.P. who have led this march for 57 years.

From the shadows of a dark past toward the shining hope of a brighter tomorrow, this march has been difficult, uncertain, and often dangerous. But history shall surely record its glory.

For we marched . . . even when our band was small and our ranks thin and ragged . . . even when victory seemed a distant and unattainable goal.

There have been young marchers and old . . . Negro and white . . . rich and poor . . . but always marching with a common spirit . . . moved by a common hope—and striving for a common objective.

We marched and fought for the end to lynching.

We marched and fought against separate and unequal education, and segregated lunch counters, and a seat in the back of the bus.

There have been defeats, but many victories.

There have been many heroes, and some martyrs.

Yes, the road to freedom is stained with tears and the blood of many Americans—including men such as Medgar Evers — men already counted among authentic American heroes.

We have learned there is no single road to follow . . . no one program. No one slogan that will bring us to the end of our march.

'Many Roles to Play'

There have been many things to do, and many roles to play. And through the years the N.A.A.C.P. has played a role second to none in terms of dedication and determination of sacrifice and courage.

We are here today because of millions of hours spent in the courthouse and on the courthouse steps — sitting down and standing up—in voter registration drives and in the halls of Congress.

Our triumphs have been impressive and numerous. Our progress has been unmistakable. Yet these triumphs and this progress must be judged from the perspective of the man who has borne the burden of oppression and prejudice. A generation ago, it may have been enough for the Negro to ask for the right to enter a restaurant.

But today the Negro American asks:

Is my life better?

Are my children attending better schools?

Do I hold a better job—or any job?

Do I have a voice in the life of my city and my neighborhood?

Am I a first-class citizen—a man among men, in my own eyes and in the eyes of my family?

Until a man can truthfully answer "yes" to these questions, we should not expect him to consider the battle won or the struggle ended.

Broader Base Urged

The time has come to broaden the base of the civil rights movement . . . to reach out into the community and enlist vital new sources of energy and strength.

Here the N. A. A. C. P. has an especially important role to play. You have traditionally sought close cooperation among churches, labor unions, business groups, and service clubs. We must now reach out even further with the message: "Brother, we need you for freedom."

The appeal cuts to the core of those questions of philosophy and of strategy which currently engage the civil rights movement. It seems to me fundamental that we cannot embrace the dogma of the oppressors — the notion that somehow a person's skin color determines his worthiness or unworthiness.

Yes, racism is racism, whether it comes from a throat that is white or one that is black.

Legitimate pride in the achievements and contributions of one's forebears is, of course, another matter. One of the great tragedies of America has been that so few persons—white or black—appreciate the contributions of Negroes to this nation's history.

How many of us, for example, know that 26 of the 44 settlers who established this city of Los Angeles in 1781 were Negroes?

A Basis to Build on

But pride in Negro history and achievement should establish a basis upon which to build a new climate of mutual respect among all elements of society—not false doctrines of racial superiority. We must strive to create a society in which the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the civil rights movement can be achieved. And, always remember, we seek advancement . . . not apartheid.

Negroes have been a part of America since Jamestown. They suffered—and survived—the cruel yoke of slavery. They have experienced hardship and discrimination of a severity and duration that no other group of Americans has known. And the basis for this brutality has been segregation and exclusion—on terms imposed by the white majority.

Today this system is being torn down through the concerted efforts of both whites and Negroes. We must strive to perfect one citizenship, one destiny for all Americans.

Integration must be recognized as an essential means to the ends we are seeking—the ends of freedom, justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

stability of results achieved." 'cal staffs.

Excerpts From the Speech by Wilkins

MOVEMENT 7/7/66

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 5—Following are excerpts from Roy Wilkins's speech to the 57th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here Tuesday:

All about us are alarms and confusions as well as great and challenging developments. Differences of opinion are sharper. For the first time since several organizations began to function where only two had functioned before, there emerges what seems to be a difference in goals.

Heretofore there were some differences in methods and emphasis but none in ultimate goals. The end was always to be the inclusion of the American Negro, without racial discrimination, as a full-fledged equal in all phases of American citizenship.

There has now emerged, first a strident and threatening challenge to a strategy widely employed by civil rights groups, namely nonviolence. One organization which has been meeting in Baltimore has passed a resolution declaring for defense of themselves by Negro citizens if they are attacked.

This position is not new as far as the N.A.A.C.P. is concerned. Historically our association has defended in court those persons who have defended themselves and their homes with firearms.

But neither have we couched a policy of manly resistance in such a way that our members and supporters felt compelled to maintain themselves in an armed state, ready to retaliate instantly and in kind whenever attacked.

Sees 'Counterviolence'

We venture the observation that such a publicized posture could serve to stir counter-planning, counteraction and possible conflict. If carried out literally as instant retaliation, in cases adjudged by aggrieved persons to have been grossly unjust, this policy could produce—in extreme situations—lynchings, or, in better-sounding phraseology, private vigilante vengeance.

Moreover, in attempting to substitute for derelict law enforcement machinery, the policy entails the risk of a broader, more indiscriminate crack-down by law officers under the ready-made excuse of restoring law and order.

It seems reasonable to assume that proclaimed protective violence is as likely to encourage counterviolence as it is to discourage violent persecution.

But the more serious division in the civil rights movement is the one posed by a word formulation that implied clearly a difference in goals.

No matter how endlessly they try to explain it, the term "black power" means antiwhite power. In a racially pluralistic society, the concept, the formation and the exercise of that ethnically tagged power means opposition to other ethnic powers. In the black-white relationship, it has to mean that every other ethnic power is the rival and the antagonist of "black power." It has to mean "going it alone." It has to mean separatism.

Now, separatism, whether on the rarefied debate level of "black power" or on the wishful level of a Secessionist Freedom City in Watts, offers a disadvantaged minority little except a chance to shrivel and die.

Ideologically it dictates "up with black and down with white" in precisely the same manner that South Africa reverses that slogan.

It is a reverse Mississippi, a reverse Hitler, a reverse Ku Klux Klan.

If these were evil in our judgment, what virtue can we claim for black over white. If, as some proponents claim, this concept instills pride of race, cannot this pride be taught without preaching hatred or supremacy based on race?

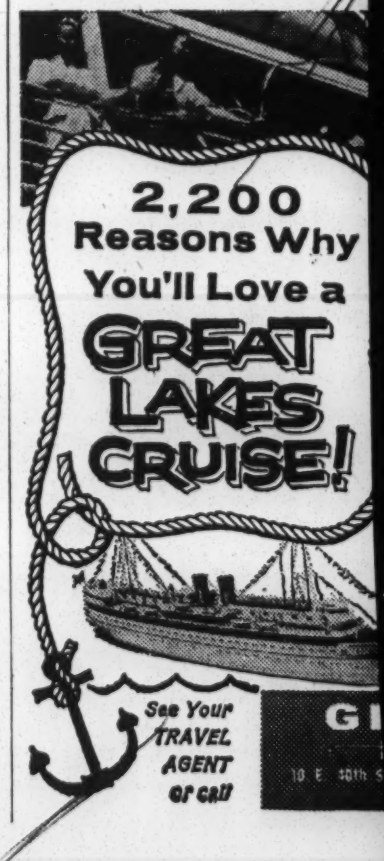
Though it be clarified and clarified again, "black power" in the quick, uncritical and highly emotional adoption it has received from some segments of a beleaguered people can mean in the end only black death. Even if, through some miracle, it should be enthroned briefly, the human spirit, which knows no color or geography or time, would die a little, leaving for wiser and stronger and more compassionate men the painful beating back to the upper trail.

'Father of Hatred'

We of the N.A.A.C.P. will have none of this. We have fought it too long. It is the ranging of race against race on the irrelevant basis of skin color. It is the father of hatred and the mother of violence.

It is the wicked fanaticism which has swelled our tears, broken our bodies, squeezed our hearts and taken the blood of our black and white loved ones. It shall not now poison our forward march.

We seek therefore, as we have sought these many years, for the inclusion of Negro Americans in the nation's life, not their exclusion. This is our land, as much as it is any American's—every square foot of every city and town and village. The task of winning our share is not the easy one of disengagement and flight, but the hard one of work, of short as well as long jumps, of disappointments and of sweet success.



CORE Chief Assails Humphrey For His Attack on Black Power

MOVEMENT

NYT 7/8/66

By ROBERT E. DALLOS

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, charged yesterday that Vice President Humphrey had expressed a "purely racist reaction" to the concept of black power.

He also bitterly denounced the Johnson Administration as being "racist" for not doing enough for the American Negro.

With sweat running from his brow and anger on his face, Mr. McKissick charged at a news conference in a hot basement room of the Harlem Young Men's Christian Association at 180 West 135th Street that the Vice President was a "liberal who has become an Administration boy who has to do what the Administration say he has to do."

Reason for Conference

The news conference, he explained, had been called to correct misinterpretations of the term black power, "to explain the social significance of black power and to answer critics of the [CORE] movement."

The CORE director began the conference calmly. In a prepared statement, he said:

"Black power is no mere slogan. It is a movement dedicated to the exercise of American democracy in its highest tradition; it is a drive to mobilize the black communities of this country in a monumental effort to remove the basic causes of alienation, frustration, despair, low self-esteem and hopelessness."

He added that "black power is not black supremacy, does not mean the exclusion of white Americans from the Negro revolution, does not advocate violence and will not start riots."

Angered by Question

But Mr. McKissick then became visibly angry when asked to comment on remarks made by Mr. Humphrey on Wednesday and by Roy Wilkins the day before at the Los Angeles convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Wilkins is the executive director of the N.A.A.C.P.

Without using the term "black power," Mr. Humphrey had said:

"Yes, racism is racism—and there is no room in America for racism of any color. And we must reject calls for racism, whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black."

Mr. Wilkins had denounced the black power aspirations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and of CORE as well as the modifications in the policy of nonviolence.

'Lack of Contact'

"I think it is regrettable that Mr. Wilkins, a man whom I respect," Mr. McKissick said, "has reached the point where he does not understand the community, possibly because of lack of contact."

He criticized President Johnson for not sending Federal troops into Canton and Philadelphia, Miss., and because "very little money is getting down to us."

Expanding his criticism of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Humphrey, Mr. McKissick said:

"The Administration believes it can solve this problem by giving doses of citizenship to black people like a doctor gives aspirin. I'm sick and tired of taking doses."

Mr. McKissick said the Negro wanted to control his own poverty program and to control urban renewal.

"They passed the Civil Rights Act, then made it a political football," he said, "letting every single Southern Senator and Congressman come up and make a deal not to send voting registrars to their states. Right now the Civil Rights Act is not worth the paper it's printed on."

Asked about a split in the civil rights movement over black power, Mr. McKissick said he thought that CORE was moving in the right direction.

"I don't believe in uniting for the sake of thought control," he said.

WILKINS ASSAILS CORE AND S.N.C.C., HINTS FULL BREAK

MOVEMENT

N.A.A.C.P. Chief Says Their Goals May Have 'Nothing' to Do With Rights'

7/8/66

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 7 — Roy Wilkins indicated today that further cooperation between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Civil Rights organizations advocating black power had become virtually impossible.

In a memorandum to the delegates of the 57th annual N.A.A.C.P. convention, the association's executive secretary traced the bitter controversy that took place during last month's Mississippi rights march.

The memorandum was in effect a response to a challenge flung down by Stokely Carmichael, Floyd B. McKissick and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer at last week's Congress of Racial Equality convention in Baltiore.

"The refusal of the 'March' organizations," Mr. Wilkins said "to join in a strong nationwide effort to pass the civil rights bill was a civil rights tragedy.

"The Meredith shooting should have been, and could have been, a rallying cry for scores of organizations and groups in a concerted push for the bill.

"The whole business showed the N.A.A.C.P. again how difficult it is to have genuine cooperation, on an equal responsibility basis with groups that do not have the same commitments and which may very well be pursuing certain goals that have nothing to do with civil rights at all."

Revolutionary Stance

Mr. Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Mr. McKissick, national director of CORE, and Mrs. Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, an emanation of S.N.C.C., took the stance of revolutionaties at the CORE convention challenging the American political system.

They contended the time had come for Negroes in ghettos to organize themselves into local political blocs that could determine elections outside the Democratic and Republican parties.

[At a news conference Thursday in New York, Mr. McKissick charged that Mr. Wilkins "has reached the point where he does not understand the community, possibly because of lack of contact." Details on page 16.]

Mr. Carmichael asserted in Baltimore that integration into

Continued on Page 16, Column 4

WILKINS ASSAILS CORE AND S.N.C.C.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

American society was irrelevant to the black masses.

Mr. McKissick in his principal address shouted, "I don't want to become a white man," indicating that the principal aspiration of the educated Negro middle class was to become "white" in its standard of living, its mode of living, its thought patterns and social attitudes.

Black Power Denounced

At Tuesday's plenary session of the N.A.A.C.P. convention, Mr. Wilkins took public cognizance of the "black power" challenge for the leadership of the Negro people.

He denounced black power as black racism that could lead to a "black death." He also denounced the S.N.C.C. and CORE modification of the doctrine of nonviolence as one that could lead to white counterforce, lynchings and widespread police actions of repression of the Negro people.

Last night in a speech to the association convention, Vice President Humphrey attacked black racism and aligned the Federal Government behind the N.A.A.C.P.'s program of integrating the Negro people into American society as the only acceptable solution.

In today's memorandum Mr. Wilkins charged that the organizations that rushed to Memphis to sponsor the continuation of James Meredith's interrupted march to Jackson, Miss., rejected the proposal to use the march to bring pressure to bear on Congress to enact the latest civil rights bill.

Johnson Called Target

Instead, Mr. Wilkins said, "they yielded to the wishes of the leaders of S.N.C.C. and CORE who wanted only to 'put President Johnson on the spot' to quote Stokely Carmichael's remark."

Mr. Wilkins said they drew up a "manifesto" that concentrated almost from the opening words on a personal attack on Mr. Johnson. The manifesto, he said, did not urge the passage of the civil rights bill.

"The whole business made us recall,'" Mr. Wilkins went on, "some of the other things that have happened along the way in the course of 'cooperating' with the other groups."

Among the "other things" listed by Mr. Wilkins was the N.A.A.P.'s experience as a member of the Mississippi project called the Council of Federated Organizations. Before withdrawing from that project, the N.A.A.C.P. was sued because of automobile accidents involving S.N.C.C. members and had to settle out of court for $2,500.

Billed for a Plane

"When Harry Belafonte and others turned over to S.N.C.C. some $60,000 which they had raised in Hollywood, a private plane was hired for their use from Memphis, Tenn. to Jackson," the Wilkins memorandum continued.

"The bill amounting to nearly $150 was sent to Charles Evers for payment. P.S. He did not pay it." Mr. Evers is the Mississippi field director of the N.A.A.C.P.

Mr. Wilkins charged that during the N.A.A.C.P. summer voting project in Mississippi," the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party (S.N.C.C. under another name) tried to undermine our work, invaded our office and disrupted it, sought to keep Negroes from joining the effort, and attempted to break up a public meeting addressed by Roy Wilkins." The memorandum also charged:

"An undisclosed amount of money collected by S.N.C.C. to rebuild the Sunflower County Baptist Church never reached the church, which then proceeded to sue the N.A.A.C.P., along with others, because the N.A.A.C.P. had been a 'partner' in COFO and because S.N.C.C. workers, in the name of COFO, had agreed to be responsible if anything happened to the church."

N.A.A.C.P. Supplied Food

Mr. Wilkins asserted that it was the N.A.A.C.P. and its branches that had supplied the food, the housing and transportation along the route of the recent Mississippi march.

At the Sunday rally in Jackson on June 26, he said, the Jackson branch took the responsibility of preparing and distributing food and drinks to more than 10,000 persons.

Among the contributions made by Mr. Evers to the success of the Mississippi march, according to Mr. Wilkins, was the payment of $300 bail money for Mr. Carmichael.

Nevertheless, Mr. Wilkins said, Mr. Evers was barred from the platform, which consisted of a truck that Mr. Evers had hired for the occasion.

"This is only part of the record and some of the payoffs for the N.A.A.C.P. cooperation with S.N.C.C. CORE and the S.C.L.C. (the Southern Christian Leadership Council] and others over many years," Mr. Wilkins said.

"No one for example remembers the $5,000 we sent at the S.C.L.C.'s desperate request for the Selma-Montgomery march in 1965 at a time when we did not know whether we could meet our own payroll. In fact it wasn't until six months later we got a form letter of acknowledgment for only $3,000, and which at the same time asked for more."

This was the first indication for the public record that the relations between the N.A.A.C.P. and the Dr. Martin Luther King's leadership council were strained because of money transactions.

G.O.P. Calls Antipoverty Drive Sham Battle Instead of a War

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP) —Republicans accused the Johnson Administration today of fighting a sham battle instead of a genuine war against poverty.

The Republican Coordinating Committee, composed of G.O.P. governors, Congressional leaders, state legislators and National Committee members, called for drastic revision of the antipoverty program.

They urged reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which directs the program, enlarging the roles of state and private industry, and giving top priority to helping the children of the poor.

Attacked in House

Similar recommendations were made recently by Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee in attacking a bill written by committee Democrats, which would authorize $1.75-billion to carry the antipoverty program through its third year.

The approach favored by the coordinating committee would stress educational programs, employment training, tax incentives for participating business and equal opportunities for the poor.

"It have always been the Republican approach," said the committee report, "to assist the poor and disadvantaged in their climb up the economic and social ladder; not to drag them up forcibly by a green rope of dollar bills."

The Republican program, by requiring heavier contributions from the states, would produce $2.4-billion for the various antipoverty activities, as compared with $1.75-billion under the bill now before the House. The Federal commitment under the Republican bill would be $1.4-billion.

Previous Opposition

Republicans have fought unsuccessfully to revise antipoverty legislation in Congress each year since the program started, but this time they feel their chances for bringing about major changes are improved.

A lack of enthusiasm in the antipoverty agency for the House bill has muted the Administration's lobbying efforts. The bill would put sharp limits on agency spending and transfer some of its administrative duties to other agencies.

And although the bill represents many of the views of Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, he has shown little interest in it since it left his committee.

He did not appear during three weeks of hearings on the legislation before the House Rules Committee, and reportedly is in no hurry to have it called up for House action.

Iron Deficiency in Babies Called Major U.S. Problem

INDIANAPOLIS (UPI) — American babies' biggest health problem is iron deficiency anemia, according to an authority on nutrition. Half of all babies suffer from it, he said.

Dr. Robert Jackson, chairman of the department of pediatrics at the University of Missouri, said iron deficiency anemia is especially prevalent in high income groups.

Dr. Jackson was a keynote speaker recently at the La Leche International Convention for Mothers Dedicated to Natural Nursing.

He said the most severe cases of iron deficiency anemia occur when a child is between 9 and 30 months. A baby has an iron reserve for the first six months but must have iron supplied to him after that Dr. Jackson said.

Dr. Jackson said a common cause of the deficiency—and the reason it affected higher income groups — was what he termed "the white diet."

The "white diet" he said, is composed exclusively of milk products to the neglect of colored foods, which contain iron.

DR. KING ASSERTS RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS 'CLOSE' TO SPLIT

7/9/66

Bids Leaders Meet on Black Power Issues — Weighs Civil Disobedience Drive

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 8—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that the civil rights movement was "very, very close" to a permanent split over the black power issue and that civil rights leaders should meet immediately to patch up their differences.

He said he was also considering a wave of civil disobedience demonstrations in an attempt to pry concessions from Northern cities and provide a "militantly nonviolent" alternative to the black power movement.

In a series of interviews that began yesterday and continued today, the Nobel prize-winning civil rights leader was critical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality for calling for black power and for defensive violence among Negores.

New Mood Discerned

But he was also critical of the National Association for the Advncement of Colored People for what he thought was a failure to understand the reasons for the new mood of the student committee and CORE.

"I get the impression that the N.A.A.C.P. wouldn't mind a split decause they think they are the only civil rights organization," he said. "But a split wouldn't help any of us, and we're very, very close to one."

He was high in his praise, however, for A. Philip Randolph, Negro president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who earlier today proposed a meeting of the civil rights leaders.

Dr. King called this a "good idea" and said it might be the only way to avoid a permanent split among civil rights organizations.

Public Officials Blamed

Dr. King attributed the rise of black power sentiment to the failure of public officials and the "power structure" to create meaningful changes in the lives of Negroes.

This, he went on, is creating frustration and despair among Negroes and making them turn to such "desperation" tactics as riots and the black power movement.

One answer, he said, is for him and other civil rights leaders to resort to widespread civil disobedience in an effort to force the "power structure" to come to grips with such Negro problems as "terrible and widespread poverty" and "inadequate education."

"We'll use something that avoids violence, but becomes militant and extreme enough to disrupt the flow of a city," he continued. "I know it will be rough on them [Chicago city officials] when they have to get 200 people off the Dan Ryan [a major expressway here], but the only thing I can tell them is: which do you prefer, this or a riot?"

He said he was also considering sending unemployed Negroes to Chicago's City Hall to "sit there until they get jobs."

From Chicago, he said, this sort of tactic could spread to other cities.

Again and again, in more

Continued on Page 8, Column 4

HE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1966.

Dr. King Fears Split in Rights Groups

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

than two hours of conversation, he talked of public officials and what he said was their failure to respond to conventional methods of nonviolent protests.

"When they drain the steam out of the nonviolent movement and give no concessions," he said, "they are planting the seeds for a Watts-like situation.

"They have mastered that art in the North," he remarked. "They'll let you march all summer and not give you one thing.

"In Chicago, for example, Mayor [Richard J.] Daley's response was to play tricks with us—to say he's going to end slums but not doing any concrete things.

"He's just trying to stay ahead of us just enough to take the steam out of the movement.

"But he fails to understand that if gains are not made and made in a hurry through responsible civil rights organizations, it will open the door to militant groups to gain a foothold—and those that have tried to be responsible will be driven to more irresponsible deeds and words.

"People have to understand that I can't stop a riot unless I can give people jobs," he went on. "Industry is playing games with us. Even a long-standing ally like labor tolerates building trades unions that won't allow Negroes in them."

Dr. King acknowledged that only a few monhs ago he felt that civil disobedience should be used sparingly, if at all, in the civil rights movement.

But three recent developments have given his thinking a more militant turn:

First, the conviction that there is a growing and potentially violent restiveness among Negroes because of "broken promises" by state, national and local officials.

Second, his difficulty, after six months of intensive work in Chicago—his first Northern civil rights battleground—in winning "meaningful concessions" from the city.

Third, the cries for black power and defensive violence that went up from the members of the Student Committee and CORE on the civil rights march through Mississippi last month.

"My problem with SNCC [the student committee] and CORE," he said, "is not their militancy—I think you can be militantly nonviolent. It's what I see as a pattern of violence emerging and their use of the cry, 'black power,' which, whether they mean it or not, falls on the ear as racism in reverse.

"But I try to understand," he said. "The Negro is in dire need of a sense of dignity and a sense of pride, and I think black power is an attempt to develop pride. And there's no doubt about the need for power—he can't get into the mainstream of society without it.

"But the use of the phrase black power gives the feeling that Negroes can go it alone and that he doesn't need anybody but himself. We have to keep remembering that we are only 10 or 11 per cent of the population."

If Negroes had made genuine, rather than "superficial," progress, he continued, there would not be a black power movement or a danger of violence by Negroes.

"But now," he said, "people have to understand that the choice is no longer between nice little meetings or nonviolence. It is between militant nonviolence and riots."

Dr. King and CORE Chief Act to Heal Rights Breach

MOVEMENT 7/11/66

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 10—Two civil rights leaders moved today to heal the widening breach in the national movement over the issue of "black supremacy." The two men addressed a rally of the newly designated Freedom Movement at Soldier Field.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said that "our power is in our unity."

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who preceded Dr. King as a speaker, said that if Dr. King called for him, he would come because, whatever their ideological differences, they were "brothers."

Roman Catholic Archbishop John P. Cody of Chicago sent a message to the rally that endorsed many of the demands Dr. King is making on the administration of Mayor Richard J. Daley, including a call on real estate boards to support open occupancy.

Church Pledges Aid

Pledging the Archdiocese of Chicago, whose nearly two-and-a-half million members make it the largest in the nation, to the elimination of the last "vestige of discrimination," Archbishop Cody made the strongest archdiocesan statement yet on civil rights.

The rally in Soldier Field on the shore of Lake Michigan—held in a humid, 100-degree setting—drew a crowd estimated by Junius Griffin, public relations aide for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, at 45,000. The police estimated the crowd at between 25,000 and 30,000. Nearly 100,000 had been expected for the rally and a march on City Hall. Soldier Field can seat nearly 85,000 people.

Despite the assurances, however, both men appeared to remain adamant on what they believed "black supremacy" meant. Dr. King declared:

"A doctrine of black supremacy is as evil as a doctrine of white supremacy."

"The Negro," he said, "needs the white man to free him from his fears. The white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt."

Mr. McKissick explained that black power meant political power, economic power and a new self-image for Negroes. It does not mean hatred or black supremacy or the exclusion of

Continued on Page 16, Column 4

Dr. King and McKissick of CORE Act to Heal Rights Breach

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

whites from the "Negro revolution," he continued.

He also said black power did not advocate violence but rather the changing of the environment in which riots erupted.

Mr. McKissick introduced as one definition of black power "the developing of a black consumer bloc nationwide able to strike at any concern."

He specifically mentioned automobile agency franchises, saying that if Negroes could not get them for a particular make of car, Negroes should "black out" that make.

Dr. King also called for economic force.

"We must make clear that we will withdraw our money 'en masse' from any bank that does not have a nondiscriminatory lending policy," he said. "We must affirm that we will withraw economic support from any company that will not provide on-the-job training and employ an adequate number of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other ethnic minorities in the higher paying jobs."

"In short," Dr. King said, "We must not spend our dollars anywhere we are not respected. We must say to every industry, 'If you respect my dollar, you must respect my person.' "

Dr. King also declared that "this day we must decide that our votes will determine who will be the Mayor of Chicago next year."

The mayoral election is next year and Mayor Daley is expected to run again.

Mayor's Reaction Cited

James H. Meredith, who integrated the University of Mississippi and whose being shot set off the recent march in Mississippi also spoke at the rally.

Leaders of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, the federated civil rights movement here, and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference answer questions about gains their joint effort has achieved by pointing out that as soon as Dr. King announced his campaign against slum conditions earlier this year. Mayor Daley drew on antipoverty money to step up programs of rodent control and building code enforcement.

Obviously timed to appear before both the rally and Dr. King's scheduled meeting with him at City Hall tomorrow, the Mayor issued a report on his own programs, the aim of which is the elimination of slum housing by the end of 1967.

Mr. Daley said that in the 18 months before July 1 of this year, 9,226 buildings containing 102,847 dwelling units had been brought into compliance with the codes. During this period, he said, $34-million was spent by Chicago property owners for building repairs.

The Mayor, noting that the rodent control program had utilized $2-million in Federal antipoverty money, called it "the most massive and comprehensive rodent eradication program ever undertaken in this country."

King Rejects 'Black Power' In Slum Fight

MOVEMENT

AJ 7/11/66

CHICAGO (AP)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Sunday brushed past signs calling for "black power" to post the demands of his Chicago civil rights movement on the front door of City Hall.

The posting came after a heat-defying antislum rally in Chicago's Soldier Field and a traffic-halting march through the Loop. Better housing, more jobs and better schools were among the demands.

Earlier, King linked arms with civil rights leaders, including Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, to form a common front in the struggle for Negro equality.

McKissick, who at first had said he might not be able to attend the rally, told the crowd of some 35,000 that the concept of black power had been misinterpreted, that it meant only that Negroes "have a right to determine their own futures."

He called for a "united black consumer bloc that would be able to strike at any concern," and ended his speech with a pledge to come to Dr. King's aid at any time — "He's my brother."

King recently has been in disagreement with McKissick and other advocates of black power.

James H. Meredith, first known Negro graduate of the University of Mississippi, who was wounded during a recent march to Jackson, Miss., told the rally that all civil rights groups must join to fight "the system of white supremacy."

The slogan "black power" was seen in crudely painted signs, and heard in the chants of clutches of young Negroes and in the words of some of the many speakers at the rally.

Before King spoke, 150 persons delayed the rally several minutes when they paraded about the center of the field crying "black power!" and waving signs. One sign read "We Shall Overcome" and carried a picture of a machine gun. Some of the group identified themselves as members of the Blackstone Rangers, a teen-age gang on the South Side.

King told the crowd:

"Within the white community there exists a substantial group of white Americans who cherish democratic principles above the privilege, and who have demonstrated a will to fight with the Negro against injustice.

"The Negro needs the white man to free him from his fears. The white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt.

"I must reaffirm that I do not seek the answer to our problems in violence. Our movement's adherence to nonviolence has been a major factor in the creation of a moral climate that has made progress possible.

"This climate may well be dissipated not only by acts of violence, but by the threat of it verbalized by those who equate it with militancy."

Then King added:

"Our power does not exist in Molotov cocktails, rifles, knives and bricks. Our power is in our unity, the force of our souls and the determination of our bodies."

MOVEMENT

Robert Ellison

Panther slogans on the Meredith March in Mississippi: For whites, a chilling vision of black revenge

'BLACK POWER': POLITICS OF FRUSTRATION

In the decade since its birth, the American Negro revolt has summed up its aspirations in a one-word battle cry—"Freedom!"—and in the promise of an old hymn that black and white together would overcome some day. But Freedom Road had taken a disconcerting new turn last week by the time the James H. Meredith March arrived 12,000 strong at the steps of the Mississippi State capitol in Jackson. Counterpointed against the old call for freedom was a catchy new slogan: "Black Power!" And the deep store of anger and alienation it stood for posed a grave new challenge for that loose and factious assortment of groups known perhaps too optimistically as the Movement.

Most visible among the advocates of Black Power were angular, young (at 25) Stokely Carmichael and his radical confreres of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. They, in turn, rode the crest of a new wave of "black consciousness" that has lately divided the Movement by calling some of its most basic assumptions into question. SNCC speaks for a growing bloc of the disaffected when it argues that the old goal of integration is irrelevant to most Negroes today, that a black man ought to hit back when a white man hits him, that white liberals are all right only if they know their place and stay in it. What black consciousness offers instead is a turn inward: a militant pride in being Negro—and a do-it-yourself thrust for black economic and political power as prerequisites for real equality.

The discordant new sound has roots and, sometimes, rhetoric in common with the old-line black nationalists who have harangued at the edges of the big-city ghettos for years. Beyond that, its advocates insist, the resemblance is mostly skin deep. The evangels of black consciousness are not interested in going back to Africa, or setting up a partitioned black nation within the U.S., or stockpiling guns for some apocalyptic war of the races—all conventional aspirations on the nationalist fringe. They say they do not hate Whitey, as nationalists commonly do; they merely mistrust him. Nor will they shoot at him—unless he shoots first.

Exit Lewis: But they pose a very real crisis for the Movement nonetheless—a crisis of allegiance among Negroes and of confidence among sympathetic whites. The Meredith March itself was something of a coup for black-conscious SNCC: it could not compete with Martin Luther King for star quality but it rode his coattails and helped shape the message that the march delivered to the nation. And the message, whenever SNCC was on camera, was Black Power—an unprogramed catch phrase with the immediate effect of titillating Negroes and frightening whites. The debate provoked divisions reaching even into SNCC's own ranks; fiery John Lewis, 26, a charter member and Carmichael's predecessor as national chairman, quit SNCC last week with a parting shot at the new lingo. And King went home to Atlanta in dismay, forced to concede that Carmichael had stolen the show. The result, he said dolefully, was to confuse "many of our white friends" at a time when money was short in the Movement and yet another civil-rights bill lay on the line. And, he added, the cry of "Black Power" had sparked a "misguided hatred of white people among some Negroes."

King himself, dreaming his eloquent dreams of nonviolence and integration, suddenly stood for everything that black consciousness challenges. All the civil-rights laws and court decrees and poverty programs, so the argument runs, have not substantially altered the conditions of Negro life in the Northern ghetto or the Southern backwaters. By that bleak yardstick, patience for nonviolence wears thin and finally snaps—as it did last week in a midnight Negro-white melee in Cordele, Ga. And integration becomes mere pie in the sky to be portioned out by whites to those few middle-class Negroes they find acceptable. A "subterfuge for white supremacy," SNCC's Carmichael calls it—and a Washington militant elaborates: "King is not raising serious issues, he's talking about integrated cups of coffee. Nobody is concerned about true integration any more. If you were to integrate the Statler-Hilton tomorrow, 99.9 per cent of the ghetto can't come there—they can't afford it."

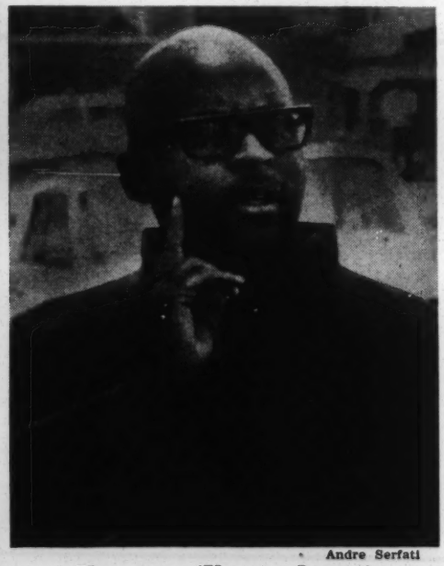
Pride and Destiny: Instead, SNCC offers the evanescent dream of Black Power—a mix of cynicism and romanticism that sounds realistic until it confronts the final reality that Negroes make up only 10 per cent of the U.S. population. Their first premise is that the Negro must be taught pride in himself; then, whether he lives in Harlem or Watts or Black Belt Dixie, he must organize to take control of his own destiny.

But how? The approach is beguilingly obvious in a mostly Negro backwater

such as Alabama's Lowndes County, the seedbed of SNCC's Black Panther third-party movement, and it may seem equally plain at that future time when Negroes outnumber whites in the great cities of the North. Theoretically, Black Power can assert itself by electoral arithmetic: the Negro vote will assure Negro rights. But the means are vague where whites outnumber Negroes. SNCC's hot-eyed theoreticians talk dreamily of striking coalitions with separate-but-equally-radical "white panther" parties; their Los Angeles chapter, just as romantically, proposed that Watts simply secede from the city.

Flag Burning: So Black Power—for all its militant ring—still remains more style than substance, more point of view than program. At one stop on the Meredith March, Carmichael cried, "You ought to get the nappiest-headed black man, with the broadest nose and thickest lips, and make him sheriff. This isn't anti-white—it's just a way of sayin' we're not ashamed of bein' black." And Carmichael's fire-eating side man, Willie Ricks, made the boss seem mild. He dressed for the march in a black suit, shirt and tie; he talked about burning down courthouses and letting white blood flow with black; he decried the American flag ("A bunch of lies") and burned the Confederate stars-and-bars in a last provocative show at the capitol steps. Such words and deeds are the new SNCC style, which seeks patently to chill whites with visions of a black revenge—but then goes to great pains to explain to newsmen that Black Power is pro-Negro, not anti-white.

If it is not nationalism, SNCC's new language has the ring of prophecy fulfilled to the nationalists of the ghettos. They are an old, ill-sorted and perpetually splintered part of the scenery, a mix of Muslim ascetics peddling their papers, African revivalists in gaudy tribal costume, putative black guerrilla warriors commonly said to be hoarding guns and poring over plans of city water systems. Their exemplars today are the likes of the Muslims' Elijah Muhammad, the fezzed Messenger of Allah to the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in the Wilderness of North America; grizzled old "Professer" Lewis Michaux, who presides over a Harlem nationalist bookstore with a backroom black hall of fame that curiously includes pictures of FDR, Dwight Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur; Oakland's Curtis Lee Baker, who is styled "Black Jesus" and goes abroad with a black beret, a black cape and an ill-tempered Doberman Pinscher; and Watts' Ron Karenga, a shaven-headed, goateed M.A. in political science who propounds, in Swahili, a seven-point plan ranging from *umoja* (unity) to *imani* (faith).



Andre Serfati

Karenga: *'Umoja, Imani'*

'Black Is Beautiful': It is an alien world, festooned with posters ("Black Is Beautiful"), absorbed in books (one current favorite: Ché Guevara on guerrilla warfare) and so obsessed with its own scholastic debates that it has never been able to unite behind a single effective leader—not even Malcolm X. But urban cops still keep a wary eye on such clandestine groups as the gun-conscious Revolutionary Action Movement—and on anti-white youth groups like Harlem's Five Percenters, actually a loose assemblage of more or less violently inclined gangs said to number perhaps 1,000 in all.

And beyond the compass of the various groups are what one savvy Watts leader calls the "do-rag nationalists"—the bitter young men who lounge at every corner, their freshly straightened hair "dos" held flat against their heads with black kerchiefs. "They just stand around blowin' against Whitey," he says, and they are the dynamite in the ghetto—the likeliest to be ignited by indiscriminate cries of Black Power.

Nowhere, indeed, is the meld of black nationalism and black consciousness so prominent as in postwar Watts. Frederick J. Hacker, a psychologist who studied last August's riot, wrote in Frontier magazine that it had left "a strange sense of pride and accomplishment which is actually the finding of a national and racial identity." That feeling is as visible as the omnipresent T-shirts emblazoned with pictures of Malcolm X or with proud declarations that the wearer is a veteran of the "first" Watts revolt. Nationalist groups like Karenga's US still have relatively few members, but the bold spirit of black consciousness pervades the community. Thus SNCC's secession plan for Watts drew a chorus of approving statements—among them one from the local president of the impeccably moderate NAACP.

Robert Ellison

Carmichael: A new way of talking

Even in cooler climes, black consciousness is seeping deep into the Movement. In Washington, SNCC's Marion Barry—leader of the pro-home-rule Free D.C. movement—tried the Black Power slogan tentatively at a few rallies last week and went away "slightly astonished" at the roaring response it evoked. CORE says its 1966 "target city" campaign in Baltimore (NEWSWEEK, June 6) is aimed less at integration than at developing "the potential of the ghetto community"; some of its top leaders, in fact, claim to have minted the Black Power approach a year ahead of SNCC.

Integration Is Out: The rallying cry for King's own campaign in Chicago is not "integrate" but "end slums"; the means, in effect, is Black Power without calling it that. "Integration as a goal went out a year ago," says one staffer. "The only reason we want any Negroes to move into white communities is because the ghetto is overcrowded."

Mainstream leaders find it easy enough to understand where the Black Power play came from. "Many people," said King, "are terribly frustrated about broken promises, deferred dreams and the slow pace of the nation rectifying the basic ills confronting the Negro community." Beneath its chauvinistic overtones, indeed, some see it as a psychic phase the Negro must pass through on his way to full equality: a period of group identity and solidarity comparable (as SNCC is fond of pointing out) to the experience of the Irish, the Italians

SNCC Head Lists Black Power Aims

MOVEMENT

AC 7/14/66

By LEE SIMOWITZ

"Black power is the coming together of black people and electing representatives and forcing them to speak to their needs."

This was how Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the man whom many consider the symbol of "black power," defined the term Wednesday night.

Carmichael was participating in a debate at Spelman College with Randolph Blackwell of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, but the event was more Carmichael than debate.

AMAZES HIM

"It's amazing to see what two words can do to white America," said Marmichael, commenting on the violent public reaction to "black power."

Carmichael explained what he felt the catchword meant, though he disclaimed responsibility for coining it.

"We don't seek to become part of white society," he said. "We don't want anything to do with it."

WANTS NO PART

SNCC wants to disassociate itself from white society, Carmichael said, because it feels the society is "morally bankrupt." He repeatedly referred to the Viet Nam war.

The disassociation is also necessary, he said, because white allies of the civil rights movement try to impose a program on it rather than helping Negroes reach their own goals.

"The civil rights movement can take care of its enemies, but God deliver us from our friends, "Carmichael said, drawing a burst of laughter from a half-white, half-Negro crowd packed into a hot classroom.

WHAT IT MEANS

Black power means political power, Carmichael explained, and he mentioned better jobs, education and housing as some of the goals it could help Negroes attain.

He dismissed the question of violence and non-violence as irrelevant — unless the country blocks the Negroes' way to their goals.

Carmichael stressed the need for Negro self-reliance and self-respect. "Black people have to move to psychological equality," he said. "They have to get things for themselves."

Blackwell and Carmichael disagreed on the possibility of a Negro-white coalition. Blackwell held up the ideal of interracial cooperation as it existed, he said, in parts of the Populist party.

"There is a portion of our society that is ready to give up on American society and its capacity to change," Blackwell said. "We are full of change."

Carmichael insisted that there is no economic basis for a coalition between Negroes and whites.

RAPS BIGOTRY

"I've worked from the assumption that this country is racist from top to bottom, from left to right," he said.

Carmichael said that more work needs to be done in the white community than the Negro community, by erasing bigotry and electing leaders who will represent the true interest of the majority of whites.

NO VIOLENCE

He also said that integration is meaningless without an attack on Negro poverty. American Negroes are property-less, he added, and therefore powerless.

Blackwell reiterated SCLC's commitment to non-violence and said he believed the 20th century's problems are more complex than the race issue alone.

He added that dissention within the civil rights movement must be expected. "It's a mistake to assume that we're going to stay coalesced down to the end," he said.

Close-Up

MOVEMENT AC 7/18/66

Stokely Carmichael: The Style Is Familiar

The comic style of Stokely Carmichael suggests Dick Gregory, but his social philosophy is strictly black Bilbo.

We Southerners in particular should recognize the technique, since demagogues dot our historical landscape. We know them best in white skin, but the basic rules work for any race, creed or color.

It's simple. You know what's frustrating your audience. You recite each grievance. You pick a villain. You tell them what you're going to do to the bad guys one of these days. Practical solutions are not important. Energetic denunciations are.

The Snick leader's style is one part humor, two parts shock.

"You're not good guys," he says of whites; "You're rotten." No greys. No exceptions. Everything white is black, and everything black is white. There isn't a single white person he trusts, Carmichael told a group at Spelman College the other night. Then he sat back to enjoy the spectacle of earnest whites falling all over themselves to say, in effect, "Surely you don't mean to include me." He tells them he does.

But Carmichael would have limited entertainment value if he were just angry and audacious. He also plays for laughs. "Everywhere I go, white liberals say (and here his voice feigns panic), 'You gonna put me out?' "

Of whites in control of federal anti-poverty funds, he says: "It's like the Bible—'Only through Me.' " And then giggles happily at his own joke: "Heh, heh, heh." The audience joins him.

Or of the motives of Berkeley-type student movemnts: "Be serious. Those college kids are fighting for the right to grow beards and smoke pot."

Maybe the delivery is more Godfrey Cambridge than Dick Gregory. For a part of the time that Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Randolph Blackwell was speaking, Carmichael stared at the floor, his heavy eyelids giving an impression of deep repose. But suddenly, at some point he disliked, he grimaced or rolled his eyes like Olivier playing Othello.

As Carmichael spoke of white injustices and Negro nonviolence, his own words fueled inner fires. The sentences came faster, and increasingly he used his arms for punctuation. He has not the carefully crescendoed rhythm or compelling voice of a Martin Luther King. It's slow slum argot, interspersed with "baby," or it's all speed and energy.

In essence, what is he saying?

America is racist top to bottom, left to right. White liberals are insincere. Whites want nonviolence for Negroes, but not for themselves. Snick wants "the white man off our back" and its cut of American affluence. The only way Negroes will achieve what they want will be with political force, and erstwhile white allies will have to be shoved aside because whites always want to run things their own way.

Carmichael frequently speaks of "psychological equality," unshackling the chains of subservience. His many references to Africa are part of his effort to provide Negroes new identity.

Giving Negroes self-respect of course is an aim of all civil rights organizations. Participation in movements such as the lunch counter sit-ins earlier in this decade did much to give young Negroes a feeling of worth and accomplishment, for example. But Carmichael's method carries the high price tag of alienation from the white society instead of reconciliation.

Not only self-respect, but the keystone of Carmichael's edifice—black political power—has been a longtime goal of almost all civil rights groups. So he can't carve out his own niche there. He does have a chance for prominence by force of his own charisma, which rests on the emotional catharsis of denouncing Whitey.

Of course Carmichael denies that. He treats Negro voting like something he invented. Then he will make some abusive remark about whites and next demand in injured tones: "Is that racist?"

Carmichael's political philosophy is incoherent. He would have Negroes withdraw from the "corrupt" America that bombs Viet Nam, but does not explain how Negroes can withdraw from paying taxes to support American policy. He says he will translate black political power into black economic power, but fails to say how it can be done.

Above all, he is weakest in explaining how Negroes—a decided minority nationally—can achieve power without entering a coalition with whites. He will giggle and mimic someone saying: "But how can you do it with only 10 per cent of the population?" The giggle may suggest to his audience that he is unconcerned with that detail. Maybe he is. But black power cannot go it alone, and he has no answer for that.

Given a tough question, Carmichael has a fleet of dodges: "You'll have to ask the white press. I didn't raise the issue (of violence and nonviolence) . . . I will cross that bridge when I come to it . . . I won't tell you what I'm going to do. You tell me what you're going to do.

But little matter. A viable political system is not his forte. Stirring the emotions is.

"I don't think the people of Watts were extreme," he told his Spelman audience. ". . . I've had so much 'law and order,' I swear to God I want a little chaos."

He doubtless will get it.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

U.S. Mission Ejects 4 CORE Leaders

MOVEMENT NYT 7/23/66

Four officials of the Congress of Racial Equality were ejected yesterday from the United States mission to the United Nations, where they were protesting United States ties with South Africa.

A fifth demonstrator, who stationed himself in front of the 45th Street entrance, was arrested when he refused to move on. The mission is at the corner of 45th Street and United Nations Plaza, the name for First Avenue as it passes the United Nations headquarters building.

The four officials were Herb Callender, CORE's national director of organization; Ford Johnson, of its committee against apartheid; Henry Smith, Suffolk County CORE chairman, James Porter of the Bronx chapter. They remained seated on the ground in front of the entrance.

They were ejected from the building by Federal authorities but were not arrested.

A brief skirmish began when the captain in charge of the Federal guards at the building leaped upon one of the seated CORE officials.

He was pulled off by city policemen. One of them told the demonstrators and the Federal guards: "Let's all take it cool. Let's take it easy."

Mr. Callender and Mr. Johnson were carried out of the building by General Service Administration guards and Federal marshals. Mr. Smith and Mr. Porter walked out.

A spokesman for the mission said the four had originally asked to see Arthur J. Goldberg, United States representative at the United Nations. He is in Geneva for United Nations talks on a treaty to ban the uses of space.

Instead, the spokesman said, the four met with Ernest C. Grigg 3d, a political adviser on the United States delegation, who said their demands would be considered.

When the mission closed at 6 P.M., the four CORE officials, who were still sitting, were told that they were trespassing on Government property and would have to leave. They refused and the ejections followed.

The skirmish began when Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, pointed to a rip in Mr. Callender's jacket and told the city policemen and Federal guards, "You'll have to pay for this."

The demonstrator wha was seized was identified by Mr. Lynch as Leonard Dechamps, 16 years old, of the Harlem chapter of CORE.

The theme of the demonstration, which began at 3:20 P.M., was a demand that "the United States Government take immediate steps to end all economic, military and political intercourse with South Africa." CORE opposes the South African Government's policy of apartheid, or rigid racial segregation.

About 80 demonstrators with picket signs were marching in front of the 45th Street and United Nations Plaza entrances of the mission.

At 6:45 P.M., Mr. Callender, still seated outside the mission with the three other CORE officials, said, "We received the same treatment from the United States Government as we would have expected from the South African Government."

South Africans Back Home

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, July 22—Cheers, flags, hymne and pdayers greeted the four men who represented South Africa at the World Court case on South-West Africa when they arrived from The Hague today.

Several hundred people at the airport cheered as the four men, D. P. de Villiers, R. F. Botha, R. Eksteen and G. van R. Muller, were welcomed by the Deputy Mayor of Pretoria.

The International Court of Justice ruled, 8 to 7, that South Africa's imposition of apartheid in the mandated territory of South-West Africa was not subject to decision on a complaint by Libera and Ethiopia. The Court said the complaints did not have sufficient legal interest in the case.

MOVEMENT

'Black Power' Assailed By Atlanta Clergymen

By MARGARET HURST

The emergence of the "black power" slogan is largely a reaction to many years of white supremacy and suppression of the Negro, some Atlanta religious leaders believe.

But the leaders also condemned the slogan as being no better than white racism and supremacy.

Atlanta's Catholic Archbishop, Paul J. Hallinan said that because churches in the South have, in the past, failed to intervene in behalf of the Negro, white power has run wild in the suppression of the black race.

"Since his legal freedom in 1865, the black man was kept from decent housing, good education, a paying job and the vote," the archbishop said.

"White power, within and without the law, was the only force in racial relations. 'Black power' is simply the other side of a dirty coin," Archbishop Hallinan said.

The Catholic leader believes that the black power slogan is "wrong, contagious, misleading and a betrayal of 20 million people."

He said that the non-violence of civil rights leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Council and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has moved the Negro forward and upward.

"The preachers of "black power" are pushing them backward and downward," he added.

The Rev. John Morris, director of Atlanta's Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity agrees that black power is, in part, an outcropping of white racism and suppression.

The Rev. Mr. Morris said that he agrees with Stokely Carmichael (the creator of the "black power" slogan) that "our society is riddled through with racism." But he adds that "It's unrealistic to believe that the Negro can go it alone."

He said that Negroes are not strong enough numerically to make black power politically viable.

He finds it understandable that Carmichael came up with the slogan after working for some time in Lowndes County, Alabama, where "there are no white liberals or moderates and black power is relevant because there is no hope of reconciliation between the minority racist community and the black majority." But he added, "its ridiculous to talk about black power in the South or the nation."

The Rev. Mr. Morris said, "When we start having the same kind of random violence by blacks against whites as we have seen for years in the reverse, it will not be altogether amiss to attribute some of the responsibility to the black power movement—as the white racism politicians of the South bear a part of the burden for what smaller white men have done in the past."

"A lot of the white scare of black power is symptomatic of the fear whites have of Negroes," the Rev. Mr. Morris said.

Rev. Harwood Bartlett, Episcopal chaplain to Georgia Tech, said the "black power" cry is divisive because it sets one man above another.

However, he adds, "White people have been in this power position over Negroes for so long that its morally hard for the white race to throw many stones at Negroes for crying "black power" since whites have been crying "white power" for so long."

He feels, though, that Negroes will never be in a position to capitalize on black power.

Hand That Fed Them Biting Back at Violent Rightists

AC 7/25/66 MOVEMENT

By EDWARD C. BURKS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — The northern liberal, fearful of extremism, is cutting back sharply on contributions to the more militant civil rights organizations.

The big drop in donations from the liberal community is verified by top officials and well-informed former leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, popularly called "SNICK," and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Money from white persons has been the lifeblood of their campaigns.

In a series of interviews over the last two weeks, officials of those organizations and civil rights donors gave three main reasons for the drop in financial support. The reasons are:

1. Concern over CORE and SNICK attitudes that are described by many persons as "black racist," anti-semitic or "extreme."

2. Worry or disgust about bitter attacks, primarily by CORE and "SNICK," on United States intentions and on "morality" in Viet Nam and on the military draft.

3. A decline of enthusiasm now that the northerner is being jostled by civil rights militancy in his own backyard.

BLACK POWER STRESS

Both CORE and the student committee have recently emphasized demands for "black power" in political and economic life. Dr. King demands a "militant thrust forward" by Negroes but deplores use of the term "black power" as implying black nationalist ideas. His organization reports contributions down by more than one-third in the fiscal year ending June 30.

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, vice president and treasurer of the leadership conference, says that "black power" demands and allegedly "racist" attitudes of CORE and "SNICK" have seriously affected the King organization because many whites do not differentiate among the organizations.

Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, says that contributions fell significantly after a CORE official at Mount Vernon, N.Y., angrily denounced Jews in general at a public meeting in February.

According to Lynch about 80 per cent of his group's fniancial support has come from the white community, "and you could say that Jewish contributions have been predominant."

Former high-ranking national officials of CORE, recently resigned but still in close touch with the situation, say that contributions to it this year are running only little better than half of the $810,000 total of the previous fiscal year.

FIGURES UNDISCLOSED

Lynch denies such a severe drop but does not disclose the figures. He concedes that the deficit is between $200,000 and $250,000. Former CORE leaders put it as high as $350,000.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, new director of the New York office of SNICK, which operates primarily in the South but has frankly depended on white northern financial help, says:

"Our contributions are 40 to 45 per cent less than we normally have at this time of year."

He adds that the student committee is no longer supported "by those liberal whites who believe in integration in the South but not New York or Chicago."

Now the organization has the help of the radicals, he says.

The student committee charges the northern press with "distortions" about the meaning of "black power," causing liberals to worry about "racism" and "Black nationalism."

Dr. King's conference says that 70 per cent of its financial help has come from white liberals but that contributions dropped off from $1.5 million in the fiscal year 1965 to less than $1 million in 1966.

There are indications that much money from whites is being shifted from CORE and SNICK to more conservative rights groups or to educational and legal defense organizations benefiting the Negro.

INTEREST LESSENS

Civil rights leaders and donors report a general slackening in northern interest after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and last year's voting rights law. A long-time CORE national executive sums up that attitude:

"Bull Connor and his police dogs were such easy targets to hate a few years ago."

He referred to Eugene Connor, who used dogs to check demonstrators when he was Birmingham police commissioner.

Many observers and leaders of the civil rights struggle believe that it is too early to assess the full impact of the new "black power" slogan. But they point to other related factors, described as "racist" or "extremist," attitudes as having a depressing effect for many months.

Militant Rights Groups Feel Pinch as Gifts Drop

MOVEMENT 7/25/66

By EDWARD C. BURKS

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Continued on Page 16, Column 4

HE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JULY 25, 1966.

Rights Groups Feel Financial Pinch

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

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He referred to Eugene Connor, who used dogs to check demonstrators when he was Birmingham police commissioner.

Many observers and leaders of the civil rights struggle believe that it is too early to assess the full impact of the new "black power" slogan. But they point to other related factors, described as "racist" or "extremist," attitudes as having a depressing effect for many months.

'Black Panther' Hurts

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mittee's new fund-raising mailing aimed at 44,000 previous contributors. Other Jewish liberals maintaining their support to CORE or "Snick" or both include: R. Peter Strauss, owner of radio station WMCA ("These issues are the most important of our time"); Peter Weiss, lawyer and official of the American Jewish Congress ("we ought to send Floyd McKissick an extra $100); and Victor Rabinowitz ("I personally made fairly large contributions to 'Snick' and don't intend to pull back").

Black Power and Apple Pie

CORE has had a vast turnover in executive personnel, including fund raisers, in recent months, and the former top men are more willing to talk than the present leaders. Nevertheless, while they disagree with various tactics of the organization, several former national officials made clear in interviews that they were all for the "black power" concept. One said:

"Floyd McKissick isn't attacking American structure. Black power is as American as mom's apple pie—it's the idea of an ethnic group banding together to engage in bloc voting and bloc competition.

"CORE is on the right track because the profound questions of education, housing and jobs for the Negro have not been touched. There is terrific frustration in the Negro community."

Former CORE leaders, while reluctant to be named, are outspoken about what they call inept handling of the "Mount Vernon ruckus." Clifford A. Brown, the organization's educational director there, shocked Jews last winter in a fiery denunciation, declaring that Hitler

second-class citizen, like a Southern segregationist would —and it's about time we stopped this."

Allen Gartner, treasurer of CORE from 1963 to 1965 and now director of Suffolk County's antipoverty program, declares:

"There has been some hard thinking by white supporters in the North. More and more they see some awful problems right here. This means that some people who were willing to be generous when it was a case of helping Negroes down South are not so generous here."

James Farmer, the organization's former national head, believes it is too early to say how the "black power" slogan will affect CORE.

"But one can speculate," he says, adding: "My guess is that it will affect CORE adversely until it is fully explained."

More conservative Negro organizations and those devoted to legal defense and education are faring much better. The Urban League, the Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., classified by the Government as non-profit, tax-exempt organizations, receive large support from white foundations. Generally foundation aid is limited to that of organization.

The Urban League reports an over-all budget of $2,870,000. The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, corporately separate from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reports income from contributions tripled in five years — reaching $1,705,000 in 1965, and $770,000 the first half of 1966.

The Fund for Racial Equality puts its total of contributions at $231,000 for the first 10 months of the 1966 fiscal year, compared with $170,000 for all of fiscal 1965.

rector of the New York office of "Snick," which operates primarily in the South but has frankly depended on white Northern financial help, says:

"Our contributions are 4 to 45 per cent less than we normally have at this time of year."

The student committee talks of "about $650,000" in income in the fiscal year 1965.

Mr. Donaldson says the committee is no longer supported "by those liberal whites who believe in integration in the South but not New York or Chicago." Today it has the help of the radicals, he says.

The student committee talks of "about $650,000" in income in the fiscal year 1965.

The student committee charges the Northern press with "distortions" about the meaning of "black power," causing liberals to worry about "racism" and "black nationalism."

Dr. King's conference says that 70 per cent of its financial help has come from white liberals but that contributions dropped off from $1.5-million in the fiscal year 1965 to less than $1-million in 1966.

A Shift of Money

There are indications that much money from whites is being shifted from CORE and "Snick" to more conservative rights groups or to educational and legal defense organizations benefiting the Negro.

Civil rights leaders and donors report a general slackening in Northern interest after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and last year's voting rights law.

A long-time CORE national executive, who wants his name withheld, sums up that attitude:

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He referred to Eugene Connor, who used dogs to check demonstrators when he was Birmingham police commissioner.

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(He referred to a new all-black party in one Alabama county.)

Some prominent liberal supporters, mainly Jewish, of CORE and the student committee are not at all distressed by the new emphasis on "black power" and will continue giving. They interpret "black power" as the classic American political device, fully constitutional, of trying to obtain "power commensurate with your numbers." But most concede that the "black power" slogan has caused considerable concern among some acquaintances.

Mrs. Jo Ann Levinson of New York, daughter of Albert A. List, the corporation executive who set up the List Foundation, still finds CORE and "Snick" are "much more to the point" than other civil rights groups. She believes that Floyd B. McKissick, CORE's new director, has explained "black power" as a legitimate, nonseparatist aspiration.

News Accounts Assailed

Michael Schwerner, Manhattan businessman whose son, Michael, was one of three civil rights volunteer workers murdered at Philadelphia, Miss., two years ago, continues his "complete support for 'Snick' and CORE."

He believes that the press has carried "garbled versions" of the "black power" doctrine enunciated by Stanley Carmichael, student committee director, making it appear racist or separatist.

"I don't think 'black power' is an invitation to violence," he says. "I don't consider it a new position but an emphasis. I think it's addressed to Negro people who have been fearful of asserting their constitutional rights."

Mr. and Mrs. Schwerner are taking part in the student committee's new fund-raising mailing aimed at 44,000 previous contributors. Other Jewish liberals maintaining their support to CORE or "Snick" or both include: R. Peter Strauss, owner of radio station WMCA ("These issues are the most important of our time"); Peter Weiss, lawyer and official of the American Jewish Congress ("we ought to send Floyd McKissick an extra $100); and Victor Rabinowitz ("I personally made fairly large contributions to 'Snick' and don't intend to pull back").

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In the eyes of many Jews, CORE failed to make a thorough and immediate disavowal of Brown's statement. Several major Jewish contributors resigned from the advisory board before CORE expelled Mr. Brown and suspended the chapter.

One of those who resigned was Will Maslow, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, he says, "all I hear now is alienation and resentment among former white supporters of CORE."

Anti-Jewish Remarks

Another, Joseph Willen, executive of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, has switched his support to the National Urban League and to the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, set up by friends and staff people of CORE in 1962, but separate in operation.

CORE, he says, has apparently decided not to be an interracial group any longer, "and the opposite of that is racist." He speaks of a Negro attack "on their neighbors, the Jews."

Mr. Willen adds: "Jews are disturbed about what they fear is growing anti-Semitism among Negroes," noting the many Jewish stores attacked by Negroes in ghetto riots in Chicago and New York.

He tells of a recent talk with a CORE official, who, he says, made sharply anti-Jewish remarks to his face.

"I felt," he says, "that I was treating him almost as a patient and not as a peer, by refusing to get angry. Yet if he had been a white Protestant I would have slapped his face.

"Then I thought that tolerance to such irrational behavior was really treating him like a

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HOUSING PROGRAM INVITES SPONSORS

Nonprofit Groups Are Asked to Join Fight on Poverty

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 25 — The Office of Economic Opportunity has opened a new venture in housing for the poor.

The departure is an invitation to nonprofit organizations to join in the fight against poverty as project sponsors, even if they have no previous experience and no money. The O.E.O. will advance the money to hire the expertise for the sponsor.

Private contractors will do the work on a normal, profit-making basis.

The policy also is a challenge to organized labor to modernize its strict craft lines. Since the emphasis will be on rehabilitation of housing, with new construction taking a subordinate role, there will be a need for workmen in a category to be known as "rehabilitation mechanic." This work would probably cross many union jurisdiction lines.

The new policy also contemplates a training program to develop construction skills among the low-income groups.

No Financing Problem

Al Walsh, a housing expert, and Oscar Ornati, and economist, who developed the policy in the O.E.O., foresee no serious financing problem in a tight money market. The banks could advance short-term construction loans and would not be saddled with the mortgages.

Forty-year mortgages, negotiated locally at a rate below the market rate, would carry a 100 per cent Federal Housing Administration guarantee and presumably could be easily sold.

The novelty of the policy is O.E.O.'s advancement of money. Any stable nonprofit institution, or club, with no knowledge of housing, could hire experts needed to do the development work before a contractor appeared on the site.

The O.E.O. expects to get most of its money back eventually. The mortgage would include the development costs. This money would be returned to the sponsor when the mortgage was sold. Thus, the sponsor would have a revolving fund as long as it continued to be a sponsor. When it ceased sponsoring, the money would go back to O.E.O.

Grant Is Announceda

As a starter, Sidney H. Woolner, acting Middle Atlantic Director of O.E.O., announced today that he was granting $376,426 to the North Carolina Fund for housing projects in Greensboro, Salisbury, Charlotte, and Durham.

The grant will assist the fund

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO CONDEMN BLACK POWER

In light of recent discussions about tactics and goals of the civil rights movement I thought it might be helpful if I could share some of my experience and thought.

The introduction of the slogan "Black Power" has caused substantial confusion and alarm. It arouses apprehension because some of its advocates approve the use of violence to force social change and with it, Negro separatism. Confusion arises because others use the same slogan to urge acquisition of political power in areas where Negroes are a majority. They limit violence to use in self-defense. I think the following points should be considered:

1 The slogan was an unwise choice at the outset. With the violent connotations that now attach to the words it has become dangerous and injurious. I have made it clear that for SCLC and myself adherence to nonviolence and Negro-White unity is an imperative. Our method is related to our objective. We have never sought the moral goal of freedom and equality by immoral means. Black supremacy or aggressive black violence is as invested with evil as white supremacy or white violence.

2 The slogan "Black Power" in its extremist's sense is supported by but a tiny minority of Negroes. During the past weeks I have marched with more than 30,000 Negroes in Mississippi and another 60,000 in Chicago. It can safely be said that despite passionate and emotional appeals for "Black Power" over 90% of these dedicated activists remained adherents of the

I cannot question that these brutal facts of Negro life exist. I differ with the extremist solution. SCLC was the first Negro organization to offer mass nonviolent direct action as an effective alternative to violence. Our demonstrations, boycotts, civil disobedience and political action in Negro-White unity won significant victories. In our judgment it remains the method that can succeed. In this conviction the vast majority of Negroes are still with us. Even more than this, I confidently believe that the call for "Black Power" will rapidly diminish. Many of those who seek relief through its emotional catharsis will return to the disciplined ranks of nonviolent direct action. The "Black Power" slogan comes not from a sense of strength but from a feeling of weakness and desperation. It will vanish when Negroes are effectively organized and supported by self-confidence.

Some established Negro leaders are bitterly denouncing the black power advocates and urge that they be treated as untouchables. I think this will tend to increase extremist behavior as it convinces extremists that the more privileged Negro is joining the white oppressor to perpetuate poverty and discrimination. Some of the Negroes advocating violence argue that whenever one of their number is murdered or brutalized, the white power structure appoints another middle class Negro to a highly paid position. They then move to an equally fallacious position urging that the poor Negro turn against the "middle class" Negro. This mutual fostering of disunity is the road to disaster for all.

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The grant will assist the fund in hiring an administrative staff that will provide expertise and stimulate nonprofit sponsors in the use of F.H.A. funds. It is understood that about 10 similar grants will be made shortly.

The focus is on housing for families at the poverty level without the subsidy that goes with public housing.

The objective is to provide for example, a three-bedroom apartment to house a family of seven at a monthly rental of $97 to $102. A city family of seven with an annual income below $4,630 would be considered within the economic definition of poverty. Such a family would thus pay roughly 25 per cent of its income for housing.

Editor Dies in Plane Crash

ASHEVILLE, N. C., July 24 (AP)—Earl T. Freeman, 49 years old, Sunday news and feature editor of the Asheville Citizen Times, was killed Sunday when his gyroplane lost its propeller and fell into a wooded area. Mr. Freeman, a former reporter and city editor of the Asheville papers, retired last year as commander of Group 4 of the North Carolina Wing of the Civil Air Patrol.

Immigrant Aids Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, July 24 (AP) —A former school teacher, who immigrated to the United States from Czechoslovakia when he was 6 years old, has left $100,000 to the City of Milwaukee to buy land for playgrounds. An inventory filed in Probate Court indicates that Laud Joseph Coubal, who died March 3 at 78, left an estate of $144,556.

LEGAL NOTICE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
NOTICE OF SALE

TO: ALL PROSPECTIVE PURCHASERS OF REAL ESTATE AND THE DEFENDANTS HEREIN:

TAKE NOTICE: Pursuant to Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, filed in the Office of the Clerk of said Court on May 31, 1966, in the cause entitled UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, plaintiff, against ARDEN HOLDING CORP., et al., defendants, Civil Action No. 65-C-54, the undersigned will sell at public sale to the highest bidder, in the lobby of the United States Courthouse for the Eastern District of N. Y., 225 Washington St., B'klyn, N. Y., on August 23, 1966, at 10:00 o'clock in the forenoon, the property in said Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale described and therein directed to be sold, as is, and subject to any state of facts that an accurate survey may show, any easements, covenants, restrictions or reservations of record, tenancies, violations noted in or issued out of any City, County, Town, Municipal, State or Federal Department or Agency; to which Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale reference is made for the full terms of sale and for a description of the property therein contained as follows:

ALL that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York, bounded and described as follows:

BEGINNING at a point on the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, distant 203 feet 3¾ inches easterly from the corner formed by the intersection of the southerly side of Hawthorne Street with the easterly side of Bedford Avenue; running thence easterly along the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, 200 feet 2 inches; thence southerly at right angles to Hawthorne Street, 106 feet to the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, the point or place of BEGINNING.

TOGETHER with all right, title and interest of the mortgagor, if any, in and to the land lying in the streets and roads in front of and adjoining said premises. The premises are also known as 150 Hawthorne Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The above property is within the County of Kings, State of New York, in the Brooklyn Long Island Railroad station area, containing thereon a six story, semi-fire-proof structure containing 99 rental units, one four room superintendant's apartment, and an unattended 28-car garage.

Dated: July 8, 1966.

SETH RUBENSTEIN, ESQ.
MASTER

JOSEPH P. HOEY, United States Attorney, Eastern District of New York, attorney for plaintiff, by GEORGIANA O. MIRANDA, Assistant United States Attorney, 225 Washington Street, Brooklyn, New York.

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2 The slogan "Black Power" in its extremist's sense is supported by but a tiny minority of Negroes. During the past weeks I have marched with more than 30,000 Negroes in Mississippi and another 60,000 in Chicago. It can safely be said that despite passionate and emotional appeals for "Black Power" over 90% of these dedicated activists remained adherents of the time-tested principles of non-violence and interracial unity.

Yet it is not enough to condemn a new concept nor to be complacent because its appeal is narrow. The new mood has arisen from real, not imaginary causes. The mood expresses an angry frustration which is not limited to the few who use it to justify violence. Millions of Negroes are frustrated and angered because extravagant promises made less than a year ago are a shattered mockery today. When the 1965 voting rights law was signed it was proclaimed as the dawn of freedom and the open door to opportunity. What was minimally required under the law was the appointment of hundreds of registrars and thousands of Federal marshals to inhibit southern terror. Instead, fewer than forty registrars were appointed and not a single Federal law officer capable of making an arrest was sent into the south. As a consequence the old way of life — economic coercion, terrorism, murder and inhuman contempt — continued unabated.

In the northern ghettos, unemployment, housing discrimination and slum schools constituted a towering torture chamber to mock the Negro who tries to hope. There have been accomplishments and some material gain. But these beginnings have revealed how far we have yet to go. The inconsistencies, resistance and faintheartedness of those in power give desperate Negroes the feeling that a real solution is hopelessly distant. Many Negroes have given up faith in the white majority because "white power" with total control has left them emptyhanded.

Surrounded by an historic prosperity in the white society, taunted by empty promises, humiliated and deprived by the filth and decay of his ghetto home, some Negroes find violence alluring. They have convinced themselves that it is the only method to shock and pressure the white majority to come to terms with an evil of staggering proportions.

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There may be no means of obviating all riots everywhere this summer. SCLC has, however, offered a constructive lesson in its recent actions. We, with others, were daring enough to march through Mississippi to give disciplined expression to burning indignation. In the face of cries of black power we helped to summon 60,000 Negroes in the sweltering slums of Chicago to assemble nonviolently for protest — and they responded magnificently. The burden now shifts to the municipal, state and Federal authorities and all men in seats of power. If they continue to use our nonviolence as a cushion for complacency, the wrath of those suffering a long train of abuses will rise. The consequence can well be unmanageable and persisting social disorder and moral disaster. How ironic it is that in Chicago, four days of rioting were precipitated by the shutting of water hydrants: the authorities then found $10,000 for portable pools but meanwhile the State was spending $100,000 per day for the National Guard. America will have to see that the opulent life of so many of its people cannot exist in tranquility if other millions still languish in bitter poverty and hopelessness.

Negroes can still march down the path of nonviolence and interracial amity if white America will meet them with honest determination to rid society of its inequality and inhumanity. Negroes have to acquire a *share* of power so that they can act in their own interests as an independent social force — so that they can develop in responsibility by learning the proper uses of power. The majority of Negroes want to share power to bring about a community in which neither power nor dignity will be colored black or white. They seek a community of justice and security so that their children will be able to identify with the American dream as equals and not through the bars of a grim slum prison. SCLC will continue its principled quest to make these goals a reality.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

SCLC

A nonsectarian and non-profit agency

332 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., Pres.

RALPH ABERNATHY, Vice Pres.-Treas.

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MOVEMENT NYT

8/29/66

CARMICHAEL MAPS BLACK UNITY MOVE

Militant Negro Student Will Meet With Muslim Leader

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN
Special to The New York Times

EVANSTON, Ill., July 28—Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said today his organization would "join hands" with the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, and with the Revolutionary Action Movement.

The purpose would be to define a common philosophy on the controversial phrase "black power," Mr. Carmichael indicated. The second organization, usually called "R.A.M.," has been linked to the Castro regime in Cuba.

The young Negro leader said that he had exchanged letters with Mr. Muhammad and that they would "meet later."

At his headquarters here, Mr. Muhammad said that he could only comment that a meeting was scheduled for Aug. 28 in the International Amphitheatre.

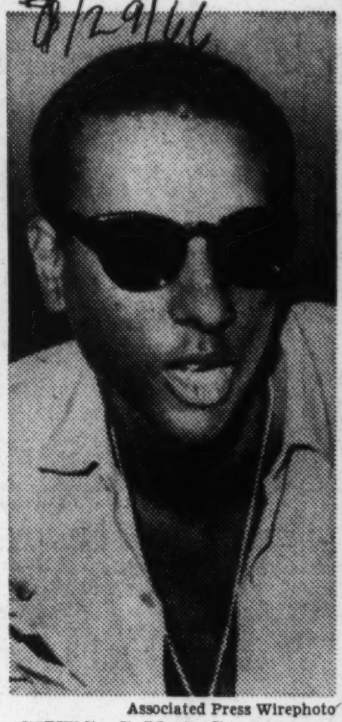
Mr. Carmichael was in Chicago for the announced purpose of defining once again "black power," he charged in a series of appearances that it had been distorted by the white press. He is scheduled to go to Detroit tomorrow and to Washington the following day before returning to Atlanta.

Mr. Carmichael also spoke of meeting with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other civil rights leaders. This left unclear whether his meeting with the Black Muslims and R.A.M. would be separate or part of a general parley.

Yesterday he and Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Manhattan Democrat, announced that a national black power conference would be held in Washington over the Labor Day weekend. They issued a blanket invitation to all types of Negro organizations.

Defines 'Black Poer'

At a morning news confer-



Associated Press Wirephoto

GIVES S. N. C. C. PLAN: Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as he told of his plans to meet with Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Black Muslims.

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Defines 'Black Poer'

At a morning news conference in the office of a Nesro community organization, the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement, Mr. Carmichael issued this definition:

"Black power means that black people have to politically get together to organize themselves so that they can speak from a position of power and strength rather than a position of weakness."

At a public meeting of about 100 persons this afternoon in the Orrington Hotel in suburban Evanston, eh asserted that Negroes wanted the right to control the wealth and stores in the black ghetto.

The militant rights leader described teh recent street violence in Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha, New York and Delsewhere as "rebellion" rather than "riot."

"I am not opposed to violence," the 25-year-old Negro declared.

He added that although he did not advocate violence, the blame for "rebellion" was to be laid at the "barricades white society refuses to move."

View on Bombing

Asked whether he condoned fire bombing tactics, such as used in Negro protests in Cleveland, Mr. Carmichael replied:

"It is not for me to condone. Or it is not for me to condemn."

After observing that the decision on what to do had been made by the people in the neighborhood involved, he said:

"If they are willing to face the consequences of their act, I am for them."

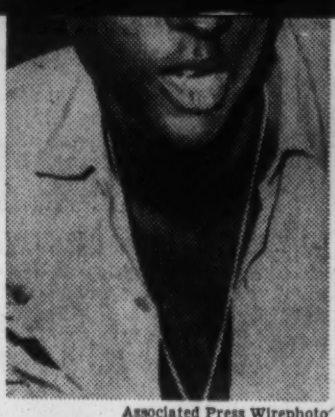
He was applauded when he said that if there had been a national conspiracy, Negroes would have "got a lot more out of the rebellion."

This was in reply to a query on whether he agreed with Senator Frank J. Lausche, Democrat of Ohio, who charged yesterday in Chicago that recent rioting and looting was part of "a national conspiracy executed by experts."

After the Evanston meeting Mr. Carmichael was asked his reaction to those contributors, mostly white presumably, who have withheld support from S.N.C.C. since the black power began.

"This speaks to the racism of people," he replied.

The direction Mr. Carmichael wants his group to take appeared from his comments here today to be first toward a sharp definition of what he termed "who our friends are."



Associated Press Wirephoto

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PEACE MOVEMENT

PEACE CENTER NEWSLETTER

ROOM 501 41 EXCHANGE PLACE ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

JULY 29, 1966 NUMBER ONE

SANFORD GOTTLIEB, Political Action Director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy speaks in Atlanta:

Friday, August 5- 8:00 pm Architecture Auditorium at Georgia Tech
Saturday, August 6 - 10-12 am and again at 4 pm Quaker House
Sunday, August 7 - 10:30 am Unitarian Church, 1911 Cliff Valley Way
(Sponsored by ATLANTANS FOR PEACE)

HIROSHIMA DAY WALK - AUGUST 6 BEGINS 11:00 AT THE OLD POSTOFFICE

RALLY AT EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH 12:00 (See the inserted Call)

The first issue of the Newsletter has finally arrived. It has been delayed so long because we have been working on the Hiroshima Day Walk and other things If you find the orginal articles and reprints interesting and use ful, we will continue this publication. Special thanks to all who helped to prepare this issue

We hope you will attend the sessions with Mr. Gottlieb and that you will participate in the Hiroshima Day Walk.

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Atlantans for Peace meet, YWCA, 11:30 2nd & 4th Wednesdays of each month
Atlanta CEWV meets, 41 Exchange Pl. Rm. 501 7:30 2nd & 4th Tuesdays.

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Rev George Blau is a member of the Steering Committee of Atlantans for Peace.

Richard Dudman is a Washington correspomdent with the St. Louis Post-Dispatah.

Miriam Wasserman of the Atlanta CEWV wrote the leaflet on the back of the Hiroshima Day Call

Ken Sherman was formerly a Vista worker in Atlanta. Some of you have already seen his letter, but many have not, so it has been reprinted because it is a rather moving statement. The Hunger Strike continued at the White House from June 27 through July 4. Some of the original fasters will be there again between now and Ausust 6.

SHOW YOUR CONCERN

PROTEST U.S. VIETNAM POLICY

WALK --AUGUST 6

"REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT," VIET NAM PACIFICATION VENTURE, RAISES SOME SERIOUS DOUBTS

by RICHARD DUDMAN

(The following article appeared in the St Louis Post-Dispatch as the third of a five-part series. The author had just returned from a two-month assignment in Vietnam. He gives an interesting analysis of one more attempt to secure the support of the South Vietnamese peasants for the Saigon government.)

"REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT," the latest pacification program in Viet Nam, has received heavy promotion and has stirred great expectations, but its test of performance still lies ahead. The prospects appear to be only marginal.

This "other war" was given a strong sendoff by President Lyndon B. Johnson when he told the South Vietnamese leaders at Honolulu that he was "determined to not only achieve a victory over aggression, but to win a victory over hunger, disease, and over despair."

So far, the chief result of the Honolulu meeting has been a political crisis that paralyzed much of the pacifying and military effort for three months.

But so much money and importance have been given to this program that there has been some bureaucratic scrambling between officials of the Embassy and the Agency for International Development, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Information Service, each trying to get a big piece of it. In a place where careers can easily be destroyed, there is a feeling that reputations can be made in the Revolutionary Development business.

ON PAPER, the new program shows great promise and is a big improvement over the old "strategic hamlets" and the various other plans for organizing the population and ferreting out the Viet Cong.

The new plan calls for a combination of self-defense, good government, economic aid, welfare assistante and commodities control to cut off support to the insurgency.

The first 90-day class with 4800 cadres finished training a month ago at a special school of Vietnamese officers assisted by the CIA at Vung Tao. Plans call for training 20,000 this year and eventually 150,000 of these pacification agents.

They learn the techniques of para-military defense and rural organization as well as such political tricks as how to spread rumors, how to set up demonstrations, and how to counter an anti-government or anti-American demonstration when, for example, a friendly village has been accidentally bombed.

PERHAPS the most important part of the course is an effort to implant patriotism hurriedly. This political motivation training includes drills in Vietnamese slogans, songs and in the history of the nation's heroes. Discussion groups cover French colonialism, the history of the Diem regime, past government errors, third-country assistance, and the reason for United States intervention.

(Group leaders describe the United States and South Viet Nam as two houses in the same village. The South Vietnamese house has caught on fire. If the fire spreads, the American house will burn, too. So the United States helps to put out the fire now.)

(continued on page five)

AUSTERITY PROGRAM - Premier Ky recently received a $500,000 plane for his personal use.

GOING IT ALONE

A Gallup poll in England in mid-July showed only 31% of the people favored U.S. Vietnam policy, while 49% opposed it. 20% had no opinion.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE PROBLEM OF WAR

by GEORGE BLAU

War has always posed a problem for Christians who wished to be loyal citizens of thier countries and loyal to their Christian convictions. War has always been seen by Christians as evil, but there have been two basic historical positions Christians have taken toward war. Neither position allows a Christian to serve in the military simply because his nation is at war. Both positions require the individual Christian to face the moral aspects and implications of war in general, or of particular wars.

THE PACIFIST POSITION

Apparently the earliest Christian position toward war was pacifism: the total objection to military service on conscientious grounds. There is no evidence of Christians in the Roman army prior to approximately 200 A. D. One reason was that most hristians, being either slaves or considered by the authorities as Jews, were not eligible for military service. Another reason may have been the military oath of allegiance which was seen as placing loyalty to the emperor above loyalty to God. Such an allegiance would be blasphemy. A third reason was the seriousness with which the early Christians Jesus' sayings: do not kill, do not hate, love your enemies, do not resist evil with evil but with good.

Justin Martyr (100-165) was apparently the first Christian writer to make a specific reference to war:

> "We who once killed one another not only do not wage war against our enemies, but, in order to avoid lying or deceiving our examiners, we even meet death cheerfully, confessing Christ. And we who delighted in war, in the slaughter of one another, and in every other kind of iniquity have in every part of the world converted our weapons of war into impliments of peace."

Other early writers who with varying degrees of lucidity and emphasis considered war as organized iniquity with which the Church and the followers of Christ could have nothing to do were: Tatian (c. 160),, Irenaeus (130-202), Tertullian (160-220), Origen (185-254) Anhananasius (296-372), Cyprian (200-258), and Lactantius (250-325).

It was not too long before there were indications that Christians were accomadating with secular culture. Tertullian reports Christians in the army of Marcus Aurelius in 197. Tertullian disapproved of military service from the beginning of his literary career. He reported that some military personeel resigned from military service upon conversion to Christianity with the comment "Christ in disarming Peter unbelted every soldier." Also there was some indication that Christians who were in the army were not allowed to participate in the Lord's Supper (Eucharist) until having done penitence for shedding blood. In 248, Origen wrote "we do not fight under the emperor, although he requires it.

Today pacifism is the minority view among Christians, but it is a position respected by united State"s law through selective Service classifications 1 -O and 1 - A - O

THE "JUST WAR" DOCTRINE

It took some years for military service to be generally and

It took some years for military services to be generally and officially approved by the Church. Ambrose (340-97) was the first Christian writer to specifically approve of Christians participating in wars. Using the Old Testament and the Roman philosopher Cicero, Ambrose began the Christianized doctrine of the just war. Augustine (354-430) expanded the doctrine using both Cicero and Plato for justification. The doctrine continued developing through Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) and was taken into Protestantism. It remains the majority view toward war by both Catholics and Protestants.

The "just war" did not allow anyone to serve under any circumstances. The clergy was eliminated from military service as pagan priests had been, and as they are under today's Selective Service Act. Standards were set by which a war was to be evaluated, to determine if it was a "just" war:

1. Only one side of the conflict can be just, and if the Christian's own nation was not the just side, he should refuse to participate.
2. The war must be declared, by lawful authority, following the legal process of declaring war, and any international agreements must not be violated.
3. The "just war" can be only undertaken for vindication of an undoubted and proportionate right that has been certainly infringed. If there is a doubt, the Christian must refuse to serve.
4. The war must be a last resort after all peaceful means of settlement are sincerely tried in vain.
5. The good to be achieved shall outweigh the evils that war involves. Today some Christians are saying that nuclear war is an evil that outweighs any possible good result in war.
6. There must be reasonable hope of victory for justice, for a war undertaken in the face of certain failure is, however heroic, irrational and is therefore an indefensible loss of life.
7. There must be right intention, i.e., to right the wrong. To wage war to maintain a national prestige (face), influence, or to enlarge territory is not "right intention."
8. The methods of warfare must be legitimate, that is, in accord with international agreements, with our nature as rational human beings, and with the moral teachings of Christianity.
9. There must be no unnecessary violence. No killing or torturing of civilians or prisoners, no massacres, no such atrocities.
10. Reprisals must be proportionate, i.e., small injuries can not be vindicated through larger reprisals.
11. War cannot be waged as part of a scheme to convert the heathen enemies to Christianity.

One problem with the "just war" doctrine is that each side in a war always considers its cause as "just" and forms its propaganda to convince its citizens its actions are "just".

Today, there are a few Christians who have refused to serve or have spoken out against the United States participation with the war in Vietnam. However, the government does not recognize "just war objection" as legal.

HIROSHIMA DAY
PEACE WALK AND RALLY
To commemorate the victims of Hiroshima and to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam

On August 6, 1945, a U.S. Air Force B-29 dropped the first live atom bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. A hundred thousand people were killed by that one bomb, and tens of thousands who were not killed immediately sickened and died later. Many historians believe the Japanese were getting ready to negotiate when the bomb was dropped, spreading terror in Japan and throughout the world.

For many years people throughout the world have commemorated Hiroshima Day — August 6 — by demonstrating for peace.

We urge you to walk with us in repentance for the action of our nation on August 6, Hiroshima Day.

Today, 240,000 American soldiers are fighting in Vietnam. They are the *only* foreign soldiers fighting against Vietnamese soldiers. American planes are bombing Vietnamese farms, forests, and cities. They are the *only* planes of a foreign nation bombing the Vietnamese. The United States is getting more and more deeply involved in a war thousands of miles from our shores. This continued escalation of the war is using goods, money, and men that should be used to build a better America, rather than to destroy another land and people with whom we have no quarrel.

Americans in many cities will be expressing their opposition to the war in Vietnam on August 6, Hiroshima Day.

We urge you to walk with us in protest against American involvement in Vietnam.

SATURDAY, AUG. 6

11:00 a.m.

Come to the peace walk

Meet at old post office, Forsyth and Walton Streets. Circle block together; walk to Luckie, to Peachtree, to Auburn to arrive at:

12:30 p.m.

Come to the peace rally

Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, for the:

PEACE RALLY

SPEAKERS

Reverend Martin Luther King, Senior, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church;
Sanford Gottlieb, Political Action Director of SANE;
Reverend Charles G. Helms; John Lewis, SNCC;
Dr. Edward Leonard; Edmund Gaither; Howard Moore.

ALSO: Gospel and folk singers.

AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A HIROSHIMA DAY OBSERVANCE
Room 502, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303
523-6629

VIETNAM AND THE WAR IN VIETAM

WHERE VIETNAM IS AND WHO LIVES THERE

Vietnam is a little country. Its land is only about as big as Georgia and Alabama combined. It has a small population. There are about 190 million people in the U.S. There are about 30 million people in Vietnam. Does it seem to you as if a little country like that could do much harm to a big country like ours?

Vietnam is a poor country. Most of the people in Vietnam are poor rice farmers. Most of the children do not go to school There are almost no hospitals, almost no automobiles, almost no factories. Does it seem to you as if a poor country like that ought to be frightening to a rich country like ours?

HOW VIETNAM IS DIVIDED

America is divided in many ways: between North and South, city and country, rich and poor, white and Negro. Vietnam is also divided in many ways.

Vietnam is divided into North and South. The government of North Vietnam is headed by a man named Ho Chi Minh (pronounced "hoe chee meen). He is a Communist because he believes that Communism is best for the Vietnamese. He believes in "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," in other words that there ought not to be any foreigners in Vietnam telling the Vietnamese how to run their country. The government of South Vietnam is run by an army general named General Ky (key). He believes American army officers and policemen should help to run South Vietnam.

Vietnam is divided into the many poor and the few rich. The poor people live in little villages, and before the war they used to elect their own village "elders" (something like neighborhood councils). Now the village chiefs are appointed by General Ky. They help General Ky, and they help the American army. The poor people don't like them.

The Vietnamese are divided into Buddhists and Catholics. Almost 80 percent of the Vietnamese are Buddhists--an old religion, much older than Christianity. Most of the people who are not Buddhists are Catholics. Most of the Catholics are rich, powerful people who helped the French when they ruled the country. The Buddhists don't like the Catholics, because the Catholics would like to run the government. They don't like the Communists, because they are afraid the Communists will take away their religion and their influence. Above all, the Buddhists don't like General Ky because he is trying to take away all their power and because he keeps a terrible war going.

The people in North Vietnam and South Vietnam have the same language, race, religion--and the same problems. Do you think Vietnam should be one country or two? Who do you think should be in the government in Vietnam?

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

American soldiers in Vietnam are fighting against a force called the Viet Cong. Some Viet Cong are North Vietnamese; some are South Vietnamese. Some are Communists; some are not Communists. The V-C want Vietnam to be united, and they want American soldiers to go home and let them solve their own problems.

The American army in Vietnam is helping General Ky. He doesn't want North and South Vietnam to be united. He doesn't want the villagers to elect their own elders. He does want us to fight a much, much bigger war and for a very long time.

Do you want to fight in this war? Pay taxes for this war? Send your husband, son, brother to this war?

Where is YOUR fight for freedom? In Vietnam? Or in Atlanta?

For more information, write to Box 9233, Atlanta.

These first cadres, organized into 59-man teams, now have begun moving into hamlets in relatively secure areas. Their task is to help the residents take up their own defense, root out any Viet Cong agents, govern themselves effectively and support the government in Saigon. After three to five months, when this job is supposed to be completed in the first group of hamlets-each team will move on to another hamlet and begin there again.

Subteams are assigned to organize community defense, handle political indoctrination and also get available public services from the government.

THE KEY to success is a six man census-grievance sub-team, which studies and reports on the economic level, political beliefs, religious affiliations, aspirations and complaints of every family in the hamlet. Information is gathered through a confidential interview every ten days with every person in the hamlet over 10 years old.

A tacit quid pro quo is the real significance of the census-grievance group. It serves as an intelligence unit. In return for protection, help, sympathy, and advice, the hamlet residents are expected to tell which of their neighbors are or might be working for the Viet Cong.

Subsequent investigations are intended to prevent mistakes, as when someone tagged as a Viet Cong agent actually is an undercover government agent or is accused falsely because of personal or factional malice.

DESPITE official enthusiasm for this new pacification effort in Viet Nam, serious doubts and reservations are expressed privately by some of the very same men most dedicated to trying to make it succeed.

The clamor that has surrounded the program is cause for some misgiving. Some of these officials urge that it be considered a 10-year effort, not a quick formula for victory.

"Don't ask us to show any results at all in the first two or more years," said one. "The time to begin to judge success or failure will be about four years from now.

"We'll have all kinds of problems at first. Some of the cadres will be terrible. Some of them will rape, loot, steal, extort and try to live like kings. Some will turn out to be Viet Cong agents, infiltrated in our program as provacateurs."

The wholesale nature of the program arouses some doubts also. An official asks, Where are we going to find 150,000 cadres when we are already short of administrators to run the government and even recruits for the army?"

THERE IS a question, also, whether this instant patriotism can be achieved among a mixture that includes former strategic hamlet cadres under the Diem regime and members of political and religious factions that often fear and distrust one another more than the Communists.

Political action teams in a number of the northernmost provinces have been drawn largely from the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang, a policital party that bitterly opposes the majority Buddhist movement there.

About all, there is a question of conflict between the pacification program and the changing nature of the military effort in Viet Nam.

The announced strategy line calls for military action to extend the area of government control gradually. Behind this widening security screen, the revolutionary development program is intended to proceed with the pacification attempt.

BUT the military effort is increasingly aimed at breaking the back of North Vietnamese and main force Viet Cong armies. Methods being used are increasingly "search and destroy" and "search and clear." The old concept of "clear and hold" is being postponed.

"The oil slick strategy" is pretty well down the drain," a briefing officer tells newly arrived correspondents. " It was all right when all we had was a few guerillas. Now, with all these northern troops coming in, the oil slick system isn't worth a damn."

The American combat commanders take pride in their growing offensive capability against enemy units, whenever they can be found. But they concede generally that territory cannot be held until the South Vietnamese forces are prepared to follow up with occupation of the ground. This has happened only rarely so far.

Apparent progress in the heavily populated area surrounding the Mekong delta, where ground fighting still is a South Vietnamese monopoly, is largely the result of local accommodations between Viet Cong and government commenders. Neither pushes the other too hard.

As a result, when a political action team starts to distribute blankets, rubber sandals or bulgar (parched, cracked) wheat in a hamlet, it sometimes is taken for granted that the Viet Cong agents will come in at night to demand half of the new supplies.

AS THE AIR WAR intensifies, United States forces rely more increasingly on bombs and artillery. Commanders concede that targets sometimes are selected on inaccurate or outdated intelligence, so that whatever Viet Cong were present have fled. Much of the artillery fire is a "harrassing and interdiction" fire, aimed merely at likely places of enemy travel and concentration, with the results unobserved. Much of the bombing and shelling is done simply at a request from Vietnamese commanders, with no independent American check on the validity of the targets.

A pattern is beginning to develop in which bombs and shells pound the countryside, civilians are encouraged and helped to move to the cities as refugees, and anybody left in an area is assumed to be hostile. When all resistance has been smashed, the idea is that the people will be transplanted back and helped, through revolutionaty development, along the road to pacification.

THE IMMEDIATE military objective has come to be -- kill the Viet Cong -- or, as a Vietnamese general kept shouting at a recent cocktail party, "zap the V. C.! zap the V. C.!"

Some of the men most deeply involved in making Revolutionary Development work consider that the military and pacification efforts are working at cross purposes. They believe that the mounting civilian casualties and the destruction of the social fabric in the countryside help the Viet Cong more than they can help build an effective non-Communist society.

One of the officials most widely respected as a pacification expert would like to see a prohibition on all artillery fire on unobserved targets and all bombing and shelling based merely on intelligence reports.

"Killing the Viet Cong is not the answer," he says. "the answer is to give Vietnam a government and an economy that will compete with the Viet Cong."

THE PEACE CENTER NEEDS MONEY AND VOLUNTEER WORKERS. MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: NANCY W. COLLINSON. TO VOLUNTEER CALL: 523-6629.

THREE G.I. 'S ARRESTED AND HELD AT FORT DIX TO PREVENT THEIR SPEAKING ON THEIR LEGAL CASE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR?

Three G.I. 's,formerly stationed at Fort Hood,Texas,and on leave in New York City were arrested July 7 just one half hour before they were to speak to a public meeting at Community Church to explain legal proceedings which they have instituted against the Veitnam war,which they consdider"illegal,immoral.and unjust." They were taken,two of them in handcuffs to Fort Dix New Jersey and are being held under tight restrictions.

The three are PFC James Johnson,20,Pvt.Dennis Mora,25,and Pvt.David Samas,20. They were drafted into the Army last December took basic training at Fort Hood and signal training at Fort Gordon, Georgia. They became friends in training and found that they all felt the war in Vietnam was wrong.

They completed the Signal School and were assigned to the 142nd Signal Battlion,2nd Armored Division,Fort Hood Texas. There they found they were under orders to go to Vietnam.

"Now all we had discussed and thought about was real. It was time for us to quit talking and decide. Go to Vietnam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right."

They were given 30-day leaves before reporting toOakland Army Terminal in California for shipment toVietnam. They decided not to go to Vietnam and to make a case of it. They went to New York and contacted an Attorney to seek an injunction in Federal Court based on the illegality of the war. They contacted the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee,which had organized the anti war demonstration of 50,000 people last March,and asked for help.

On June 30 they held a news conference and announced that they were filing the injunction,that they would report to Oakland Army Terminal as ordered when their leave was up July 13,but that they would not go to Vietnam. They said:

"We have been told that many times we may face a Vietnamese woman or child and that we will have to kill them. We will never go there--to do that-- for Ky!..We have made our decision. We will not be a part of this unjust, immoral, and illegal war. We want no part of a war of extermination. We oppose the criminal waste of American lives and resources.We refuse to go to Vietnam."

They have been supported in their stand by leaders of the civil rights and by the entire anti-war movement. Stokeley Carmichael, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Lincoln Lynch,associate national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) appeared with them at the press conference to give support of their organizations.

Master Sergeant Donald Duncan,who spent 18 months in the Special Forces in Vietnam and who refused a commission and quit the Army because he had become convinced the war was wrong sent a message of support saying: "Your actions if properly motivated, take a strength greater than that required to go to Vietnam. To perservere will be an act of personal bravery far beyond the capabilities of most of us, certainly far beyond anything I have ever done."

(over)

A committee to aid the three soldiers in their case was formed called the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, with prominent people across the country as sponsors.

After their announcement, though they were still on leave, attempts were made to intimidate them and even to bribe them to drop the case. Pvt. Samas's parents were contacted by police and told that if their son would drop the case, he would be given an Army discharge. Then, only thirty minutes before they were to speak on their case before a public meeting they were arrested.

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, declared that the arrests "were made explicitly to prevent these young men from exercising their First Ammendment right to freedom of speech and were reminiscent of 'police state tactics.' Recently in Baltimore at its National Convention, CORE went on record as being opposed to the Vietnam war and pledged to aid and support those who would not serve in Vietnam."

The officers of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Rev. A.J. Muste, Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker, sent a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense saying: "The peace movement will continue to aid in every possible lawful way anyone, civilian, soldier, sailor or Marine, who opposes this illegal, immoral war. The young men in the armed services are entitled to know the truth about the war and to engage in discussions about it. Citizens are likewise entitled to communicate the truth about the war to servicemen and the peace movement is determined to exercise that right."

The anti-war movement, with hundreds of thousands of active participants across the country is backing the three soldiers now being held at Fort Dix. We defend their right to free speech, their right to their day in court, and their right not to participate in a war which they consider immoral and unjust.

Reprint of a leaflet issued by:

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, 5 Beekman St. N.Y. 10038
and
The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St. 10th Floor, N.Y.
A.J. Muste - Staughton Lynd, co-chairmen

* * *

The three soldiers involved are:

PFC James Johnson, 20. Born in East Harlem, Graduated from Rice Parochial High School. Attended Bronx Community College for a year before being drafted. He is Negro.

Pvt. Dennis Mora, 25. Born in Spanish Harlem. Attended Bronx High School of Science. Graduated from CCNY with a B.A. in History. A case worker for the New York City Dept. of Welfare until being drafted. He is Puerto Rican.

Pvt. David Samas, 20. Born in Chicago. Was attending Modesto Junior College in Modesto, California when drafted. Married this June. Of Italian, Lithuanian background.

HUNGER STRIKE FOR PEACE

Every day in Vietnam, 300 people will die for nothing. For neither napalm nor death will ever find for them the love and peace they need. Today they are the victims of a situation in which they have no control, as I am the victim of the knowledge of their situation in which I have no control either.

When they die, all the love and peace won can do them no good, but more violence can do something. It can bring together with the dead their brothers and sisters, but together in death, not in life. Today these 300 people will die for nothing, tomorrow they will die for even less.

For one year I have marched, I have demonstrated, I have picketed. For one year I had hoped that one could somehow help to generate enough feeling against the war that the war would be stopped, but then why does the escalation continue to grow as much as the feelings against it? Why, if the Administration wants peace, do they continue to kill the people whom peace will serve?

On Monday, June 27th, at 1 p.m. about ten people whom I know (some of whose names are on this page) and I will begin a hunger strike for peace in front of the White House. As this is an act of individuals on behalf of their own moral feelings, there will be no limit of time for anyone. All we ask of anyone is that they participate to the fullest extent of their concern and conscience, to take only water and to remain completely non-violent at all times.

We are not demanding that the President either stop the war or else we will starve to death. This is not a political ultimatum. We are begging with all of our selves that he stop the killing of 300 people a day for nothing. We will starve in sympathy for the needless murder of human beings, not in demand for political alternatives. This is an act of individuals on behalf of their own moral consciences. This is a plea for peace.

There comes a time in a person's life when he not only feels for other people, but also feels himself feeling and cannot bear any longer the needless reality of death and murder with his feelings of love and respect. When he is either compelled to act to the fullest of his own conscience or else be driven into insanity.

(Signed) Ken Sherman

Bill Wolovsky
Marvin Wingfield
Phil Wallash
Zev Cohen

We would like any support you could give.
1318 Addison Street, Philadelphia 19107.

N.B. Personal note written on original received from Ken Sherman: "I have sent a copy of this to Dr. Harding at Spelman. Perhaps you all could organize a sympathy strike in Atlanta with the Atlanta Committee the same time we are going to have ours.

Thanks.

(Signed) Ken

~~SNCC~~ MOVEMENT

I thought you might be interested in this reprint of an I.F. Stone article, which discusses recent developments in SNCC.

HB

I. F. Stone's Weekly, June 6, 1966

Behind the Hostile Press Campaign Unleashed by the Election of Stokely Carmichael

SNCC Does Not Wish to Become A New Version of the White Man's Burden

We hope white liberals will not be taken in by the press campaign against the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee since Stokely Carmichael succeeded John Lewis as national chairman. White sympathizers with the Negro have to keep several things in mind. One is that in any movement the leverage exerted by the moderates depends on the existence of an extremist fringe. The second is that a certain amount of black nationalism is inevitable among Negroes; they cannot reach equality without the restoration of pride in themselves as Negroes. The third is that this cannot be achieved unless they learn to fight for themselves, not just as wards of white men, no matter how sympathetic. SNCC is reacting against a new version of the White Man's Burden.

Fresh Approach to Southern Politics

No white man really knows what it is like to be shut into the ghetto. "The Negro," as Martin Luther King said in a vivid phrase on CBS *Face The Nation* May 29, "is still smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of this very affluent society." For the white sympathizer, the struggle against the ghetto is an act of philanthropy; for the Negro, it is a battle to save himself, not just from poverty but from a corrosive self-contempt. The ghetto dweller distrusts the white SNCC worker. Mr. Carmichael's idea of recruiting black SNCC workers from Northern ghettoes is psychologically sound. His idea of using white SNCC workers to organize the Southern poor white to the point where joint action between white and black becomes possible opens fresh perspectives in Southern politics.

The wonderful white boys and girls who went South in the past few years helped to thaw out the Negro from political deep freeze. But now that the battle has shifted from the simpler symbolic acts of sitting at a segregated lunch counter or in a segregated waiting room to the harder and more complicated tasks of winning a real economic and social equality, the job will have to be done by Negroes themselves. These are not tasks for a summer adventure in between classes. They can only be accomplished if Negroes are mobilized to carry on for themselves. In such areas as the Black Belt, where the Negro is a majority, this means seeking majority rule and that means Negro majorities. Otherwise the Negro is at the mercy of a white minority. In Lowndes county, Alabama, for example, where the Negro third party, Black Panther movement, originated, the white Sheriff has deputized every white man over 21. To be a deputy is to have the right to carry a gun, and to have a kind of hunting license to shoot Negroes.

This is the background against which one must read Carmichael's statement, "We feel that integration is irrelevant; it is just a substitute for white supremacy. We have got to go after political power." He asked an audience in Washington last week-end, "How are you going to integrate a sharecropper making $3 a day with a plantation-owner making $20,000 a year?"

Some people were shocked by Mr. Carmichael's angry remark, "We want quality education, not integrated education." But here I believe he expresses the reaction of Southern Negroes to the bitter experience of integration. The *Wall St. Journal* (May 26) carried a story, "The Invisible Wall" on the ostracism and the humiliation visited on those few Negroes who have often literally risked their lives to get into white schools. Many are leaving. This frightened handful in white schools only distracts attention from the need for first rate education in the Negro schools. This is just as true in the North where the Negro schools are segregated by the flight to the suburbs. Only by improved schooling can the Negro be fitted to compete as an equal in a hostile white world. To dismiss this as Negro nationalism is neither fair nor perceptive.

Of course the main reason for the campaign against SNCC is the statement it issued refusing to take part in the White House Conference on Civil Rights which convened as we were going to press. "Our organization," it said, "is opposed to war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights when he violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam."

High Ratio of Negro Combat Troops

This speaks the unspoken thoughts of many Negroes. The war is an affront to them. The proportion of Negroes in combat troops Joseph Alsop reported May 25 was "running above 20 percent in the average infantry company" because Negro recruits, with a lower average of technical skills, are less likely to be assigned to one of the technical specialties." The ratio in combat units is thus almost twice the Negro's ratio to population. The same discrimination that deprived Negroes of education puts them into the front ranks of battle in a struggle supposedly to preserve abroad a democracy denied them at home. How can they be blamed if they, like so many Vietnamese, see this as another white man's war?

But the main point, as Dr. King expressed it on TV, is that the war is wasting the money and the energy which can alone rehabilitate the Negro and bring him fully into the American community. Dr. King sounded very radical when he said this would cost $10 billion a year for ten years. The Vietnamese war already costs more than that, and the price will rise as it escalates. Is it any wonder SNCC feels bitter?

Powel Urges Negroes to Work Toward 'Black Political Power'

MOVEMENT NYT 7/30/66

OKLAHOMA CITY, July 29 (AP)—Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, urged Negroes today to develop "black political power" so they can share fully in community life.

"Whatever the percentage of black people is in a community, they must have at least that same percentage of jobs, appointments, judgeships and commissionerships," said Mr. Powell in a speech prepared for the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.

Mr. Powell told the women to "shake off the mink coat mentality that has alienated some from the black masses."

"Put on your work clothes and organize the black women of this country into a force so mighty that nothing can stand between you and the righteousness of your cause," he added.

Contributions Urged

The Negro Congressman urged the women's clubs to contribute at least $50 each to two militant civil rights organizations—the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"These two organizations represent the wave of the black future," he said. "They alone are inextricably intertwined with the destiny of the black masses."

Mr. Powell spoke scornfully of older civil rights organizations, attacked unidentified Negro leaders as mere tools of the whites, and singled out Secretary of Housing Robert C. Weaver for a special attack.

After saying he had asked Mr. Weaver, the first Negro to serve in the Cabinet, what could be done to improve housing in Harlem, Mr. Powell said:

"I have never even received the courtesy of a reply which points up one of the most severe problems black people have today — the noncolored black man in high positions in Government."

He also renewed his criticism of Senator A. S. Mike Monroney, Democrat of Oklahoma, whom he accused of racism yesterday for recommending splitting the House Education and Labor Committee, which Powell heads.

"Oklahoma could use some help from its senior Senator, Mr. Monroney, who seems more intent on depriving one black Congressman of his chairmanship than on helping the black people in his own state," Mr. Powell said.

Monroney Accuses Powell

WASHINGTON, July 29 (AP) — Senator A. S. Mike Monroney accused Representative Adam Clayton Powell today of resorting to "political blackmail" in efforts to prevent the splitting apart of Mr. Powell's House Education and Labor Committee.

Mr. Powell told a news conference yeterday that a recommendation by the Senate-House Committee on Congressional Organization to establish separate education committees in both houses stemmed from "racism, pure and simple."

Mr. Monroney, who heads the organization group, replied in a statement today that this was a "phony and preposterous charge." He said Mr. Powell's race had nothing to do with the joint committee's proposal for dividing the work on the committee.

"I am appalled at his overt threat to exercise political blackmail over those who support a constructive step forward in modernizing congressional procedures," the Senator declared. "This is sheer demagoguery and should be resented by all members of Congress."

DR. KING PRESSES DRIVE IN CHICAGO

MOVEMENT

Plans Real Estate Vigils—Meets With Carmichael

NYT 7/30/66

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 29—The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr, began a new drive today against housing segregation. He said his supporters would begin all-night vigils in real estate offices.

Dr. King, chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said the demonstration would begin in the Gage Park neighborhood on Chicago's Southwest Side, where homes are not being made available to Negroes.

He said Negro families had been told there were no vacancies in the area while white families had been shown homes available for occupancy.

Dr. King told an audience in the New Friendship Baptist Church that there was a "wall in this city" behind which a million Negroes were kept in a ghetto "of race, poverty and human misery."

Behind this wall, he said, the Negro walks the street unemployed or underemployed and pays more for comparable housing than whites.

Dr. King met briefly yesterday with Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, who made several speeches in Chicago before moving on to Detroit last night.

A spokesman for Dr. King said Mr. Carmichael had invited him to attend the national rally called for in Washington over the Labor Day weekend by the student committee and Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Manhattan Democrat. The spokesman said Dr. King did not accept or decline the invitation but said he would discuss it with his board.

While in Chicago, Mr. Carmichael was closely guarded by two bodyguards who, he confirmed, were members of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a militant group that started in Louisiana.

Mr. Carmichael wore the "uniform" of civil rights workers in the South — blue work shirt and blue denim pants and heavy work shoes. The Deacons were in expensive well-pressed dark suits and narrow brimmed dark straw hats that they wore at all times, inside and outside of buildings.

One of the Deacons, Edward L. Crawford, was asked if he had a gun with him. He replied: "The Deacons are an armed group."

Negro Truce Urged

Mr. Carmichael, a militant advocate of "black power," spoke before a cheering rally last night in the United Packinghouse Workers Union Hall on the South Side.

He urged Negroes to stop fighting among themselves, asserting that "the only nonviolence we need is nonviolence among ourselves." He said that "we've been shooting and cutting the wrong people."

He said the recent lootings, burnings and killings in Negro sections of major cities were the result of a "rebellion."

He urged his audience to adopt the doctrine of black power, saying that "we don't control anything in this country but what the white people say we may control."

Cries of "black power" arose among his listeners.

Mr. Carmichael said black power meant that Negroes would "control the economics and politics of our own community." He urged Negroes to form cooperatives and use the profits to benefit their community instead of buying from white merchants.

MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1966.

Whitney Young Says Attempt Must Be Made to Reach Ghetto 'Unreachables'

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, July 31—Whitney M. Young Jr., executive secretary of the National Urban League, told the opening session of the league's 59th annual convention that a major effort must be made to reach the "unreachables," the marginal and the alienated men and women who are emerging from the ghettos.

His analysis of the changing mood of the Northern urban ghettos reflected a growing sensitivity in the established civil rights organizations to the underground rumblings in the black ghettos.

While insisting that the number of Negroes who participated in this summer's riots represented only a small fraction of the Negro population, Mr. Young also suggested that more dangerous explosions might be in the offing if programs with more creativity and breadth are not undertaken in the near future.

Mr. Young further suggested a number of such programs. The first, entitled Operation Urban Survival, would place New York's projected World Trade Center in Harlem. It would put new industries and Government buildings in the Negro slum areas throught the United States.

Benefits Expected

Mr. Young pointed to the construction of the United Nations Headquarters and Lincoln Center in two areas that were once slums. He felt that a similar effort in the ghettos would have similar beneficial results.

The right leader, who returned last week from Vietnam, also suggested the creation of a special veterans bureau at the National Urban League Headquarters in New York. This, he said, could determine the skills and resettlement desires of Negro soldiers before their separation from the armed services.

He said that President Johnson and Cabinet members had reacted favorably to the suggestion, which would require the support of the Federal Government, the Veterans Administration, industry and labor.

The National Urban League is not a membership organization. Its offices in 76 cities are manned by professional staffs and volunteers. Its programs, supported by foundations, Federal Government departments and industry, are directed toward employment education, housing and general welfare.

Last year the league found jobs for about 8,000 Negroes. There are 12,000 currently engaged in the educational program.

In his description of the changing mood in the black ghettos Mr. Young said:

"The Urban League is committed to providing services needed by the impoverished urban masses, not the middle class, but the poor, whose frustrations threaten to explode like dynamite, or, worse, who have become apathetic and resigned to their fate.

"We are especially concerned with the young people, embittered before their time by the conditions in which they live. Miseducated by the schools, harassed by authority, rejected in their efforts to find work, these people represent a potential tinderbox.

"These are the young people we have got to reach with constructive programs which will channel their hostility to productive ends, or they will immolate themselves on the self destructive pyres of hate and bitterness.

"But we must not only cope with hostility and agression; we must cope with something far worse.

"Another type of individual, the marginal and alienated man, has resulted from the unbroken cycle of poverty and discriminateion. He has been rejected and despised, subject to a lifetime of abuse and indignity, set outside the bounds of the society, which imprisons and exploits him.

"He exists in spiritual isolation and physical wreckage. His problem is less his hostility and hate, then his apathy. He is of society. His apathy and despair results from a lifetime of hurt and relentless rejecteion.

'He no longer cares. He has ben referred to as unreachable.

"The Urban League must reach the unreachable.

Mr. Young said that slogans were not new in the Negro civil rights movement and that black power, like other slogans, would not solve the Negro problem.

The Urban League, Mr. Young said, was and is committed to biracial cooperation.

"We will not compromise our belief in the absolute necessity for such cooperation to the success of the movement—morally, philosophically and practically."

He accused the press and other news media of having seized upon the slogan black power when it was first used during the Meredith march in Mississippi and with having blown it out of proportion. "The national press and television," he charged, "went harass."

"Any phrase which means all things to all people becomes meaningless. Power is neither black nor white—it is the green of the dollar bill, the maroon of a text book and the gray of a pay envelope."

Pickets of three Negro groups appeared outside the Sheraton Hotel where more than 1,000 delegates and friends of the National Urban League were gathered.

One picket's sign read: "This Is The National Convention of the Uncle Toms." Other signs attacked Mr. Young personally for his trip to Vietnam and his report that the morale of the Negro troops there is good.

'Black Power' Redefined

AC 8/4/66 MOVEMENT

Stokely Carmichael's "black power" Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is doing its level best (or worst) to stir up some violence in Atlanta's Vine City slums.

Tuesday night it almost succeeded. A crowd led by Carmichael gathered in Vine City around a policeman who was issuing a traffic ticket to an Alabama SNCC worker. The charges: blocking an intersection and making an illegal turn.

As Carmichael's racists chanted "black power," more people gathered and then police reinforcements arrived. The traffic citation was served and the crowd dispersed. No one was jailed, and the SNCC worker is scheduled to appear in traffic court Aug. 17.

Yesterday SNCC workers were building up Tuesday night's incident as a great victory for "black power." It was nothing of the sort. If anything, it was a victory for Atlanta police who coolly controlled a tense and potentially explosive situation.

What the incident did do was serve notice that Carmichael is being anything but candid when he says that "black power" merely means organizing Negroes into a voting bloc to secure by peaceful means the rights and opportunities that are legally theirs. What Carmichael is trying to do is promote not "black power," but "SNCC power" or "Carmichael power" in a contest with responsible civil rights organizations. He showed Tuesday night that he will defy law and order to win this power, even to the extent of inciting others to violence.

Stokely Carmichael's strategy of divide and conquer is essentially a problem that addresses itself to the Negroes themselves. He is their problem, and when he charges that others—including this newspaper—are seeking to divide them in Vine City and elsewhere, they should recognize him as the power-hungry opportunist he is and deal with him accordingly.

Close-Up

MOVEMENT ae 8/4/66

'Told You So' or 'Made It So'?

I have written several times recently that the "black power" movement—as it is practiced if not as it is explained—is a great evil.

It is no less evil because those who preach it have been provoked into it by repression and disillusionment. An evil influence must be fought even though the evil-doer deserves compassion.

But it is important to understand why Snick and CORE people and unorganized ghetto Negroes have swallowed the bitter poison of black racism.

It is important to realize that whites piously clucking "I told you so" really should be saying "I made it so."

It is important to identify the guilt of politicians who created and nurtured and thrived on discrimination.

It is important to recognize that present-day campaign oratory about "federal intervention" and "destroying individual rights" is nothing but old racism, pure and simple. It is not a new wave of conservatism sweeping our land, but old currents of hatred.

The white South at least was honest enough to formalize its discrimination into law. Now that honesty has been removed by higher law, and we rapidly are learning Northern hypocrisy in its place: "They've got everything, and now they want more." . . ."I fight poverty; I work" . . . "The federal government has taken away my God-given rights" . . . "They'd rather live off welfare than work."

Would it surprise you to know that only a few years—only a few months—ago, some of today's noisy "black power" high priests were idealistic believers in a nonracial America? Yes, they really believed civil rights laws and the war on poverty would change things.

Well, they have been clubbed and jailed and shot at. Their friends have been murdered. Southern sheriffs and policemen and politicians—and yes, "respectable" businessmen and "refined" women—have made a holy crusade of making application of the new laws as hard and as onerous a task as possible.

Picture yourself in a small Mississippi town a few weeks ago. A Negro who had taken part in a peaceful protest meeting fainted from the heat. As he lay on the ground, he was surrounded by "good" white citizens, male and female, kicking at him and yelling "kill him."

This was a real incident, far more common than we like to realize, but less violent than some: He was allowed to leave alive.

Imagine seeing that scene repeated month after month, year after year. Imagine living in towns where not a single white person spoke to you any way but hostilely. And then ask yourself how long you could retain your faith in American law or the innate goodness of white people.

As I said, "black power" is no better because of all this. But many of those who protest the most must share the blame.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

NEGROES ASSAIL S.N.C.C. PROTEST

MOVEMENT

Dr. King and 3 Score Plan to Picket Johnson Wedding

8/6/66

By EDWARD C. BURKS

Plans of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to stage a protest march to the White House tomorrow on Luci Baines Johnson's wedding day drew a sharp rebuke from four national Negro leaders yesterday.

A telegram accusing the student committee of "extremely poor taste" was addressed to its leader, Stokely Carmichael, by these Negro leaders:

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

The demonstration is to be against the war in Vietnam and will culminate with a march to the White House at 3 P.M. for a "silent protest," according to Lester Kinnie, assistant director of the student committee's Washington office.

A Sharp Reaction

The wedding reception for the President's daughter is scheduled to be under way at that time.

The central committee of the student group reacted sharply to the four Negro leaders, declaring in a return telegram, "You have displayed more backbone in defending Luci than you have shown for the millions of black people being brutalized every day in the United States." It added:

"You have displayed more backbone in defending Luci than you have shown for the colored people of Vietnam being napalmed by Luci's father."

The group spoke of "black soldiers being exterminated in Vietnam" and accused the four leaders of showing more concern for the President's daughter than for "black brothers engaged in acts of rebellion in our cities."

Dr. King and Mr. Wilkins have clashed recently with leaders of the student committee and with the Congress of Racial Equality, denouncing their "black power" slogan as suggesting racism.

Reply Called Acrid

Yesterday's answer by the S.N.C.C. central committee was one of its most acrid. It described President Johnson as "your boss" and accused him of having scheduled the wedding on the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima to divert news coverage from Vietnam and from the remembrance "that this country murdered many in Hiroshima."

Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, said that his organization had no plans "to picket the wedding." But he said that selection of the Hiroshima anniversary date for the wedding was "in the worst possible taste, a cynical disregard for the sensitivity of the Japanese people."

The telegram of the four Negro leaders said:

"We believe the scheduled demonstration is politically untenable because the young woman and her groom who will be subjected to embarrassment are in no way responsible for the Vietnam war and have no control over the conduct of our nation. The protest demonstration then becomes a futile and unflattering exhibition of the egos of the demonstators with no practicable effect upon the objective, the ending of the war."

The wire went on to accuse Mr. Carmichael of implanting the idea in the minds of millions that the demonstration represented an action by the civil rights movement. He was asked to withdraw from participation.

S.N.C.C. and CORE will join a large number of groups in a "Hiroshima Day protest parade" here Saturday. A dozen separate marches are scheduled to feed into Times Square, and the paraders will move on to a rally at 48th Street and Park Avenue.

MOVEMENT

'Black Power' Idea Took Months Of Planning, Secret Report Says

AC 8/5/66

By GENE ROBERTS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

CHICAGO—A position paper, written last winter by dissident members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating committee (SNICK) and still considered confidential, shows that the organization's new "Black Power" philosophy was the product of months of planning.

The document is the first detailed explanation of the thinking behind the "Black Power" concept to become available to the public.

It was used by the dissidents to reverse the student committee's policy on the role of whites in the civil rights movement.

"If we are to proceed toward liberation, we must cut ourselves off from the white people," the document says. "We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

"Negoes would instinctively champion all-black teams if they opposed all-white or predominantly white teams," the paper says. "The same principle operates for the (civil rights) movement as it does for baseball: a mystique must be created whereby Negroes can identify with the movement."

The members who prepared the paper also said they expected to be accused of being "racist" but were prepared to give up white financial support because they felt such support would "entwine" them "in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country."

Because it was compiled by a committee with at least some divergent views, the paper is alternately conciliatory and angry toward whites, but all of those who joined in writing it concluded that whites should have at best only a minor role in civil rights activity or in political organization among Negroes.

50,000 Sugar Trees

ST. PAUL, Minn. (UPI) — Minnesota had a maple sugar yield in 1966 of 5,000 gallons or 40,000 pounds of maple sugar.

Urban League Chief Deplores the Fight Over Black Power

8/6/66

MOVEMENT

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 4 — The National Urban League has taken a stand deploring the controversy over the term "black power" because it has diverted attention from the "more meaningful debate around the real problems of poverty and discrimination."

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the league, issued a statement yesterday designed to put in perspective what black power means to his organization.

The league, he said, has "carefully refrained from becoming involved in the fruitless dispute over the value of a slogan which has not even yet been clearly defined by its originators.

"Rather, we will continue to devote ourselves to bettering the position of the Negro in the nation.

"We will continue through our unique structure to expand and develop positive programs of action, which bring jobs to the unemployed, housing to the dispossessed, education to the deprieved and necessary voter education to the disfranchised.

"In the final analyses these are the things in our American system which bring power to both black and white citizens —and dignity and pride to all."

The phrase black power was a sensitive one during the league's five-day convention, which ended today with business sessions at the Sheraton Hotel here.

Mr. Young reported that during the year the league placed more than 8,000 Negroes in jobs, and that more than 10,000 now were in training.

Referring to critics who have condemned the organization because it has not been militant enough, Mr. Young said, "Direct action means putting a man in a job."

Lindsley F. Kimball was reelected president of the league. New officers elected were Louis E. Martin of Washington, a vice president; Mrs. Theodore R. Poston of New York City, secretary, and Leslie N. Shaw of Los Angeles, assistant treasurer.

MOVEMENT

Negroes Rip SNCC And 'Black Power'

AC 8/6/66

The Summit Leadership Conference, representing the top ranks of Atlanta's Negro community, is expected to issue a scathing denunciation of the "black power" movement and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Friday.

Details of the proclamation, in the works through most of the day and night Thursday, were being kept under wraps.

The Rev. Samuel Williams, chairman of the conference, said a press conference would be called "when it's ready. We haven't got it ready yet, and we're not going to say what it is until it is ready."

The action comes on the heels of a spreading rift between the more militant and more moderate Negro camps—with the "black power" enthusiasts of SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) being polarized to the left.

Thursday the split in the Negro front widened with these developments:

—SNCC emphatically rejected pleas from more moderate Negro leaders and announced it definitely intends to demonstrate Saturday at the wedding of President Lyndon B. Johnson's daughter.

—The National Urban League convention in Philadelphia parted company with SNCC and CORE on their position on the Viet Nam war and praised Negroes fighting there.

—A spokesman said SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael still plans to "explore the possibilities" of a coalition with the Black Muslims to "work together for the black community."

—And Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said a recent Vine City incident in which a white Atlanta

Continued on Page 14, Column 5

Negroes Aim Blast At SNCC

Continued from Page 1

policeman was surrounded by Negroes chanting "black power" was "deliberate" and "premeditated."

Allen said, "It was apparent entrapment of the policeman to bring him into this neighborhood and bring about this condition."

The incident started when Officer B. C. Basham stopped a car for a traffic violation in Vine City and wrote out a citation. Allen's statement came after a conference with members of the Summit Leadership Conference.

Meanwhile, SNCC fired off a telegram in reply to one from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Asa Phillip Randolph who had asked SNCC to call off the demonstration Saturday at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington.

The leaders argued that Luci Johnson and Pat Nugent have nothing to do with the government's policy in Viet Nam, strongly opposed by SNCC. The SNCC reply read in part:

"The 6th is the (anniversary of the) day that this country murdered many in Hiroshima. In addition we believe your bossman (Johnson) elected this date to avert news coverage of Viet Nam and Hiroshima.

"You have displayed more backbone in defending Luci Johnson than you have shown for our black soldiers being exterminated in Viet Nam today."

BLACK POWER IDEA LONG IN PLANNING

MOVEMENT

S.N.C.C. Dissidents Wrote Document Last Winter

NYT 8/5/66

The text of S.N.C.C. position paper is on Page 10.

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 4 — A position paper, written last winter by dissident members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and still considered confidential shows that the organization's new "black power" philosophy was the product of months of planning.

The document is the first detailed explanation of the thinking behind the "black power" concept to become available to the public.

It was used by the dissidents to reverse the student committee's policy on the role of whites in the civil rights movement.

"If we are to proceed toward liberation, we must cut ourselves off from the white people," the document says. "We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

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Continued on Page 10, Column 1

BLACK POWER IDEA LONG IN PLANNING

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

paper says. "The same principle operates for the [civil rights] movement as it does for baseball: A mystique must be created whereby Nesroes can identify with the movement."

The members who prepared the paper also said they expected to be accused of being "racist" but were prepared to give up white financial support because they felt such support would "entwine" them "in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country."

Because it was compiled by a committee with at least some divergent views, the paper is alternately conciliatory and angry toward whites, but all of those who joined in writing it concluded that whites should have at best only a minor role in civil rights activity or in political organization among Negroes.

Although the student committee is not a mass membership organization and, thus, is the smallest of the major civil rights organizations, it has the largest force of full-time organizers in the movement. Its approximately 135 members are all full-time staff workers, many of them with four to six years in the movement and with widespread influence in both the movement and in Negro communities where they have worked.

Started Trends in Past

In the past, major policy shifts within the student committee have started trends throughout the movement.

The organization was, for example, the first to send civil rights "missionaries" into Southern communities to live with Negro residents. This policy has since become standard operating procedure for the Congress of Racial Equality and for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The "position paper" indicates that the policy shift that led to the "black power" philosophy came as a result of internal discussion within the student committee over the role of white workers within the organization.

Out of this, there developed among student committee members the feeling that they could organize Negroes more easily if they had an all-Negro organizing staff and appealed to Negroes to band themselves into all-black political and economic blocs.

Membership Persuaded

Using their position paper to popularize their views, the "black consciousness" advocates within the student committee succeeded in persuading the full membership to adopt a formal policy of excluding whites from

Excerpts From Paper on Which the 'Black Power' Philosophy is Based

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 4—Following are excerpts from a position paper, written by members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, that serves as the basis for the organization's "black power" philosophy:

The myth that the Negro is somehow incapable of liberating himself, is lazy, etc., came out of the American experience. In the books that children read, whites are always "good" (good symbols are white), blacks are "evil" or seen as savages in movies, their language is referred to as a "dialect," and black people in this country are supposedly descended from savages.

Any white person who comes into the movement has these concepts in his mind about black people if only subconsciously. He cannot escape them because the whole society has geared his subconscious in that direction.

Miss America coming from Mississippi has a chance to represent all of America, but a black person from either Mississippi or New York will never represent America. So that white people coming into the movement cannot relate to the black experience, cannot relate to the word "black," cannot relate to the "nitty gritty," cannot relate to the experience that brought such a word into being, cannot relate to chitterlings, hog's head cheese, pig feet, hamhocks, and cannot relate to slavery, because these things are not a part of their experience. They also cannot relate to the black religious experience, nor to the black church unless, of course, this church has taken on white manifestations.

Stereotype Reinforced

Negroes in this country have never been allowed to organize themselves because of white interference. As a result of this, the stereotype has been reinforced that blacks cannot organize themselves. The white psychology that blacks have to be watched, also reinforces this stereotype. Blacks, in fact, feel intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives. One white person can come into a meeting of black people and change the complexion of that meeting, whereas one black person would not change the complexion of that meeting unless he was an obvious Uncle Tom. People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood," "love," etc; race would not be discussed.

If people must express themselves freely, there has to be a climate in which they can do this. If blacks feel intimidated by whites, then they are not liable to vent ing of the blues to us who are manifestations of the songs themselves?

It must also be pointed out that on whatever level of contact that blacks and whites come together, that meeting or confrontation is not on the level of the blacks but always on the level of the whites. This only means that our everyday contact with whites is a reinforcement of the myth of white supremacy. Whites are the ones who must try to raise themselves to our humanistic level. We are not, after all, the ones who are responsible for a genocidal war in Vietnam; we are not the ones who are responsible for neocolonialism in Africa and Latin America; we are not the ones who held a people in animalistic bondage over 400 years. We reject the American dream as defined by white people and must work to construct an American reality defined by Afro-Americans.

One of the criticisms of white militants and radicals is that when we view the masses of white people we view the over-all reality of America, we view the racism, the bigotry, and the distortion of personality, we view man's inhumanity to man; we view in reality 180 million racists. The sensitive white intellectual and radical who is fighting to bring about change is conscious of this fact, but does not have the courage to admit this. When he admits this reality, then he must also admit his involvement because he is a part of the collective white America. It is only to the extent that he recognizes this that he will be able to change this reality.

Another concern is how does the white radical view the black community and how does he view the poor white community in terms of organizing. So far, we have found that most white radicals have sought to escape the horrible reality of America by going into the black community and attempting to organize black people while neglecting the organization of their own people's racist communities. How can one clean up someone else's yard when one's own yard is untidy? Again we feel that S.N.C.C. and the civil rights movement in general is in many aspects similar to the anticolonial situations in the African and Asian countries. We have the whites in the movement corresponding to the white civil servants and missionaries in the colonial countries who have worked with the colonial people for a long period of time and have developed a paternalistic attitude toward them. The reality of the colonial people taking over their own lives and controlling their own destiny must be faced. Having to move aside and letting this natural process of growth and development take place must be faced.

Process of Growth

These views should not be equated with outside influence or outside agitation but should be viewed as the natural process of growth and development within a movement; so that the move by the black militants and S.N.C.C. in this direction should be viewed as a turn toward self-determination.

It is very ironic and curious how aware whites in this country can champion anticolonialism in other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but when black people move toward similar goals of self-determination in this country they are viewed as racists and anti-white by these same progressive whites. In proceeding further, it can be said that this attitude derives from the overall point of view of the white psyche as it concerns the black people. This attitude stems from the era of the slave revolts when every white man was a potential deputy or sheriff or guardian of the state. Because when black people got together among themselves to work out their problems, it became a threat to white people, because such meetings were potential slave revolts.

It can be maintained that this attitude or way of thinking has perpetuated itself to this current period and that it is part of the psyche of white people in this country whatever their political persuasion might be. It is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts. There have been examples of whites who stated that they can deal with black fellows on an individual basis but become threatened or menaced by the presence of groups of blacks. It can be maintained that this attitude is held by the majority of progressive whites in this country.

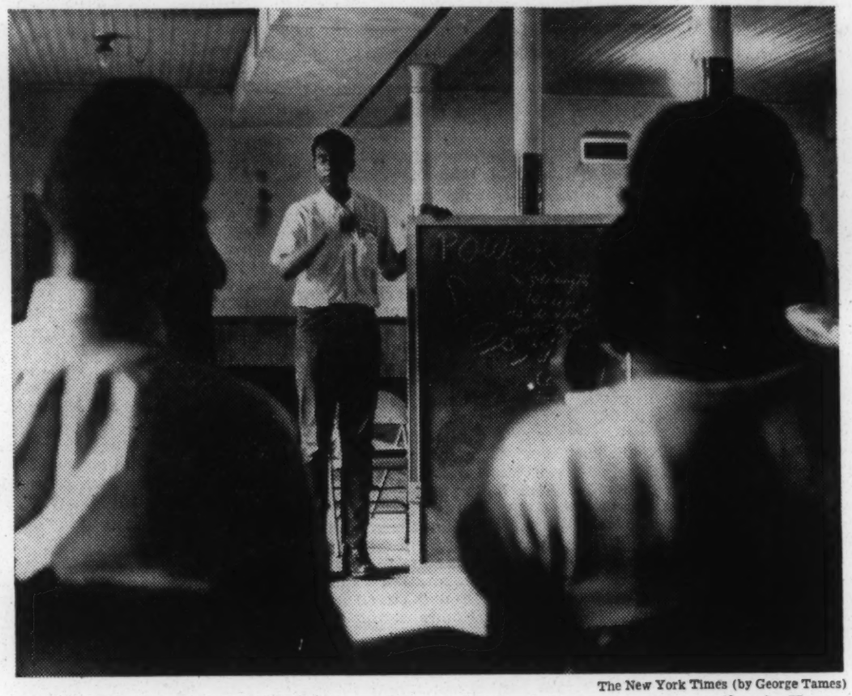
Thorough Re-examination

A thorough re-examination must be made by black people concerning the contributions that we have made in shaping this country. If this re-examination and re-evaluation is not made, and black people are not given their proper due and respect, then the antagonisms and contradictions are going to become more and more glaring, more and more intense until a national explosion may result.

When people attempt to move from these conclusions it would be faulty reasoning to say they are ordered by racism, because, in this country and in the West, racism has functioned has a type of white nationalism when dealing with black people. We all know the habit that this has created throughout the world and particularly among nonwhite people in this country.

Therefore any re-evaluation that we must make will, for the most part, deal with identification. Who are black people, what are black people; what is their relationship to America and the world?

It must be repeated that the whole myth of "Negro citizenship," perpetuated by the white elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of black people react to American society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the West in Africa, and Latin America, and had the same relationship—that of the colonized toward the colonizer.



The New York Times (by George Tames)

EXPONENT OF BLACK POWER: Stokely Carmichael, shown here at meeting in Farmville, Va., has been described by observers of Negro nationalism as a new Malcolm X.

Black Power Prophet

Stokely Carmichael

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 4—Stokely Carmichael was 11 years old when his family moved from Port of Spain in his native Trinidad to Harlem in 1952. Something of the West Indies can still be seen in him. His fine-cut face is friendly and he carries his tall frame with a slump-shouldered grace suggesting that he does not take himself seriously. But America has shaped the public Stokely Carmichael as something quite different.

Man in the News

"In Trinidad," wrote Robert Penn Warren, the novelist, after interviewing Mr. Carmichael in 1964, "some 96 per cent of the population had been Negroes; all immediate authority — police, teachers, ministers, civil servants—all the storekeepers and entrepreneurs in general were Negro.

"The 4 per cent white population lived in 'mansions'," he continued, "but then many Negroes lived in 'mansions' too, and the question of exploitation of the black by the white had not occurred to the boy. In America all was different. Immediate authoritative quate. He began to read, especially Marx, and to associate with young Socialists.

He learned about white liberals through his friends of the upper set at Bronx Science. He told Mr. Warren of being invited to a party at the swank apartment of a white friend and of being introduced to the boy's mother.

"Well, his mother had a group of ladies there, and it was like I hit it off right away," Mr. Carmichael told the novelist. "She said: 'Oh, I've heard so much about you, you've got such a sense of humor, Jimmy is talking about you, you're such a good-looking boy, what teachers you have . . .' and on and on. Finally, when I yas leaving, the door was just about closed, his mother turned to the other ladies and said, "Oh, yes, we let Jimmy hang around with Negroes.' I didn't like that."

One of his first targets when he became chairman of the student committee in May was white liberals. "Liberalism is an extension of paternalism," he said. Most whites have now left the student committee.

As a teen-ager, he was, at first, opposed to the student sitting in the South that be

So what we have now (in S.N.C.C.) is a closed society. A clique. Black people cannot relate to S.N.C.C., because of its unrealistic, nonracial atmosphere; denying their experiences of America as a racist society. In contrast, S.C.L.C. [the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference] has a staff that at least maintains a black facade. The front office is virtually all-black, but nobody accuses S.C.L.C. of being racist.

If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories.

To proceed further, let us make some comparisons between the Black Movement of the (early) 1900's and the movement of the 1960's—the N.A.A.C.P. [the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] with S.N.C.C. Whites subverted the Niagara movement [the forerunner of the N.A.A.C.P.] which, at the outset, was an all-black movement. The name of the new organization was also very revealing, in that it pre-supposed blacks have to be advanced to the level of whites. We are now aware that the N.A.A.C.P. has grown reactionary, is controlled by the black power structure itself, and stands as one of the

mittee have started trends throughout the movement.

The organization was, for example, the first to send civil rights "missionaries" into Southern communities to live with Negro residents. This policy has since become standard operating procedure for the Congress of Racial Equality and for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The "position paper" indicates that the policy shift that led to the "black power" philosophy came as a result of internal discussion within the student committee over the role of white workers within the organization.

Out of this, there developed among student committee members the feeling that they could organize Negroes more easily if they had an all-Negro organizing staff and appealed to Negroes to band themselves into all-black political and economic blocs.

Membership Persuaded

Using their position paper to popularize their views, the "black consciousness" advocates within the student committee succeeded in persuading the full membership to adopt a formal policy of excluding whites from policy-making and organizational roles within the committee.

The formal vote came at a meeting near Nashville, Tenn., in May. It was the same meeting at which James Forman resigned as executive secretary of the student committee and John Lewis, the organization's chairman, was ousted in favor of Stokely Carmichael, who a month later popularized the "black power" chant during the civil rights march through Mississippi.

In a recent interview, Mr. Lewis said the views contained in the "position paper" were advanced at the meeting by Mr. Carmichael, Bill Ware, who heads the committee's organizational drive in Atlanta's slums, and several other committee members.

Along those who opposed the views set forth in the position paper, according to Mr. Lewis, were Charles Sherrod, who in 1961 be came one of the student committee's full time staff members.

Withdrew After Vote

Mr. Shrrod, who divides his time between the civil rights movement and the Union Theologi cal Seminary in New York, where he is a student, had planned to bring several white seminary students into southwestern Georgia this summer on a voter registration project.

When the student committee voted to exclude white workers, Mr. Lewis said, Mr. Sherrod withdrew from active participation in the student committee and is now carrying on his voter registration project without committee approval or support. Others within the student committee oppose the black power philosophy, Mr. Lewis said, but he declined to name them.

Mr. Lewis said, however, that Mr. Forman embraced the black power philosophy and the exclusion of white organizers from the student committee, and thus insured the popularity of the views expressed in the position paper.

'Most Influential'

"Jim Forman wasn't defeated for re-election," Mr. Lewis said, "he just decided to step into the background. He is still the most influential person in Snick (the student committee). He can tell them to do something, and they will do it. Or he can tell them not to do something, and they won't do it."

Mr. Lewis also said that Mr. Carmichael, as the new chairman of the student committee, became the chief spokesman for the views expressed in the position paper. Mr. Lewis noted that it was Mr. Carmichael who gave the views a formal label when he began shooting "Black power, black power" during the Mississippi march.

"There was a lot of discussion about the role of whites for several months before the Nashville meeting," Mr. Lewis said. He said some of its strongest support came from the committee's organizational projects in Philadelphia and Atlanta. But it was discussed, too, in every area of the country in which the student committee is active, Mr. Lewis said.

the black church unless, of course, this church has taken on white manifestations.

Stereotype Reinforced

Negroes in this country have never been allowed to organize themselves because of white interference. As a result of this, the stereotype has been reinforced that blacks cannot organize themselves. The white psychology that blacks have to be watched, also reinforces this stereotype. Blacks, in fact, feel intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives. One white person can come into a meeting of black people and change the complexion of that meeting, whereas one black person would not change the complexion of that meeting unless he was an obvious Uncle Tom. People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood," "love," etc; race would not be discussed.

If people must express themselves freely, there has to be a climate in which they can do this. If blacks feel intimidated by whites, then they are not liable to vent the rage that they feel about whites in the presence of whites—especially not the black people whom we are trying to organize, i.e., the broad masses of black people. A climate has to be created whereby blacks can express themselves. The reason that whites must be excluded is not that one is anti-white, but because the efforts that one is trying to achieve cannot succeed because whites have an intimidating effect. Offtimes the intimidating effect is in direct proportion to the amount of degradation that black people have suffered at the hands of white people.

Role in Movement

It must be offered that white people who desire change in this country should go where that problem (of racism) is most manifest. The problem is not in the black community. The white people should go into white communities where the whites have created power for the express [purpose] of denying blacks human dignity and self-determination. Whites, who come into the black community with ideas of change seem to want to absolve the power structure of its responsibility of what it is doing, and saying that change can come only through black unity, which is only the worst kind of paternalism. This is not to say that whites have not had an important role in the movement. In the case of Mississippi, their role was very key in that they helped give blacks the right to organize, but that role is now over, and it should be.

People now have the right to picket, the right to give out leaflets, the right to vote, the right to demonstrate, the right to print.

These things which revolve around the right to organize have been accomplished mainly because of the entrance of white people into Mississippi, in the summer of '64. Since these goals have now been accomplished, their (whites') role in the movement has now ended. What does it mean if black people, once having the right to organize, are not allowed to organize themselves? It means that blacks' ideas about inferiority are being reinforced. Shouldn't people be able to organize themselves? Blacks should be given this right. Further (white participation) means in the eyes of the black community that whites are the "brains" behind the movement and blacks cannot function without whites. This only serves to perpetuate existing attitudes within the existing society, i.e., blacks are "dumb," "unable to take care of business," etc. Whites are "smart," the "brains" behind everything.

How do blacks relate to other blacks as such? How do we react to Willie Mays as against Mickey Mantle? What is our response to Mays hitting a home run against Mantle performing the same deed? One has to come to the conclusion that it is because of black participation in baseball. Negroes still identify with the Dodgers because of Jackie Robinson's efforts with the Dodgers. Negroes would instinctively champion all-black teams if they opposed all-white or predominantly white teams. The same principle operates for the movement as it does for baseball: a mystique must be created whereby Negroes can identify with the movement.

Thus an all-black project is needed in order for the people to free themselves. This has to exist from the beginning. This relates to what can be called "coalition politics." There is no doubt in our minds that some whites are just as disgusted with this system as we are. But it is meaningless to talk about coalition if there is no one to align ourselves with, because of the lack of organization in the white communities. There can be no talk of "hooking up" unless black people organize blacks and white people organize whites. If these conditions are met then perhaps at some later date—and if we are going in the same direction — talks about exchange of personnel, coalition, and other meaningful alliances can be discussed.

In the beginning of the movement, we had fallen into a trap whereby we thought that our problems revolved around the right to eat at certain lunch counters or the right to vote, or to organize our communities. We have seen, however, that the problem is much deeper. The problem of this country, as we had seen it, concerned all blacks and all whites (and therefore) if decisions were left to the young people, then solutions would be arrived at. But this negates the history of black people and whites. We have dealt stringently with the problem of "Uncle Tom," but we have not yet gotten around to Simon Legree. We must ask ourselves who is the real villain? Uncle Tom or Simon Legree? Everybody knows Uncle Tom but who knows Simon Legree? Christian Leadership Conference] has a staff that at least maintains a black facade. The front office is virtually all-black, but nobody accuses S.C.L.C. of being racist.

If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories.

To proceed further, let us make some comparisons between the Black Movement of the (early) 1900's and the movement of the 1960's—the N.A.A.C.P. [the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] with S.N.C.C. Whites subverted the Niagara movement [the forerunner of the N.A.A.C.P.] which, at the outset, was an all-black movement. The name of the new organization was also very revealing, in that it pre-supposed blacks have to be advanced to the level of whites. We are now aware that the N.A.A.C.P. has grown reactionary, is controlled by the black power structure itself, and stands as one of the main roadblocks to black freedom. S.N.C.C., by allowing the whites to remain in the organization, can have its efforts subverted in the same manner, i.e., through having them play important roles such as community organizers, etc. Indigenous leadership cannot be built with whites in the positions they now hold.

These facts do not mean that whites cannot help. They can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level.

The charge may be made that we are "racists," but whites who are sensitive to our problems will realize that we must determine our own destiny.

To Find a Solution

In an attempt to find a solution to our dilemma, we propose that our organization (S.N.C.C.) should be black-staffed, black-controlled and black-financed. We do not want to fall into a similar dilemma that other civil rights organizations have fallen. If we continue to rely upon white financial support we will find ourselves entwined in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country. It is also important that a black organization (devoid of cultism) be projected to our people so that it can be demonstrated that such organizations are viable.

More and more we see black people in this country being used as a tool of the white liberal establishment. Liberal whites have not begun to address themselves to the real problem of black people in this country; witness their bewilderment, fear and anxiety when nationalism is mentioned concerning black people. An analysis of their (white liberal) reaction to the word alone (nationalism) reveals a very meaningful attitude of whites of any ideological persuasion toward blacks in this country. It means previous solutions to black problems in this country have been made in the interests of those whites dealing with these problems and not in the best interests of black people in this country. Whites can only subvert our true search and struggle for self-determination, self-identification, and liberation in this country. Re-evaluation of the white and black roles must NOW take place so that whites no longer designate roles that black people play but rather black people define white people's roles.

Too long have we allowed white people to interpret the importance and meaning of the cultural aspects of our society. We have allowed them to tell us what was good about our Afro-American music, art and literature. How many black critics do we have on the "jazz" scene? How can a white person who is not a part of the black psyche (except in the oppressor's role) interpret the mean-

America. It is only to the extent that he recognizes this that he will be able to change this reality.

Another concern is how does the white radical view the black community and how does he view the poor white community in terms of organizing. So far, we have found that most white radicals have sought to escape the horrible reality of America by going into the black community and attempting to organize black people while neglecting the organization of their own people's racist communities. How

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It must be repeated that the whole myth of "Negro citizenship," perpetuated by the white elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of black people react to American society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the West in Africa, and Latin America, and had the same relationship —that of the colonized toward the colonizer.

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Molding of Youth

Fourteen years of accomodating to white authority in this country has molded him into the kind of Negro leader who could become the chief architect of "black power."

As the new chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, he has so successfully called attention to the growing spirit of black consciousness among American Negroes that some have begun to describe him as a new Malcolm X.

He played a leading role in the committee's decision to prepare a "position paper" on the new "black power" philosophy, which has been used to reverse its policy on whites in the rights movement.

Mr. Carmichael was born in Port of Spain June 21, 1941 to Adolphus and Lynette Carmichael. He became an American citizen by derivation after both parents had been naturalized. His mother and two younger sisters still live in the East Bronx. Mrs. Carmichael is a stewardess for a steamship line. The father died in 1962.

Mr. Carmichael's father was a carpenter who moonlighted as a taxi driver in New York. Seemingly attracted by the white middle class, the father moved his family from Harlem to an old Italian and Jewish neighborhood in the East Bronx, where they were the only Negroes.

Dividend Friendships

Young Stokely divided his friendships between the whites of the East Bronx and the Negroes he had known in Harlem. He went through a period of being ashamed of being a Negro.

In 1956, he became one of about 50 Negroes in the Bronx High School of Science. It was there that he discovered that his intellectual background had been inade-

ciate with young Socialists.

He learned about white liberals through his friends of the upper set at Bronx Science. He told Mr. Warren of being invited to a party at the swank apartment of a white friend and of being introduced to the boy's mother.

"Well, his mother had a group of ladies there, and it was like I hit it off right away," Mr. Carmichael told the novelist. "She said: 'Oh, I've heard so much about you, you've got such a sense of humor, Jimmy is talking about you, you're such a good-looking boy, what teachers you have . . .' and on and on. Finally, when I yas leaving, the door was just about closed, his mother turned to the other ladies and said, "Oh, yes, we let Jimmy hang around with Negroes.' I didn't like that."

One of his first targets when he became chairman of the student committee in May was white liberals. "Liberalism is an extension of paternalism," he said. Most whites have now left the student committee.

As a teen-ager, he was, at first, opposed to the student sit-ins in the South that heralded a new stage in the civil rights movement in 1960. Then he met some youngsters who were involved in them. He joined a sit-in in Virginia and from then on was solidly in the movement.

Mr. Carmichael went to Howard University, from which he was graduated in 1964 with a degree in philosophy. At Howard, he drifted away from his intellectual fascination with Marxism and plunged into direct action.

He joined the Nonviolent Action Group, an affiliate of the newly formed Student Committee. He went on a freedom ride to Mississippi in 1961 and spent 49 days in the Mississippi state penitentary. By June of this year, he had already been jailed 27 times.

He helped to organize the first "Black Panther" political party in Mississippi, based on 1,600 Negroes who registered to vote for the first time.

In the South, his speech lost some of its Caribbean-New York clip and become almost a drawl. He learned to say "He don't" and "he have" to improve communication with field hands. He has practically abandoned city dress and adopted overalls and blue jeans.

During the last few months, he has become more militant in this public utterances. While preaching black pride and black power, he has become increasingly cool toward whites.

He recently addressed a racially mixed audience here and, with several whites of long acquaintance in the room, declared that he had never known a white person he could trust.

A young white man who had considered himself Mr. Carmichael's friend rose from the audience.

"Not one, Stokely?" he asked.

Mr. Carmichael looked directly into his eyes and replied, "No—not one."

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MOVEMENT

The Politics of Frustration

The statement on "black power" written by members of The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from which The Times printed sizable excerpts last Friday is at once a poignant and mischievous document.

It provides an intellectual context for the inflammatory statements made in recent days by Stokely Carmichael, the national chairman of SNCC. He has urged Negro youths not to fight in Vietnam, called upon Negroes to stop begging and start taking what belongs to them and declared: "We have got to bring the whites to their knees."

Regardless of other interpretations that could reasonably be offered of the term "black power," Mr. Carmichael and his SNCC associates clearly intended to mean Negro nationalism and separatism along racial lines—a hopeless, futile, destructive course expressive merely of a sense of black impotence. As a practical program, it has nothing more to recommend it than the wretched violence that some Chicago whites have been using in recent days against the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and his Negro followers.

The SNCC background paper is very much a young man's statement. The authors express a yearning for identity and status that seems as much personal as racial. There is almost no recognition of the ambiguities and indefiniteness of real life.

It cries out that "whites (should) no longer designate roles that black people play but rather black people define white people's roles." What individuals of every race eventually discover is that one's role in life is established by a complex interplay between one's own desires and objective circumstances.

The SNCC paper and Mr. Carmichael's public statements amply demonstrate the growing desperation and disorganization of the radical wing of the civil rights movement. The SNCC leaders, like their counterparts in the Congress of Racial Equality and other smaller, less well-known organizations, are essentially barricade types. They are romantics and would-be revolutionaries for whom the greatest triumph is lying down in the street in protest or getting arrested by a Southern sheriff. In past years the civil rights movement could make good use of their gallantry and reckless daring. But the tactics of direct protest have achieved about all such tactics could. When lunch counters even in small Southern towns are desegregated, the willingness to risk physical injury in a lunch counter sit-in—valuable as that once was—is no longer of much importance.

The civil rights movement in recent years has gradually been moving, in the words of Bayard Rustin, from "protest to politics." Effective politics for Negroes, as for any other group, means bringing pressure to bear at the right times and places and taking part in shifting alliances with other groups.

A statement by a national committee of Negro churchmen printed in The Times a week ago put the matter well: "Power today is essentially organizational power. It is not a thing lying about in the streets to be fought over. It is a thing which, in some measure, already belongs to Negroes and which must be developed by Negroes in relationship with the great resources of this nation."

But most of the militants who make up SNCC and CORE have no taste or talent for the arduous practice of sophisticated politics. They are taking refuge from the hard fact of the dwindling effectiveness of direct action by escaping into black nationalism. This political escapism is as sure to fail as Marcus Garvey's comparable "back to Africa" movement in the 1920's.

There is widespread injustice and misery in the Negro ghettos of the North and therefore high potential for disorder. But Stokely Carmichael has to be seen in perspective as a product of that injustice and not as a leader who can help his fellow Negroes work their way out of it. Only Negro leaders and organizations that understand what politics and power really are can do that.

Close-Up

MOVEMENT

Rationale for Civil Disorder?

AC 8/15/66

There continues to be a gap between "Black Power" as it is explained and as it is understood and practiced. The high priest of the movement, Snick's Stokely Carmichael, has abandoned all pretense of its innocence. In Cleveland, Ohio, he said Black Power meant "building a movement that will smash everything Western civilization has created" and "bringing this country to its knees."

This, and not the simple political organization, is the meaning understood by mobs of rioters, looters and brawlers. Black power is essentially an emotional appeal, rather than intellectual.

Yet there can be a rationale even for the irrational. As the history of revolutions reveals, terror and disorder can have utility for the insurgents.

Julian Bond, Snick official and unseated Georgia legislator, spoke about Black Power to a group of Africans visiting here last month. His talk, as summarized later by Mr. Bond himself, contained internal contradictions: On the one hand it gave the conservative definition of Black Power as organization of Negro voting strength; on the other, it gave a rationale for civil disorder.

But the most valuable part of the speech, it seems to me, is Mr. Bond's list of assumptions on which Black Power rests. Here are some of them:

". . . the social system, as organized, is no longer capable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problems presented to it by history.

". . . white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their civil rights and . . . must be forced to it by pressure.

". . . people do not discriminate for the fun of it; . . . the function of prejudice is to defend social, economic, political and psychological interests, and . . . appeals to the fair play of prejudiced people are prayers said to the wind.

". . . communities will change discriminatory patterns if they are faced with a clear-cut choice between bias and another highly developed value—economic gain, education or civic peace."

Mr. Bond is on well researched ground when he speaks of the "function" of prejudice. Likewise, it has been demonstrated that many or most segregationists hold other values higher than segregation itself.

But what of the other points? Is the social system incapable of solving today's problems? Are the majority of white Americans unwilling or unable to grant Negroes justice?

I for one say "no" to both questions. And it seems to me that Black Power agitation itself makes it more difficult for the social system to function properly and for whites to be more just.

But the evidence is not all reassuring. From Jim Clarks and lynch mobs in the South to hesitation in Congress to snarling white suburban crowds in the North, there is much to support Mr. Bond's position rather than mine. If he is right, Armageddon is around the corner.—BRUCE GALPHIN.

MOVEMENT
8/15/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

3 Rights Workers Sought in Dynamite Discovery

Fourth Suspect Surrenders to Police in Philadelphia

By JACQUES NEVARD
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 14—Three men described as officials of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were sought today on charges stemming from the discovery of dynamite in the local headquarters of the militant civil rights organization.

A fourth man, alleged to have taken nine sticks of dynamite to the headquarters, surrendered to the Philadelphia police today. The police, in addition to seeking the three other men, were also searching for four missing sticks of dynamite.

Warrents charging illegal possession of explosives and conspiracy were issued last night for Winston Ealy, 23 years old, who surrendered today; and Fred Meely, 27, regional director of the student committee; Morris Ruffin, 25, a project director of the group, and George Anderson, 21, a full-time field worker.

There was no indication that authorities had discovered how the dynamite was to be used. Asked about this, Acting Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo said:

"For me to say would be mere supposition, but I'm sure they weren't going into the construction business."

5 Sticks Recovered

Local authorities have recovered five sticks of dynamite. Two and a half sticks were brought into police headquarters last Friday by an informant to back up his story that arms caches were being built up at four Philadelphia apartments used by regional officials of the student committee, known as "Snick," and other civil rights groups.

Two and a half more sticks were found at one of those apartments early Saturday morning when a large police raid was carried out. Eighty heavily armed policemen in four squads of 20 men each raided the suspected apartments, in predominantly Negro areas, while 1,000 additional policeman stood by outside the buildings.

There were no disturbances even when the police arrested three men and a young woman at the two-story apartment building on 16th Street near Poplar where the dynamite was found.

Four Held in Jail

Commissioner Rizzo has disclosed that the search for Mr. Ealy and the three still missing men was started on information supplied by Barry Dawson, 19, one of the four persons arrested yesterday.

Associated Press

Cecil B. Moore, head of the N.A.A.C.P. in Philadelphia, deplored any dynamite that might be "lying around."

Missing Men Are Identified as Officials of 'Snick'

Mr. Dawson has been identified as a member of "Snick" but the three others arrested with him have been described by the police as members of the Young Militants, a Philadelphia group of about 30 persons who advocate black supremacy. They were George Brown, 28; Eugene Dawkins, 19, and Miss Carol West, 18.

All four were being held in jail in default of bail, which was set at $50,000 each. Common Pleas Judge Leo Weinrott has scheduled a hearing for Aug. 22.

Police officials said that Mr. Ealy was not a member of any civil rights group but was "very friendly" with a number of persons in the student committee. The police said Mr. Ealy had told them he had obtained the dynamite at a construction site and had helped his friends take it to the committee's headquarters, where, after first being shifted to the basement it was divided among several members.

The police have reported finding evidence that still another small regional civil rights group, the Northern Students Movement, used at least one of the raided apartments. But officials said no members of the organization had been identified with the dynamite thus far.

Officials said that the largest and most influential civil rights organization in Philadelphia, the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was in no way identified with any of the sought or arrested persons, or with the raided apartments.

The question had arisen when Cecil B. Moore, president of the Philadelphia branch of the N.A.A.C.P., appeared as lawyer for the four persons arrested yesterday and more recently for Mr. Ealy.

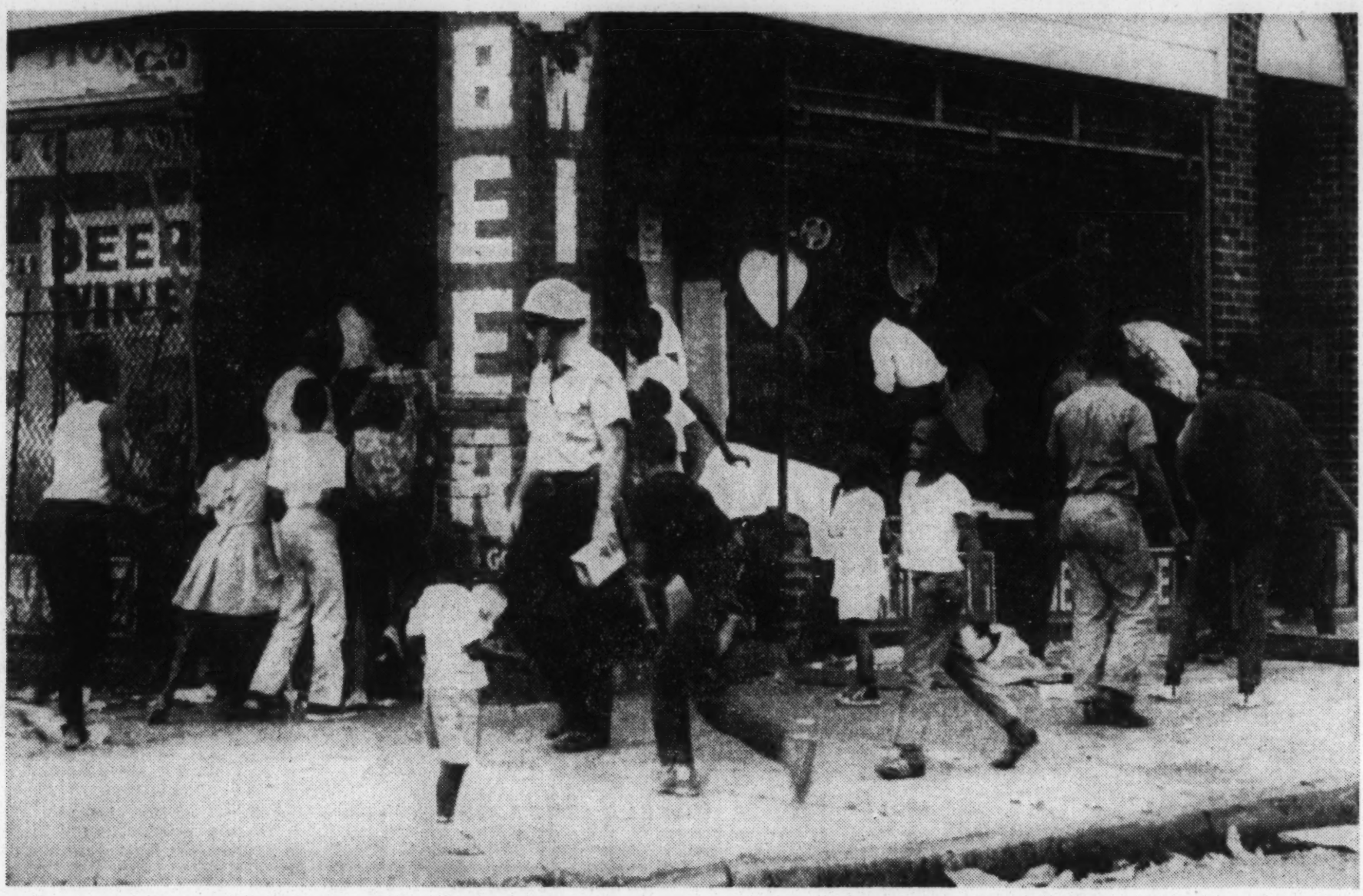
SNCC Aids Viet Probe Of 'Crimes'

8/17/66 AC

MOVEMENT

LONDON (UPI)—The Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) will help prepare evidence for the "war crimes tribunal" which aged British philosopher Lord Bertrand Russell plans to hold in Paris, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced Tuesday.

A spokesman for the Communist - line foundation said members of SNCC, under leadership of national chairman Stokely Carmichael, will go to North Viet Nam as part of the international investigating committee gathering evidence with which to "indict" President Lyndon B. Johnson "and other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Viet Nam."



Associated Press Photos

MUCH OF ENERGY OF RIOTS IS DIRECTED AT LOOTING STORES TO GET SMALL LUXURIES OF LIFE QUICKLY
This Scene from Recent Race Riot in Cleveland Has Been Repeated in Many Other U.S. Cities

Negro Revolt at Crossroads

MOVEMENT AC 8/21/66

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By DR. JAMES P. SHENTON

Professor of History, Columbia University
Written for The Associated Press

Few words are more bandied about than the word "revolution." It is used to describe such fundamental political and social upheavals as the French, Russian, Mexican, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions.

The term "industrial revolution" is used to describe the vast economic and social changes precipitated by technological development during the 18th

Russia, China and Cuba in the 20th century?

Any answer to these questions must be predicated with a warning: The black revolution is incomplete; to draw too rigid parallels with past revolutions is to deny it its unique characteristics.

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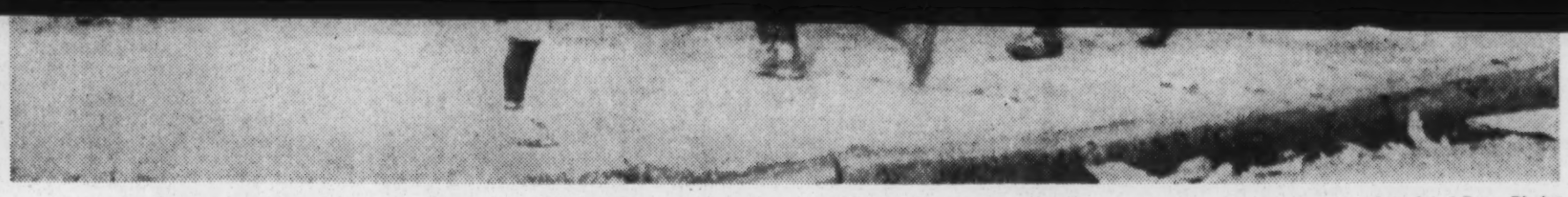
Unlike the American, French, or Russian revolutions, that of the American Negro is the revolt of a small minority against the restraints previously imposed by a huge majority. In large measure, previous success has been aided by a friendly federal authority and a host of white allies.

By putting Negro demands within the framework of legitimate white American aspirations, the black revolution has appeared conservative in its objectives. It is not meant to overthrow but to fulfill the American promise.

As the drive for equality succeeds, the Negro broadens



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The term "industrial revolution" is used to describe the vast economic and social changes precipitated by technological development during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Dr. James Shenton

The alterations of teenage behavior and of sexual mores have been labeled revolutions. The range of usage has resulted in revolution as describing basic structural changes in society as well as the ephemeral alterations which occur in popular behavior.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine when it delivered the Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka decision, black Americans have been involved in a steadily escalating struggle to undo segregation and discrimination.

Americans have generally become aware that they are in the midst of a "black revolution." What began as a struggle to integrate education has grown to include political equality, full access to public accommodation, and to an improvement of their living conditions.

Most recently, it has taken a new direction with the cry for "black power." Throughout the struggle, the Negro has received large help from the white community. But the absence of a well defined meaning to "black power" has created confusion in the ranks of civil rights supporters and evoked fears among many previously friendly whites. The riots which have rocked Watts, Harlem, Paterson, N.J., Chicago and Cleveland have not only accentuated white fears but also triggered a white backlash.

THE QUESTION is increasingly raised of whether the moderate Negro leadership is giving way to a more radical element. The civil rights program which heretofore has emphasized equality and integration is now blurred by the cries to "get whitey" and the demand to bring the white American to his knees.

Has the black revolution entered a new phase where terror will replace reason? Is it moving in the direction of the great revolutions that shook Great Britain in the 17th century, America and France in the 18th century, and Mexico, Russia, China and Cuba in the 20th century?

Any answer to these questions must be predicated with a warning: The black revolution is incomplete; to draw too rigid parallels with past revolutions is to deny it its unique characteristics.

Furthermore, the American, French and Russian revolutions with which it will be compared involved the aspirations of a whole people, while the black revolution is the struggle of a minority to claim coequality with a privileged white majority. But even with these qualifications, some parallels can be drawn.

Violence alone is not sufficient proof of a revolution.

It is only when an upswing of violence occurs which normal police authority cannot contain that the description revloutionary is applicable.

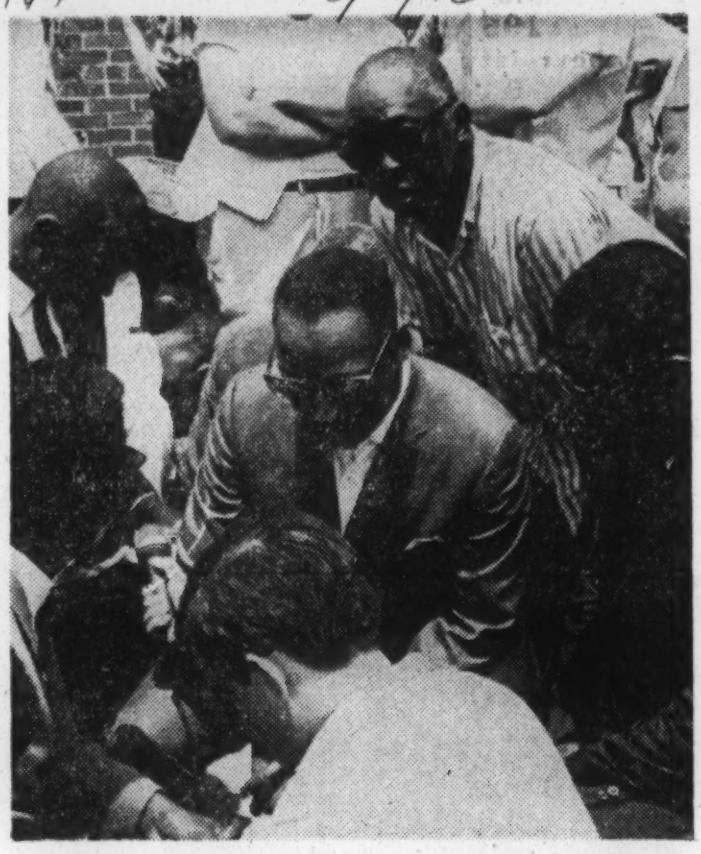
In the American revolutionary period, rioting erupted time and again between 1765 and 1775, usually in response to efforts by London to extend its authority. After each outbreak, George III's government had to back away from its effort to extend its authority, revealing its incapacity to assert effective control over the colonies. Governmental retreat reinforced the colonial determination to secure their interests and rights.

WHEN LONDON finally responded to the Boston Tea Party with the Intolerable Acts, they triggered a revolution.

The colonials were not ready to relinquish the system of local eyes of the men who made the American revolution, they were conservatives defending an established order against the claims of a near-alien authority.

Unlike the Americans, the French under the Bourbon crown had no representative bodies through which to articulate their discontent. But like the Americans, the French preparation for revolution was gradual. When it finally exploded, the objective of the French was not to preserve but to overturn the old order. Though in theory Louis XVI possessed absoluute power, in fact, it was an illusion.

The same process of long sustained crisis characterized Russia in the decades preceding the revolution. Denied legitimate outlets for protest, opponents of tsarism resorted to assassination and underground terrorism. The Tsar responded with ever more stringent suppression. It took two wars —with Japan and World War I—to expose both the depth of popular alienation and the decrepitude of the tsarist system. The result was the collapse between March 8 and 16, 1917, of the Romanov dynasty.



MARTIN LUTHER KING (C) PRAYS IN MISSISSIPPI
Moderate Negro Leadership May Lose Out to Radicals

In all three revolutions, the coming upheaval was not unexpected; established authority had ample warning. But in each instance, the ruling government failed to understand the need for fundamental change. None had the remotest sense of how alienated from them were the governed.

ALL WERE INVOLVED in a severe crisis. Britain sought to reduce the tax burden at home by shifting some of it to the colonials.

In France, bankruptcy compelled the king to share his power, settling in the minds of the third estate — the representative of the people — how hollow were the pretentions of royal absolutism.

Similarly, it was an unsuccessful war that put the Russian system on the skids.

The black revolution has been long in coming. The enslavement of and then systematic deprivation of elementary rights to the Negro has given him ample cause for resentment.

Since the agents of this discrimination have been most immediately state and municipal governments, it is not surprising that the targets of black protest have been these agencies of government. Nor is it surprising that the Negro has looked to federal authority for redress. His one previous great advance, emancipation, had been achieved through the force of federal arms.

The target of the black revolution has been the federal system. Each successful confrontation with state power has resulted in a commensurate increase of federal governmental power. Thus the black American has speeded up the centralization of power.

But differences occur between revolutions. The men who made the American revolution remained united and avoided terror. They set their goal as independence and achieved it. They also successfully defended established rights. In a sense, they accepted change as necessary to preserve a long held self-government. Their intention was obviously conservative.

In France, the revolution set as its goal a fundamental change in the structure of government. Whereas in 1789 the call was for a constitutional monarchy, over the next six years, a republic was established, Louis XVI and a good part of the old order was decapitated, a democratic dictatorship briefly held sway, and finally military rule under Napoleon was imposed. The men who led this tumultous struggle split into rival factions. Thus the French revolution passed back into the hands of the moderate bourgeosie.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION took its own peculiar turns. The first provisional government drew its manpower largely from the moderate, constitutionalist elements of the old duma (parliament); this was quickly superseded by a coalition of non-Bolshevik Socialists headed by Alexander Kerensky. Then power was seized by Lenin, followed by a civil war in which the Bolsheviks prevailed. The radical faction had triumphed.

Thus as the three foregoing instances indicate, there is no way to know for sure which faction will prevail in a revolution.

What then is the direction of the black revolution?

Unlike the American, French, or Russian revolutions, that of the American Negro is the revolt of a small minority against the restraints previously imposed by a huge majority. In large measure, previous success has been aided by a friendly federal authority and a host of white allies.

By putting Negro demands within the framework of legitimate white American aspirations, the black revolution has appeared conservative in its objectives. It is not meant to overthrow but to fulfill the American promise.

As the drive for equality succeeds, the Negro broadens his expectations and develops an enlarged self-awareness.

The once near-dumb apathy of the black masses is giving way to growing impatience. The old slogan "freedom now" is complemented by the cry for "black power."

In an affluent America, the Negro pushes for his share of the well-being. Much of the energy of urban riots is directed toward looting stores, a disorderly but a quick way to get some of the necessities and small luxuries of life.

THE INEFFECTIVENESS of urban government is starkly exposed in the inability of municipal police to keep order. Every time the National Guard is compelled to move into the streets, both the role and power of federal authority is accentuated. Whatever else has resulted from the "black revolution," it has revealed the supremacy of the federal government.

The leadership of the "black revolution" must now decide whether it is prepared to challenge its federal ally. To do so would be a risky business. There is little evidence that the white majority is disenchanted with the federal government. The call for "black power" is not likely to have a lasting impact. It needs a specific formulation for that purpose.

It invites disaster if it is reduced to "get whitey." It is implausible to think that "whitey" will accept his fate passively. It also replaces the racism of the white with that of the black. A resort to terror breeds a terror which eventually consumes its maker. In the French revolution, when Robespierre executed Danton he signed his death warrant.

When Stokely Carmichael talks of bringing the white American to his knees, he speaks the language of delusion.

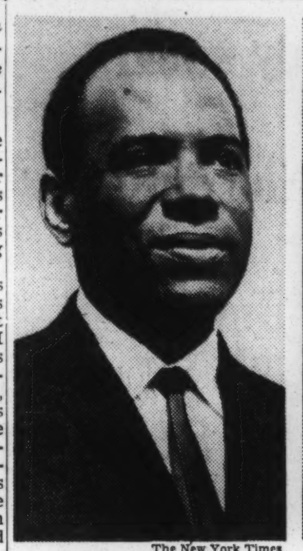
For though the black American needs power, it is needful to remember that the white American has power.

Yet, the black American needs a lever with which to claim his fair share of the American abundance, and this gives the call for "black power" point. Implicit in the Negro agitation is his awareness that ownership of property is the prerequisite to power in America.

MOVEMENT

Excerpts From Interview With 6 Civil Rights Leaders on Racial Problems in U.S.

Following are excerpts from a National Broadcasting Company transcript of its "Meet the Press" program broadcast yesterday:



The New York Times

James H. Meredith
Rights worker

United Press International

Stokely Carmichael
S.N.C.C.

The New York Times

Roy Wilkins
N.A.A.C.P.

United Press International

Floyd B. McKissick
CORE

The New York Times

Whitney M. Young Jr.
Urban League

SPIVAK—Dr. King, despite all of your marches and demonstrations, and despite major civil rights laws, the civil rights crisis is getting worse rather than better. Or at least it seems so. Do you think it is growing worse, and if so, why?

KING—Well, I think at points it is growing worse. This does not mean that we have not made significant progress. But I think the real problem today is there is still a tragic gulf between promise and fulfillment, and that the rising expectations of freedom and equality, the rising expectations of improvement have met with little resutls, so the problem today is that we have the laws on the books but they have not been thoroughly implemented and there are still pockets of resistance that are seeking at hold the civil rights movement back in our just nd legal and moral aspirations for a democratic society, are still being met with these forces of resistance.

SPIVAK—Mr. Wilkins, do you think the crisis is getting better or worse?

WILKINS—I think only outwardly worse. We're having some manifestations of abrasive resistance. But actually progress is being made, we are going forward, and this despite the fact that great masses of people cannot count the difference between today's living and what they had, say a year ago or two years ago. But the forces are in motion. I agree with Dr. King that they're not moving fast enough, nor on a broad enough scale.

SPIVAK—Mr. Young, for many years we had no civil rights laws of an importance. Very little was being done by the white community for the Negro population or with the Negro population, and yet we had relative quiet. What is your explanation for the riots that are taking place at the present time?

High Aspiration Reflected

YOUNG—Well, I think it reflects this high aspiration of the Negro. I never felt that social progress could be a painless process. I don't think that the good race relation is purely the absence of conflict. In fact, we probably have less disruption in South Africa today where we have the greatest segregation and discrimination. I think what we are really facing today, and I think it's positive, and that is that the white community is now coming to find out that it takes more than the passage of laws which relieve their guilt, and it takes actual determination to live with and to work with and to cooperate with Negro citizens, and it's this ties have come out in the open, and I don't think you can blame the civil rights movement for that. Certainly no one would blame a physician for using his instruments and his skills and his know-how to reveal to a patient that he has cancer. Indeed, one would praise a physician for having the wisdom and the judgment and the power to do that. Now we have only revealed in Chicago that there is a blatant social, hate-filled cancer, and we haven't said even that it's an eternal state. We feel that it's curable, that it can be cured. But there is no doubt about the fact that the hate is here. We didn't create it, we merely exposed it and brought it to the surface.

ROWAN—Mr. Wilkins, despite the fact that you gentlemen sit here together there is a feeling around the country that there's a crisis of leadership in the civil rights movement. Do you agree that the movement toward Negro equality is jeopardized by what now seems to be a host of warring civil rights groups, each pursuing its own special interest?

WILKINS—No, Mr. Rowan, I don't think it's quite that serious. We tend to feel that unity should be exhibited at all times, no matter what kind of organizations or what kind of personalities of what kind of tactics are involved. I think we have to grow up to the idea that there will be differences of opinion and that these will manifest themselves from time to time. I don't see as yet any great split in the civil rights movement.

KILPATRICK — Dr. King, you have been quoted as saying that you have encountered more hatred among white opponents in Chicago than you demonstrations are now counter-productive. By continuing them don't you run the risk of doing more harm than good?

KING—Again I contend that we are not doing more harm than good in demonstrations because I think demonstrations serve the purpose of bringing the issues out in the open. I have never felt that demonstrations could actually solve the problem. They call attention to the problem, they dramatize the existence of certain social ills that could very easily be ignored if you did not have demonstrations, and I think the initial reaction to demonstrations is always negative.

When we had them in the South initially there was a negative outpouring of disagreement. Now that they have started on a massive scale in the North it is only natural that we would have this reaction; but in spite of the reaction, the demonstrations in Chicago, for instance, have not only brought the issues out but they have brought us to the conference table. And I don't believe that we would be in Chicago where we are today without demonstrations.

And let me say, secondly, that it is very important to see the difference between nonviolent demonstrations and riots. It may be true that in a demonstration people react with violence toward nonviolent demonstrators. But you don't blame the demonstrators. This would be like blaming the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robber.

Ultimately society must condemn the robber and not the robbed. It must protect the robbed, and this is where we are in these demonstrations: and tive. This method attacks the practice of discrimination but respects the person who discriminates. Do you still stand by that or have you changed your definition of nonviolence?

KILPATRICK — Mr. Carmichael, in a recent speech in Cleveland you reportedly ridiculed as Uncle Toms those Negro spokesmen who counsel nonviolence and patience in the civil rights struggle. Did you mean thus to label such spokesmen as Dr. King and Mr. Wilkins?

CARMICHAEL—let me first say that the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee will never publicly denounce any black leader in this country so that I couldn't have possibly said that.

KILPATRICK—In the same story you were quoted by the United Press International as saying that, "When you talk of 'black power' you talk of bringing this country to its knees." You weren't correctly quoted on that?

CARMICHAEL—The rest of it was not there. The other half of it said that when you talk about black power you talk about bringing this country to led its knees any time it messes with the black man.

EVANS—Dr. King, a couple of political questions. You said recently that the "extravagant promises" made a year ago in connection with the Voting Right Bills have now become "a shattered mockery." What exactly did you mean by that, Dr. King?

KING: Well, I mean that this Voting Rights Bill came into being to end not only discrimination in its overt expressions, and voter registration, but also to remove the basis for black power and we didn't know that.

We thought that the work we have been doing for the past six years has been the basis for black power because that's all we have been working on in SNCC.

SPIVAK—Well, Mr. Carmichael, will you yourself answer, do you believe that there are 180 million racists in this country?

CARMICHAEL—I would say that the system in this country that is set up that affects all of us, black and white, allows for white supremacy to reigns in this country, and that it does not allow for any white person to view a black person as his equal, but rather to view him as inferior because of the system, and that has nothing to do wit hthe white person himself.

He or she may be a good guy or a bady guy, but that the systme just allows to see black people as inferior, and that the few black people that are allowed to escape are seen—are viewed as exceptions to the rule.

MEREDITH—Well, of course I believe it. In the first place, nonviolence is incompatible with American ideas. This is a military-minded nation and it always has been. I think this country is one that basically is a tough country. It is a frontier type of mentality. And everyone has the philosophy—you do right but you make sure everyone else does right as well.

Now, my father never shot anybody. But he always had a gun above his bed and shells within reach. And I am sure that if someone had broken in his house to disturb his family, he would have shot someone.

King and others speak about nonviolence, they say that groups of Negroes shouldn't take arms and—

MEREDITH—That is the trick in the whole thing. Nonviolence is not the opposite of violence. And this is where the whole trick is in this whole business of nonviolence.

SPIVAK—But there is a difference between self-defense—I don't think there ar many of us who don't believe in the right of sefl-defense by any Negro against anyone who attacks him.

MEREDITH:—Nonviolence as the opposite of violence, this is where this country has been trying to lead the Negro down a wrong road. They have been trying to say to him, "If you are not nonviolent, if you don't turn the other cheek, you are violent."

They took the Negro as he was in 1960 or whenever it was and they atached this name nonviolence to him and thereby gave a legitimacy to a particular movement. And this changed nothing. It just gave a name to what already existed and gave the implication that if this were not the case, there would be violence. And the Negro has never entertained the idea of taking up arms against the white, and they cannot.

Now, you take Mississippi, for instance. Now I know the people that shot in my home years ago. They know the people that killed all of the Negroes that have been killed. The community knows those people.

I am here to say that these people have to be removed from our society. White citizens have come out in the open, and if they have to be removed. You can't have killers running around in the society killing people.

SPIVAK—Are you suggesting, then, that if several Negroes are killed or any white men are killed and the law does not punish them, as happens very often in the case of white men, too, that people ought to organize vigilantes and go out and take the law into their own hands and commit violence?

MEREDITH—That is exactly what I am saying, exactly.

SPIVAK—Mr. Meredits, this doesn't even make sense against 180 million people. If you do it, they are going to do it.

MEREDITH—Let me explain it. If you let my explain it, then you will understand. In Mississippi, most of the whites in Mississippi are good whites. They don't like this. They condone it. They dislike it, they tell me this. But they are powerless to do anything about it. They are just like a father who is incestuous and he sleeps with his daughter, but he wants to stop his son from sleeping with his mother. Now, this is what white supremacy does. The hites in Mississippi don't like th ewhites to go around killing Negroes. But they have tolerated it so long until the law, they cannot bring themselves to enforce. And we got to stop this.

ROWAN—Mr. Carmichael, do I detect that you agree with Mr. Meredith that the Negro may have to take up arms?

CARMICHAEL—Let it remain crystal clear that in this country we are the only people who have to protect ourselves against our protection. We have to protect ourselves against state troopers, against police in Mississippi. And if we do not protect ourselves, since the police forces of this country and the Federal Government and the law officials are not protecting us, then who is going to protect us! And I agree 150 per cent that black people have to move to the position where they organize themselves and they are in fact their protection for each other.

While we may be 10 per cent inside the country, continental borders of the United States, we want to make it crystal clear that we are well located in cities across this country. And if in fact 180 million people just think they are going to turn on us and we are going to sit there like the Nazis did to the Jews, they are wrong. We are going to go down together, all of us.

And the second thing is that we want this country to be crystal clear, to understand that its army is integrated and in Vietnam, 40 per cent of your fighting forces are black people.

Guests and Panel

Following are the guests and panel who appeared in the National Broadcasting Company's television and radio show, "Meet the Press." The moderator was Edwin Newman.

Guests:

The Rev. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

FLOYD B. McKISSICK, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

JAMES H. MEREDITH, student at the Columbia University Law School, leader in the recent voters' registration march through Mississippi.

ROY WILKINS, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Panel:

LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK, regular member of the program.

ROWLAND EVANS, Chicago Sun-Times and Publishers' Syndicate.

CARL ROWAN, The Chicago Daily News.

JAMES J. KILPATRICK, The Richmond (Va.) News Leader.

RICHARD VALERIANI, N.B.C. News.

Peking Denounces Moscow For Sharing Data With U.S.

TOKYO, Monday, Aug. 22 (AP)—Communist China criticized the Soviet Union for transmitting to the United States information obtained from the Soviet weather satellite Cosmos 122.

"This marks the further intensification of the U.S.S.R.-United States collusion," Peking's New China News Agency said in a broadcast heard here yesterday.

The Soviet Union announced Friday it had decided to make public weather information from its earth satellites. The decision came after a two-year delay on a promised "cold-line" weather-exchange communications system.

Epidemic Fight Stymied Again

DALLAS, Aug. 21 (AP)—Poor visibility prevented thre Air Force planes this mornin

King that they're not moving fast enough, nor on a broad enough scale.

SPIVAK — Mr. Young, for many years we had no civil rights laws of an importance. Very little was being done by the white community for the Negro population or with the Negro population, and yet we had relative quiet. What is your explanation for the riots that are taking place at the present time?

High Aspiration Reflected

YOUNG—Well, I think it reflects this high aspiration of the Negro. I never felt that social progress could be a painless process. I don't think that the good race relation is purely the absence of conflict. In fact, we probably have less disruption in South Africa today where we have the greatest segregation and discrimination. I think what we are really facing today, and I think it's positive, and that is that the white community is now coming to find out that it takes more than the passage of laws which relieve their guilt, and it takes actual determination to live with and to work with and to cooperate with Negro citizens, and it's this final confrontation that people find most difficult to make.

SPIVAK — Mr. McKissick, what do you think? Do you think things are getting better or worse?

McKISSICK — I'm of the opinion that things have not progressed tremendously for the masses of the people. I would not dispute the statement that some progress has been made. But I would say, by and large, the average black man in the ghetto has not profited within the last 10 years. I think the last statistics showed, and I think even last week at the hearing in Washington—here at the — [Senator Abraham A.] Ribicoff [Democrat of Connecticut], when he made the statement—we'll find that we've got more discrimination in education, more segregated school systems. We find the unemployment rate is higher now than ever before. I think we could just go down the line and we could find that the situation has not improved as far as the masses are concerned, and that's what the Congress of Racial Equality is concerned with.

SPIVAK — Mr. Carmichael, from your experience are things getting better or worse?

CARMICHAEL—Well, I don't know if you can make a comparison like that. I believe that what is happening is that black people across the country are becoming politically aware of their position, of their strength and of their ability to move and based on that feeling, the masses of people are beginning to now move, and the question is whether or not this country is going to be able to meet their needs peacefully or whether they will have to move to disrupt this country in order to force the country to speak to their needs.

SPIVAK—Mr. Meredith, may I hear from you on that? Do you think things are getting better or worse?

Facing the Issue

MEREDITH — Well, I think we've just reached a point in our history where we are really beginning to face the issue in question. And the question in this country is what is the basis or what is going to be the basis of our society? Up until now it's been based on the theory of white superiority, and now this nation has to make decisions on whether we will continue to use this base of white supremacy or whether we will live up to our ideals of equality and equal justice before the law.

SPIVAK—Dr. King, I'd like to come back to you now. The Superintendent of Police of Chicago, Mr. O. W. Wilson, said the other day that your civil rights tactics have aroused hatred among Chicago whit\ residents and are hampering the Negro's progress. What's your answer to that?

KING—Well, my answer is that this is totally erroneous. Our civil rights efforts have not aroused hatred, they have revealed a hatred that already existed. There is no doubt about the fact that there are many latent hostilities existing within certain white groups in the North, and what has happened now is that these latent hostili- it can be cured. But there is no doubt about the fact that the hate is here. We didn't create it, we merely exposed it and brought it to the surface.

ROWAN—Mr. Wilkins, despite the fact that you gentlemen sit here together there is a feeling around the country that there's a crisis of leadership in the civil rights movement. Do you agree that the movement toward Negro equality is jeopardized by what now seems to be a host of warring civil rights groups, each pursuing its own special interest?

WILKINS—No, Mr. Rowan, I don't think it's quite that serious. We tend to feel that unity should be exhibited at all times, no matter what kind of organizations or what kind of personalities of what kind of tactics are involved. I think we have to grow up to the idea that there will be differences of opinion and that these will manifest themselves from time to time. I don't see as yet any great split in the civil rights movement.

KILPATRICK — Dr. King, you have been quoted as saying that you have encountered more hatred among white opponents in Chicago than you have encountered in the Deep South. How do you account for this?

KING — Well, I think for years the hatred, existed beneath the surface in Northern communities, and as I said earlier, it is coming out now. I think also we have to see that this is something of a dislike for the unliked, and you see it a great deal among the lower income ethnic enclaves who have basic fears about Negroes. They have grown up believing in certain stereotypes, whether it's the stereotype of the Negroes are lazy or inherently inferior, or whether it is a myth that Negroes depreciate property values when they move in a community.

KILPATRICK—Let me ask about your march today, Dr. King. You have decided, as I understand it, to obey the injunction that was laid down limiting the number of demonstrators?

KING—Yes.

KILPATRICK—Even though you have described that twice yesterday I believe as an unjust order?

KING—Yes. It's an injunction which I feel is unjust and totally unconstitutional, but because wea are engaged in negotiations now with the city, with the real estate agents and with labor and industry and other forces of power and good will in the community we decided that we would abide by this injunction until we have our negotiating session next Friday and determine on the basis of that whether we would continue to comply with what we consider a blatantly unjusct, unconstitutional and I might say, immoral injunction.

EVANS—Mr. Young, you had to contend with a new sort of militancy at your national convention in Philadelphia. What exactly did the younger Urban Leaguer want that is new? And let me ask you also, did they feel that the Urban League has become too identified today with the middle class?

YOUNG—No, I think that that reflected more and impatience with the pace. Urban League staff people are probably in the best position of any to recognize how slowly the gap is closing, if at all, in economics, in education, in housing, in health and welfare. And I think it recognizes also that we can do all we went to in terms of getting parents motivated into getting their children into school and keeping them there; but unless there are school boards that are so politically structured and politicallv sensitive enough to provide the resources, then our efforts to provide the motivation is of no value. And what they're really saying is we need these other activities; we need the other organizations who are doing the political activity. The Urban Leaguers know that we are not middle class in the sense of our services. Last year, for example, over fifty thousand Negroes were placed through the Urban League, and these were poor people who were placed, unemployed people.

VALERIANI—Dr. King, to follow up Mr. Spivak's question, recent polls suggest that in terms of national reaction, demonstrations, and I think the initial reaction to demonstrations is always negative.

When we had them in the South initially there was a negative outpouring of disagreement. Now that they have started on a massive scale in the North it is only natural that we would have this reaction; but in spite of the reaction, the demonstrations in Chicago, for instance, have not only brought the issues out but they have brought us to the conference table. And I don't believe that we would be in Chicago where we are today without demonstrations.

And let me say, secondly, that it is very important to see the difference between nonviolent demonstrations and riots. It may be true that in a demonstration people react with violence toward nonviolent demonstrators. But you don't blame the demonstrators. This would be like blaming the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robber.

Ultimately society must condemn the robber and not the robbed. It must protect the robbed, and this is where we are in these demonstrations; and I'm still convinced that there is nothing more powerful to dramatize a social evil than the tramp, tramp of marching feet.

VALERIANI—In regard to your present movement in regard to housing, is it not conceivable to you that a majority of white Americans does not want a Negro for a neighbor, and if that's so as it was demonstrated in a vote in California, should the majority preference be respected?

KING—It's quite true that there are many people who are against open housing and who are against having Negroes as their neighbor. This does not mean that we don't go all-out to end housing discrimination. It may be true that in the South many white people do not want Negroes to eat at lunch counters, do not want Negroes to have access to hotels and motels and restaurants. But this did not stop the nation from having its conscience so aroused that it brought into being a civil rights law as a result of our movement to end this.

Now I think the same thing must happen to housing. The people have these fears, they have these prejudices and we are only saying that through legislation and a vigorous of fair-housing bills we will be able to change certain conditions. It doesn't mean that we will change the hearts of people, but we will change the laws and habits of people, and once their habits are changed pretty soon people adjust to them just as in the South they've adjusted to integrated public accommodations.

I think in the North and all over the country people will adjust to living next door to a Negro once they know that it has to be done, once realtors stop all o fthe block-busting and the panic-peddling and all of that. When the law makes it clear and it's vigorously enforced we will see that people will not only adjust but they will finally come to the point that even their attitudes are changed.

SPIVAK — Mr. McKissick, you've been quoted as saying, and these are the words: "The civil rights movement in 1966 has reached the moment of truth. And Negro leaders are not telling it to us like it is.

Will you tell us how you see the moment of truth that we're not being told?

McKISSICK—First of all, I believe that the moment of truth is here for the simple reason that, one, nonviolence is something of the past. At our recent convention in Baltimore, the convention went on record favoring self-defense. Their attitude was that we are an organization fighting for constitutional rights, and one of those rights is the right to defend the home and the person. I think, too, it is difficult now to have the control over demonstrations for the simple reason that most of the black people will not agree to be nonviolent. They will not agree to be hit and to passively stand there and not return blow for blow.

SPIVAK—Mr. McKissick, in your literature as late as 1965 you said nonviolence is effec- CARMICHAEL—let me first say that the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee will never publicly denounce any black leader in this country so that I couldn't have possibly said that.

KILPATRICK—In the same story you were quoted by the United Press International as saying that, "When you talk of 'black power' you talk of bringing this country to its knees." You weren't correctly quoted on that?

CARMICHAEL—The rest of it was not there. The other half of it said that when you talk about black power you talk about bringing this country to led its knees any time it messes with the black man.

EVANS—Dr. King, a couple of political questions. You said recently that the "extravagant promises" made a year ago in connection with the Voting Right Bills have now become "a shattered mockery." What exactly did you mean by that, Dr. King?

KING: Well, I mean that this Voting Rights Bill came into being to end not only discrimination in its overt expressions, and voter registration, but also to remove the atmosphere of intimidation for economic reprisals and the for creation of fear that cause people not to vote, and one of the things we have found is that when you have Federal registrars in communities, many more Negroes go out to register because they see a different atmosphere, and they are not over-arched, under-girded with the fear of intimidation and economic reprisals as much as they do in dealing with some of the local registrars that they have dealt with so long.

Now, the problem is that after that bill came into being very few registrars were sent into the South, I mean Federal registrars, and even today all too few have been sent, and this is even true in some communities where we know that there are outright patterns of discrimination.

VALERIANA—Mr. Meredith, looking back what do you feel your march on Mississippi accomplished?

MEREDITH—Well, if you recall I didn't march through Mississippi. I was shot on the first day, and of course, all of those other gentlemen carried on the march in Mississippi. I only returned for the last two days.

Now, I think that probably the biggest accomplishment was to place in focus the problems in this country, and as again I say the question is whether or not white supremacy and the best of the theory of white superiority is going to be the rule in this country or if we are, in fact, going to follow the rule of equality and equal justice before the law as our ideals say.

SPIVAK—Mr. Carmichael, you have said over and over again that the white press have distorted your use of the slogan "black power." Will you tell us here and now exactly what you mean by "black power" so that all of us can understand your meaning without misquoting you or distorting you?

CARMICHAEL—I am sorry you asked that question now because two days ago the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee decided that we are not going to define the term "black power" any more.

SPIVAK—Well, now, granted that you won't define it, it has been—there has been a position paper of SNCC's organization published in The New York Times, and in that position paper these words of the SNCC organization are quoted: "When we view the masses of white people, we view in reality 180 million racists."

Now, was The New York Times misquoting SNCC and its philosophy of black power?

CARMICHAEL—Well, in the first place, that paper was written by some people in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, it was not a public paper. We don't know how The New York Times got hold of it. The paper is 75 pages long.

I don't see how it is possible for them to assume that in one page of their anti-black newspaper that they could publish the thoughts of the 75-page paper. And they said, not the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, that it was the for white supremacy to reigns in this country, and that it does not allow for any white person to view a black person as his equal, but rather to view him as inferior because of the system, and that has nothing to do wit hthe white person himself.

He or she may be a good guy or a bady guy, but that the systme just allows to see black people as inferior, and that the few black people that are allowed to escape are seen—are viewed as exceptions to the rule.

MEREDITH—Well, of course I believe it. In the first place, nonviolence is incompatible with American ideas. This is a military-minded nation and it always has been. I think this country is one that basically is a tough country. It is a frontier type of mentality. And everyone has the philosophy—you do right but you make sure everyone else does right as well.

Now, my father never shot anybody. But he always had a gun above his bed and shells within reach. And I am sure that if someone had broken in his house to disturb his family, he would have shot someone.

SPIVAK—Well, Mr. Meredith, don't you think we ought to get straight on the difference between nonviolence and self-defense? I think when Dr. of self-defense by any Negro against anyone who attacks him.

MEREDITH:—Nonviolence as the opposite of violence, this is where this country has been trying to lead the Negro down a wrong road. They have been trying to say to him, "If you are not nonviolent, if you don't turn the other cheek, you are violent."

They took the Negro as he was in 1960 or whenever it was and they atached this name nonviolence to him and thereby gave a legitimacy to a particular movement. And this changed nothing. It just gave a name to what already existed and gave the implication that if this were not the case, there would be violence. And the Negro has never entertained the idea of taking up arms against the white, and they cannot.

Now, you take Mississippi, for instance. Now I know the people that shot in my home years ago. They know the people that killed all of the Negroes that have been killed. The community knows those people.

I am here to say that these people have to be removed from our society. White supremacy will not allow itself to remove these people from its society. Now, if they don't find a way, the Negro has no choice but to remove these men and country we are the only people who have to protect ourselves against our protection. We have to protect ourselves against state troopers, against police in Mississippi. And if we do not protect ourselves, since the police forces of this country and the Federal Government and the law officials are not protecting us, then who is going to protect us! And I agree 150 per cent that black people have to move to the position where they organize themselves and they are in fact their protection for each other.

While we may be 10 per cent inside the country, continental borders of the United States, we want to make it crystal clear that we are well located in cities across this country. And if in fact 180 million people just think they are going to turn on us and we are going to sit there like the Nazis did to the Jews, they are wrong. We are going to go down together, all of us.

And the second thing is that we want this country to be crystal clear, to understand that its army is integrated and in Vietnam, 40 per cent of your fighting forces are black people. And if you think those black people are going to fight a war while 180 million people turn on its fellow black brothers inside this country and continue fighting a war, you are mistaken.

N.B.C. News.

Peking Denounces Moscow For Sharing Data With U.S.

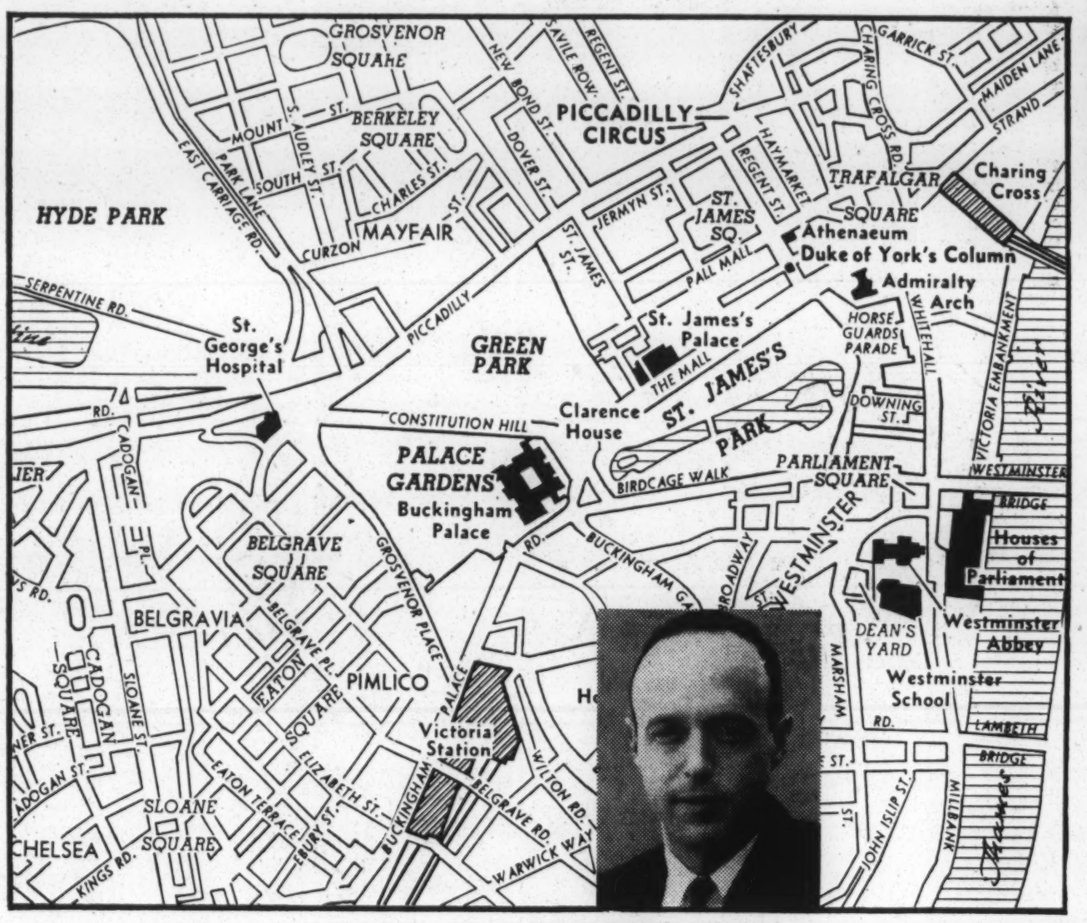
TOKYO, Monday, Aug. 22 (AP)—Communist China criticized the Soviet Union for transmitting to the United States information obtained from the Soviet weather satellite Cosmos 122.

"This marks the further intensification of the U.S.S.R.-United States collusion," Peking's New China News Agency said in a broadcast heard here yesterday.

The Soviet Union announced Friday it had decided to make public weather information from its earth satellites. The decision came after a two-year delay on a promised "cold-line" weather-exchange communications system.

Epidemic Fight Stymied Again

DALLAS, Aug. 21 (AP)—Poor visibility prevented thre Air Force planes this mornin from spraying insecticide ov Dallas County to curb an e cephalitis epidemic. It was second straight morning planes were grounded beca of weather.



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MOVEMENT AC 8/22/66

KING OPPOSES AT FORUM

Meredith Says It'll Require Violence

By JOHN HERBERS
(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—The six leading civil rights leaders expressed Sunday a wide range of frequently conflicting opinions on how to meet the nation's mounting racial crisis. These included use of violence by Negroes and more street demonstrations in northern cities.

James Meredith, who integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962, said that Negroes should take the law into their own hands and "remove" whites who attack them.

Stokeley Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, agreed with Meredith, saying if 180 million white Americans "turn on us we will all go down together."

On the other hand, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reiterated his adherence to non-violence but said more street demonstrations will be necessary to expose social ills that exist in all parts of the nation.

TRAMP, TRAMP

"There is no more effective way to dramatize a social evil than the tramp, tramp of marching feet," said King.

The Negro leaders appeared together on a special 90-minute NBC television presentation of "Meet the Press." The other three appearing were Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Whitney M. Young, director of the National Urban League, and Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

King left the program when it was half over to return to Chicago, where he is leading demonstrations.

Generally, the Negro leaders expressed, with more clarity and focus, views that have been made publicly since the slogan "black power" became an issue in the civil rights movement. It was the first time in recent months that the leaders of the top civil rights organizations had been brought together into one forum.

DENY SPLIT

Although they denied at the outset that the movement is deeply divided, it became apparent later in the program that there continues to be a divergence of opinion on how Negroes should proceed in attaining equality in America.

For example, Carmichael said he would never advocate that any black man fight for the United States in Viet Nam. Meredith, now a student at Columbia University Law School, said he considered the war "one of the best things happening to the Negro."

Carmichael referred to Negro Americans fighting in Viet Nam as "black mercenaries" because frequently the armed forces provide the only means of employment to Negroes in this country.

"I would not fight in Viet Nam, absolutely not," Carmichael said. "I would advise every black man not to fight in Viet Nam."

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RUSTIN ASSESSES NEGRO VIOLENCE

8/24/66

Says Ghetto Tactics Have Impressed Colored Youth

By GENE CURRIVAN
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 23—"Any Negro youngster who doesn't believe now that the way to get something is through violence obviously is not intelligent," Bayard Rustin, dynamic civil rights leader who advocates nonviolence, asserted today.

While deploring violence as a hindrance to Negroes' objectives, Mr. Rustin held that Negroes were gaining the belief from experiences such as those in Chicago and in the Watts district of Los Angeles that they cannot get their way without it.

Mr. Rustin spoke at the 50th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. He advised the teachers that boycotts and srikes might be all right as a last resort, but the proper approach to achieve smaller classes, higher salaries, fair employment and housing was to have these things written into their contracts.

Mr. Rustin, who organized the civil rights march on Washington in 1963, said the rights movement had improved since then, but he contended that over the last 12 years since the Supreme Court decision on segregation in 1964 the number of Negroes had risen in slums, among the unemployed and in segregated classrooms.

As a result of this, he said, the poor Negroes have turned against leaders both white and Negro, terming them "no good," and have taken the rights struggle into their own hands.

Mr. Rustin told of meeting a young Negro from Watts after the riots. The youth spoke of the "manifesto" that had brought about "victory." The manisfesto, the youth said, was a box of matches.

Years of Frustration

"Man, for years we've been trying to get the Mayor to come out and talk to us but he wouldn't come," Mr. Rustin quoted the unidentified Negro as saying.

The youth continued:

"For years we tried to get the Governor but he wouldn't come. For years we tried to get all those white folks downtown, the whole power structure to come and pay some attention to us and they wouldn't come. But after we burned [illegible] the

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The youth continued:

"For years we tried to get the Governor but he wouldn't come. For years we tried to get all those white folks downtown, the whole power structure to come and pay some attention to us and they wouldn't come. But after we burned, baby, the whole world came to look at us. You run out on those streets and there are so many sociologists from the colleges that you will trip over them."

There is a similar situation in Chicago, according to Mr. Rustin. He noted that where the Negroes asked for water sprinklers during the summer they found that they only got them after violence had erupted.

Mr. Rustin contended, however, that the answer was not violence or black power, to which he objects, but a revitalization of labor, civil rights, religious and student movements.

The Negro leader made this assessment:

"The problem is that white America has sat on its buttocks and sent money to Negroes but didn't join the social revolution. The Negro is isolated in his movement. The need is not to talk about civil rights but about an economic and social revolution. We must deal sensibly with this problem or we won't have peace."

Program Outlined

"Now my friends," Mr. Rustin said, "I therefore believe that there is a program which we must fight for and that program is full and fair employment, guaranteed income, minimum wages, the overhaul completely of the whole system of welfare, training for which people are paid while they learn that which they need."

He urged that the truth about American history be told, including the good and the bad.

Mr. Rustin characterized many of the present textbooks as "vicious" and he charged that the United States Senate, principally because of its filibusters, was "the most disgusting body in the Western world."

Nevertheless, the Negro leader said he was not despairing "because there is great vitality in the nation."

He advised the teachers, who were holding the second session of a five-day convention, "to get on your high horse and see the things you want written into contracts and something is bound to give."

A. Philip Randolph, Negro head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spoke, praising the rights marches led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but he noted that "trouble and a baptism of fire" often accompanied most social changes and revolutions.

Mr. Randolph compared the marches with strikes and picket lines of the worker seeking to improve his condition.

Later, during a television interview, Mr. Rustin also supported the marches led by Dr. King, saying they were helpful "beccause the Negro has to have a place to move."

Troubles Delay IRT Trains

Brake and signal trouble delayed two Seventh Avenue IRT subway trains during the morning rush hour yesterday. The Transit Authority said a northbound express was delayed at 72d Street for 12 minutes, starting at 7:21 A.M., by signal trouble. A southbound express developed brake trouble just south of 116th Street at 8:01 A.M. and was delayed 11 minutes.

Rights Aides Score A Plan to "Salvage' Military Rejects

NYT 8/29/66

MOVEMENT

Civil rights leaders denounced yesterday Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's proposal for "salvaging" draft rejects on the grounds that it would place undue hardships on Negroes.

According to Defense Department manpower experts possibly 30 per cent of the 40,000 rejects who would enter the military services under the program during the next ten months would be Negroes.

Mr. McNamara made his proposal here Tuesday in an address before the convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars. He announced that special military training programs were being prepared to rehabilitate men rejected for military service for physical or mental deficiencies. He said the men would be inducted and given training to bring them up to acceptable standards.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, called the plan "genocide." "It's brutal," Mr. Powell said in a telephone interview from Washington. "It's nothing more than killing off human beings that are not members of the elite."

Mr. Powell said that the mortality rate would probably be higher among those "salvaged" called because "they are the least equipped to handle sophisticated weapons."

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the plan was "a cynical method to punish black youths for the social ills imposed on them by the major society."

In a statement issued by CORE, Mr. McKissick said that training for participation in the armed forces would "increase the imbalance of black Americans in the war in Vietnam."

The National Urban League said it was "concerned about any kind of procedure which places a hardship on the Negro who is already carrying a disproportionate percentage of the burdens in the war in Vietnam at this time."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had no comment. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, could not be reached for comment.

NEW YORK TIMES, SA

TAX AGENCY FILES LIEN AGAINST CORE MOVEMENT

$22,500 Action Points Up Group's Money Troubles

NYT 8/27/66

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

The Internal Revenue Service has filed a lien against the Congress of Racial Equality for $22,500 in taxes allegedly collected from CORE employes but not transmitted to the revenue agency.

A spokesman for the agency said the lien was for income taxes and Social Security taxes deducted during the first two quarters of this year. He said the lien was filed earlier this week in Federal Distric Court here.

Interviewed yesterday by telephone, CORE's associate director, Lincoln Lynch, refused to comment on the lien.

"We have not been advised by the I.R.S. that such a lien has been filed," he said "We really don't know if it exists."

Mr. Lynch conceded, however, that the civil rights group was in "serious financial straits."

The organization has effected drastic economy moves in recent months. Its staff has been cut back about 30 per cent.

65 On National Staff

Some field employes of long standing have been let go, and the national staff has been reduced to 65 workers, most of whom operate across the nation.

The national staff has been reduced to 65 workers, most of whom operate across the nation. Those let go included some field employes of long standing.

This week CORE moved its headquarters from 38 Park Row in downtown Manhattan to 200 West 135th Street in Harlem.

The downtown rent was about $1,000 a month; the rent in Harlem is about $500.

Three years ago CORE's annual budget was about $1-million, with most of the contributions coming from white liberals. Fund raisers for the organization say that passage of such measures as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, antipoverty legislation and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 made many whites feel that contributions were no longer needed.

The 'Black Power' Issue

In addition, CORE's outspoken advocacy of "black power" has caused many would-be contributors among whites to withhold their gifts.

Although Mr. Lynch has declined to discuss the organization's finances in detail, a recently resigned official said the current deficit was above $350,000.

Mr. Lynch said yesterday that the principal reason for moving to Harlem was to be in closer contact with Negroes and their needs. He said the decision to move was reached in March.

Another spokesman said the organization planned to concentrate on community organization, political activity, the organization of business combines and cooperatives, and other political-financial, self-help activities in the nation's slums and among the rural poor.

"We felt it was important," the spokesman said, "to have our base in the heart of the most extensive Negro ghetto in the nation."

Whites on Staff

About 10 of the current 65 employes are white and there are no plans for CORE to become all-Negro, Mr. Lynch said.

"I think the white press should worry less about CORE becoming all black and more about whether we are doing an effective job in the ghettos and on the farms," he said.

Mr. Lynch insisted that his group was doing an effective job. As an example he cited a cooperative of 360 Negro and 15 white sweet potato farmers in Opelousas, St. Landry Parish, (County), in South Central Louisiana.

"This is one CORE project everyone overlooks while trying to see if we're getting rid of our white members," he said.

Mr. Lynch said the cooperative had been organized and was being directed by a 20-year-old white youth, John Zippert of New York. "He works for $25 a week," Mr. Lynch said.

Seven of the whites still employed on the national staff are field workers, earning from $25 to $50 a week, he said, and three are employed in the Harlem office.

'Pillar of Strength'

One of the staff members let go was Richard Haley, a former associate national director of CORE who, for the last two years, ran the organization's Southern regional office in New Orleans.

Mr. Haley had previously been the head of the music department at Florida A. & M. University. A former CORE official described Mr. Haley yesterday as "a quiet, dignified pillar of strength in what was often a din of confusion."

Mr. Haley will work for the Peace Corps, Mr. Lynch said.

Another to go was David Dennis, a CORE worker in hte South for about six years, who had helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party.

'All but Destroyed'

PLAINFIELD, Vt., Aug. 26 (AP)—Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, says the Congress of Racial Equality is dead and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is dying.

Mr. Rustin told a Goddard College labor seminar last night that "CORE is all but destroyed now and nothing creative can come out of SNCC."

He said that the groups' leaders, Floyd B. McKissick of CORE and Stokely Carmichael of the student committee, were out of touch with the Negro population.

Their slogan of "black power," he said, is nothing but an emotional reaction to 300 years of second-class citizenship.

Mr. Rustin, organizer of the 1963 Civil Rights march on Washington, said that Mr. Carmichael's reaction might be emotionally honest but was not political.

"Stokely's isolation is a sickness," he said.

"It is the labor movement which has done the most, is doing the most and will continue to do the most to lift the Negro out of his condition," Mr. Rustin said.

Flying Hours ...y Be 'Banked'

WASHINGTON (Armed Forces News Bureau — Flying hours exceeding the monthly requirement of four hours may now be banked for as long as five months and used later for pay purposes, an Air Force personnel message said.

The basic idea is to reduce flying at schools where courses can last as long as five months.

URSDAY, SEPTEMBER

RUSTIN APPEALS FOR RACIAL UNITY

MOVEMENT

Deplores Black Power Idea —Sociologist Disagrees

NYT 9/1/66

The growth of the "black power" concept may be attributed to the political ineffectiveness of the labor-liberal-Negro coalition, Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, argues in the September issue of Commentary magazine.

Mr. Rustin, an advocate of nonviolence, calls for a strengthening and rejuvenation of the coalition to prevent further estrangement of Negroes and whites.

But, writing in defense of black power in Commentary, Professor David Danzig of the Columbia University School of Social Work contends that the old coalition is beyond repair and should be replaced by a new alliance made up of urban blocs. Its primary purpose would be to press for a "genuine assault" on the problems of the American city.

Mr. Rustin argues that black power not only is of no real value to the civil rights movement but also is harmful. He says it diverts the movement from "meaningful" debate over strategy and tactics," isolates the Negro community and encourages the growth of anti-Negro forces.

Used by Carmichael

The black power slogan first came to national attention in June during the so-called "Meredith March" through Mississippi. Stokely Carmichael, the national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, used it frequently then and has since elaborated on it numerous times.

But an exact definition of the phrase has been a stumbling point for both Negroes and whites and even a S.N.C.C. decument on the concept has not dispelled the confusion.

One paragraph of the document states: "If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut outselves off from white people. We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

Mr. Rustin writes in Commentary:

"Carmichael, incidentally, is in the paradoxical position of screaming at liberals — wanting only to "get whitey off my back" — and simultaneously needing their support: after all, he can talk about Negroes taking over Lowndes County (Alabama) only because there is a fairly liberal Federal Government to protect him should Governor Wallace decide to eliminate this pocket of black power."

Color Not Important

Mr. Rustin says that the important question is not whether a politician is Negro or white but what political forces he represents. "Manhattan," Mr. Rustin notes, "has had a succession of Negro borough presidents and yet the schools are increasingly segregated."

Professor Danzig defends the black power concept, he says, because he sees no danger from organized Negroes. He writes that the Negroes to fear are "the disorganized, the disenfranchised and the hopeless."

MOVEMENT

King Wins Cheers After Critic's Blast

AC 9/1/66

CHICAGO (AP) — A shouting advocate of black power preempted the rostrum from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Wednesday night, but his militant talk drew a biting blast from King that had his followers cheering in the aisles.

King received a standing ovation, mixed with some jeers, as he told bearded Monroe Sharp, Chicago chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: "When pharaoh wanted to keep the people in slavery, he kept the slaves fighting among themselves.

"I understand that the cry for black power is here because of the reluctance of white power to make the necessary changes, the necessary concessions.

"The longer we wait to solve our problems in this country, the longer we will be hearing these misguided cries all over this nation.

"I don't believe in white power — I don't believe in black power—I believe in human power."

Before the jeers from the rear of the crowded South Side church prompted King to give his critics the platform, leaflets protesting King's civil rights tactics and his recent signing of an open-housing pact with Chicago civic leaders were distributed.

One read in part: "Wake up brother! We got to get us some black power — so the black man can speak for himself."

When the cries of "black power!" broke out inside the church, King yielded the platform, saying: "This is a free, democratic society and we have a brother who wants to talk about black power."

Within a five-minute time limit, enforced by King's aides, Sharp said King put too much emphasis on demonstrations, negotiations and cooperation with white persons.

Sharp called for intense political and social organization in the slums, saying that the Negro must first control his own neighborhood before he moves into white areas. He said that Negroes living in integrated areas tend, through imitation, to lose the best qualities of their race.

"You don't get your freedom by tramp, tramp, tramping," Sharp said, referring to open-housing marches. The marches in hostile white neighborhoods were the prelude to the summit conference that adopted the "open-city" agreement.

"It is still dark around America and I know some people get understandably impatient," King declared. "Somebody is still asking—how long? My answer is—not long."

Earlier, King said his forces would support a strike by 130 workers at Saks Fifth Avenue, a fashionable Chicago clothing store, and said he had the support of employes of the Saks store and Gimbel's department store in New York City.

If a settlement is not reached within 10 days of a strike, he said, "Saks may find 1,000 to 2,000 Negroes trying on clothes all day long."

YOUNG ASKS DRIVE TO EDUCATE WHITES

MOVEMENT NYT 9/21/66

The executive director of the National Urban League, Whitney M. Young Jr., called yesterday for a "massive education program for whites, to convince them of their responsibility in supporting democracy."

He said most American whites were the "gentle people of prejudice" who are neither pro nor anti civil rights but who take no stand at all and who allow racial discrimination to flourish by their silence.

Speaking before the 10th annual fall conference of the Magazine Publishers Association at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Mr. Young estimated that 10 per cent of white America was bigoted and another 10 per cent dedicated to civil rights but that the vast majority, 80 per cent, took no stand.

He told the publishers and editors they should use their facilities to promote a better understanding of the progress being made in race relations and chided them for what he called an emphasis an excitement and controversy.

Mr. Young had strong words also for Negro "demogogues," whom he called creations of the "white press" anxious for a "daily dose of conflict." "The Negro has as much right to his crackpots as whites and he should not be penalized for them," Mr. Young said.

MOVEMENT

SNCC 'Nonviolent' Only in Name

By WAYNE KELLEY

Under the leadership of its militant young chairman, Stokely Carmichael, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has stamped "violence" on its definition of "black power."

The definition was cemented Tuesday afternoon when, city officials charged, SNCC workers helped whip up emotions in a slum neighborhood following the shooting and arrest of a Negro suspect by local police.

William Ware, a SNCC leader, has been charged with inciting a riot. Mr. Carmichael, the 24-year-old SNCC chairman, was on hand when the unruly crowds gathered by chants of "black power."

It was the third time in nine months that SNCC activities here have required police action. Tuesday, for the first time, things got out of hand.

Thus with actions, if not with words, SNCC has apparently completed a metamorphosis

NEWS ANALYSIS

from a campus-orientated sit-in group in the early 1960's to an organization feeding on social disorders.

THE CHANGE first came dramaticly to public attention late in 1965 when SNCC officials released a statement highly critical of United States involvement in the Viet Nam war.

Julian Bond, public relations officer for SNCC and then representatives-elect to the Georgia House of Representatives from Atlanta, endorsed the statement referring to U.S. soldiers as "aggressors" and their actions in Viet Nam as "murder."

Mr. Bond was denied his seat by a vote of the House. SNCC, in cooperation with Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), staged a march on the State Capitol. Some SNCC workers rushed the Capitol steps and there were brief scuffles with state troopers in the doorways.

But it was in May 1966 that SNCC, originally devoted to voter registration efforts in hostile Southern communities and rarely to demonstrations, took a bigger turn.

The organization voted out chairman John Lewis, a 26-year-old minister who believed in nonviolence as "a way of life," and installed Mr. Carmichael.

SNCC DECIDED to purge itself of white influences. But a position paper maintained: "Our position does not stem from 'hatred' or 'racism' against white people, but from a conscientious effort to develop the best methods of solving our national problem."

Mr. Carmichael, who has advocated economic and political take-overs by Negroes, has repeatedly stated that any reference to violence has been a result of white guilt rather than SNCC intentions.

But last month SNCC organizers were in the forefront with "black power" chants when a crowd attempted to prevent the arrest of a SNCC member on a traffic charge.

SNCC policies have been vague about future plans for aiding Negroes to a better life. And Wednesday, Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins said he was willing to strike the "non" from the "nonviolent" portion of the SNCC label.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BETTER PAY BILL BEFORE NEXT SUNDAY

FINDON, England, Sept. 7 (UPI)—Rev. Ronald Adams has threatened to use his pulpit for more than preaching. He said he would name those in his parish who owe money to local shopkeepers if they fail to pay their bills.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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MOVEMENT

Julian Bond Gets Out of Snick

9/9/66 AC

By BILL SHIPP

Julian Bond quit the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Thursday after he told two Atlanta Constitution staff members he thought the organization had gone "kind of crazy."

Julian Bond

Bond also said SNCC hadn't paid his salary lately. Bond, twice denied a seat in the Georgia House because he endorsed the anti-Viet Nam views of SNCC, was information director of the now-militant group.

Bond, 26, one of the original members of the organization, said he disagreed with the policies of Snick's present chairman, Stokely Carmichael, and termed Tuesday's riot "most unfortunate."

BLAME SNCC

Both Negro and white leaders have blamed the riot on SNCC.

Asked what he thought of the recent actions of SNCC, including its attempt to invade an Atlanta Army Induction Center, Bond said he thought the affair "kind of crazy."

Commenting on his pay, he said, "If I had the money from all the paydays I've missed in the past five years, I'd be a rich man."

LAST OF GROUP

But Bond said he still felt he had many good friends in the organization.

Bond was the last of the "old-timers" to leave SNCC. John Lewis, SNCC chairman, quit several weeks ago after the organization began touting its "black power" slogans.

In an official statement, Bond told Negro radio station WAOK that there were many reasons for his resignation.

"There are things I want to do and SNCC is doing some things I don't want to do," he said. "But primarily it's because I'm 26 years old now and it's time to find out if there's anything I can do and if I can do anything at all."

Bond is seeking reelection to the Georgia House against Malcolm Dean, dean of men at Atlanta University.

He has twice been elected to the House post but has never been seated. The House refused to seat Bond when it convened early this year and refused a second time after he ran again for the post and was reelected right after the last legislative session.

The reason: Bond endorsed SNCC statements denouncing U.S. action in Viet Nam as aggression and said he admired the courage of anyone who would burn his draft card. He added, however, that he would not burn his own.

Bond said he also is working on a book.

He said he hopes to become active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which he is a member.

Close-Up

MOVEMENT AC 9/9/66

Panther Bearded in His Den

Thursday morning a young Snick Black Power leader with a scraggly Castro-type beard on his bronze scowling face, a Black Panther bumper sticker plastered across the front of his sweat shirt, was sitting sullenly in a straight-back chair in a vacant lot in Vine City.

The chair was astride the ashes of what was a Snick booth. Gone up in flames the night before were the beach umbrella, another chair, a table, and stacks of Snick hate pamphlets.

As the young tough sat there amidst the ashes, a white TV cameraman circled, his camera grinding away. The two were alone in the rubble-strewn lot.

You'd think the Klan had struck a righteous blow there. But, no. The sullen Snicker, the weirdo with the beard, is the victim of a new phenomenon on our racial scene. What did him in was a growing black backlash against the senseless, aimless and goalless violence of Snick.

And the Vine City grapevine is humming with an unsettling message. Unsettling to Snick, that is. The message is that Snick is about to be evicted, perhaps forcibly, from the Vine City slums.

The grapevine across town, in the Capitol Avenue-Ormond Street area where a Snick-lashed riot blew the lid off Tuesday, had even more unsettling news. Unsettling to many of the residents there, that is. The word is that Snick wants to move its Atlanta Project headquarters into the Mechanicsville-Summerhill area.

But the welcome mat is not out, even in those slums.

The Capitol-Ormond area has a project of its own going, born in a stormy session Wednesday at the Bethel Baptist Church when about 80 residents gave Snick what amounted to a resounding rasberry.

The project is called the Good Neighbor Club, and already Thursday morning placards bearing the club's name could be seen on houses up and down Capitol Avenue. The club is working on the theory that slum dwellers have a better chance of improving their lot by petitioning their government for redress of grievances.

Working on Capitol Avenue Tuesday morning to recruit members were club chairman Robert McDaniel, a night club entertainer, and club secretary Mrs. Katherine Harris, a car wash girl and Economic Opportunity Atlanta volunteer worker.

They had already run out of "Good Neighbor" placards, but were still signing up members and listing grievances among their neighbors. A few blocks away Snick workers were handing out their hate pamphlets door to door.

It's still quite a tug of war, but signs that the Good Neighbor project may be gaining can be seen in the crumpled Snick pamphlets strewn about in some of the unpaved back streets.

Can Snick be cast out of its own hometown? If it is, can it survive elsewhere?

The answers will come from the success or failure of this group of volunteer Good Neighbors who believe violence is not the way up, but down. And their success or failure will depend a great deal upon the rest of Atlanta, from City Hall, the State Capitol, and yes, the comfortable people who never heard of Summerhill and Mechanicsville and Vine City before this summer.

It will depend on what we're all ready to do in the war on poverty . . . upon whether we want to be good neighbors too.

JIM RANKIN

FALCONS GET

Johnson Starts Sunday

LARRY MORRIS

See Story on Page 53

VOL. 99, No. 72 ★★★

RALPH McGILL

MOVEMENT

The Story of Two 'Snicks'

9/9/66

SNCC (Snick) is a story of two organizations.

Today Snick is Stokely Carmichael, publicly saying "By God, I want a little chaos."

Snick now is Carmichael talking of enough violence "to bring this country to its knees."

Snick today is Carmichael saying that when you talk of Black Power, "you are talking about building a movement that will smash everything Western Civilization has created."

The Negro in America, in the new countries in Africa, and wherever he may be, is a part of Western Civilization which a worldwide momentum now is trying to make available to all citizens.

Snick today seeks conflict between races — not peace and an equality of opportunity and political power.

This new Snick has killed off the original Snick — the one that attracted the idealistic college students of both races to share jail, fear, terror, and to work together.

This Snick is no longer a civil rights organization.

Fine Record

No civil rights organization had a finer record of courage, dedication and accomplishment than the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, Snick) from its inception on the Easter weekend of 1960 at Raleigh, North Carolina, until about mid-1965.

SNCC captured the ideali

new countries in Africa, and wherever he may be, is a part of Western Civilization which a worldwide momentum now is trying to make available to all citizens.

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Fine Record

No civil rights organization had a finer record of courage, dedication and accomplishment than the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, Snick) from its inception on the Easter weekend of 1960 at Raleigh, North Carolina, until about mid-1965.

SNCC captured the idealism and enthusiasm of thousands of students across the nation, Negro and white. The dedication of these idealistic young people is a great chapter in the story of civil rights. They lived in the towns that were brutally dominated by the stereotype sheriffs, deputies, police chiefs, and the total power structure of the towns and counties in which they worked.

Much of what they did was in the presence of danger and unrelenting hatred. Some of both races were killed. SNCC brought hope and courage to many terrorized Negro communities in Mississippi and Alabama. Negro and white, together they endured indignities, degradations, humiliations, and hardships in county and city jails. Young women out of college, Negro and white, were subjected to the most coarse and vulgar treatment by police officers — city and county —in the areas where they went to do a job that was needed.

Their courage was such that they went into the remote counties of Mississippi and Alabama where justice had never been a part of Negro life and where any who sought to change the set-up were greeted with brutality, terror, and, on some occasions, death.

Freedom schools to teach adults some basic reading and writing and to instruct them in civil rights and voting rights, Negro history, and so on, were features of the many activites of the young students, Negro and white.

Few Failures

There were failures and there were instances of irrational leadership. But they were few. In the main, the story of SNCC was magnificent and inspiring.

That was the SNCC — the Snick — that was.

Its decline may be traced to some of the leadership that began to assert itself in late 1964 and into 1965. It was extremely doctrinaire. One of the major leaders developed a semi-paranoid condition. In early 1966, talk of "Havana money" became current. SNCC, unable to meet payrolls, nonetheless could form a front and purchase a $65,000 building.

That a once honorable, idealistic student action group should now be taken over by what amounts to a secret klan-type group which openly states its racial hatreds and its objective to foment disorder and chaos in order to destroy Western civilization is one of the more melancholy stories of our time.

MOVEMENT

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 99 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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Who Speaks for the Negro?

The Ku Klux Klan fell into disrepute and powerlessness when white people of good will openly condemned its lawless hatred. As long as it could profit from the mystique of "white solidarity," the Klan prospered.

Similarly today, Snick has survived thus far because Negroes have been reluctant to show any disunity in the just cause of equal rights.

White people came to question the value of a white solidarity on terms dictated by the Klan mentality. And so, after this week's disturbances, Atlanta's Negro community is challenging the concept of black power as defined by Snick.

Snick's way has never been the Negro community's way, just as the Klan's way was never the white South's. But both extremist groups could appear the pace-setters as long as they were never disputed by their own people.

It is now encouraging to hear the level-headed positions being taken by leaders and rank-and-file, including high school students, in the Negro community.

Significantly, the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, representing a variety of civil rights and economic improvement groups, has pledged itself anew to a positive course of action.

Rioting, a Summit statement observed, "did nothing to correct or to solve any of the problems which the community faces." It concluded that the Summit group would "commit ourselves to greater effort NOW to make Atlanta a city which all people can appreciate, support and hold in high esteem."

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called riots "socially destructive and self-defeating." But he said it also was "important to condemn the conditions which bring riots into being." The Summit Conference, it should be noted, likewise said: "We believe in demonstrations and in protests."

The white politicians who fail to distinguish between legitimate protest and the anarchy of rioting are as foolish as Negroes who see no difference between nonviolence and Snick's black power.

Snick showed its hand more openly here than perhaps anywhere else in the country. Atlantans—Negro as well as white—didn't like what they saw.

Easy Voter Registration in Fulton

Eugene Patterson

The Negroes Will Choose

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was born here. It was betrayed here by roughnecks who took it away from students and turned it away from nonviolence. It would be fitting if SNCC died here, as a result of its naked incitement to riot this week in Atlanta.

Let it be suggested, though, that this is a matter the Negro community itself will handle and should handle.

Talk among some white leaders of throwing the book at Stokely Carmichael—insurrection charges and the like— is not wise nor is it necessary; the true judges must be Atlanta's Negroes.

Jim Rankin's column on this page gives a clear picture of the development of that far healthier situation.

Negroes in Atlanta are not children. They are capable of conducting the affairs of their communities sensibly. Their judgments and decisions have been their own for a long time in this city.

They will judge SNCC and decide their course.

The ugliness of Tuesday's riot situation was as obvious to the Negro community as it was to the white. Condemnation of the violence and disorder came as swiftly from the Negro leadership as from the white.

For a much longer time Negroes had been forming their decisions in places like the Vine City slum. The SNCC sound truck was a familiar fixture there. The organizers and the black power pamphlets had been around for months. But Vine City hadn't rioted.

On the contrary, many residents had quietly measured SNCC and found it wanting. After the sound truck moved over to Summerhill Tuesday and the SNCC toughs suckered some people there into the riot, a considerable amount of grass roots grumbling arose in Vine City about its status as an exporter of trouble. And there is serious talk of asking SNCC out of there.

The Summerhill people didn't bow down humbly to the swaggering incivility and intimidation of the SNCC people either. As Rankin reports, they flatly challenged SNCC for leadership of the section and lit a backfire with a nonviolent organization of their own.

All of the leadership groups, from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s SCLC to the comprehensive Summit Leadership Conference, have forthrightly counseled Atlanta's Negroes against the disorder SNCC initiated. But at the ground level, in the streets, the most important work was being done. It appeared to be a work of independence by responsible people who are not afraid of SNCC.

So, let the white leadership labor to strengthen the responsible Negro leaders by working fairly to meet the legitimate needs of the Negro people here. Those people are capable of dealing with SNCC, and Atlanta is blessed with signs that they will as true Negro leaders now emerge.

Snick Asks U.S. Court To Rule State's Laws Against Riots Illegal

MOVEMENT

AC 9/10/66

Also Wants The Mayor Enjoined

By BILL SHIPP

Stokely Carmichael and Snick late Friday asked the federal court to declare unconstitutional Georgia's anti-riot and insurrection laws and the city's disorderly conduct ordinance.

A suit, filed on behalf of the Black Power leader and his organization, asked that a three-judge panel be appointed immediately to hear the case.

The petition called for a permanent injunction to be issued against Mayor Ivan Allen and other officials to restrain them from "impeding, intimidating, hindering" Snick members in exercising their rights.

IN FULTON JAIL

Carmichael was in Fulton County jail Friday in lieu of $10,000 bond on charges of inciting Tuesday's riot which left 15 persons injured here. Seventy-three persons were arrested during the riot. Carmichael was arrested late Thursday in a raid on the Nelson Street headquarters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

If the court grants Snick's request, Carmichael and other members would be relieved of all charges against them.

The Fulton County grand jury is expected to consider indictments against the 25-year-old native of the British West Indies next Friday.

5 SECTIONS

Specifically, the suit attacks the validity of five Georgia code sections dealing with insurrection, inciting to riot, riot and unlawful assemblies and the city's disorderly conduct ordinance.

It said these statutes are "void and illegal on their face" in that they violate the "fundamental guarantees of free speech, press, assembly, and the right to petition the government for redress of grievances."

Howard Moore Jr. of Atlan-

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Associated Press Wirephoto

SNICK CHAIRMAN ENTERS MUNICIPAL COURT
Stokely Carmichael Was Bound Over to Grand Jury

Void Riot Law, Snick Urges

Continued from Page 1

ta, general counsel for Snick, filed the suit.

In addition to Allen, other defendants included Fulton Sol. Gen. Lewis Slaton, Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, Fulton Sheriff T. Ralph Grimes and Capt. Morris Redding, head of the police department's crime prevention bureau.

No hearing has been set.

The petition charged that Allen and the others enter into a "scheme" to "threaten to enforce" the statutes to deprive Snick and its supporters of their rights.

The legal document declared that Snick staff members went into the Summerhill area of Atlanta after a car theft suspect was shot by a policeman. It said Snick was invited there by Negro residents "to assist them to ascertain the facts surrounding" the shooting.

RIGHTS STRESSED

It said Snick members were arrested after they attempted to exercise their rights of free speech, assembly and the right to petition for redress of grievances.

Shortly before the petition was filed, Snick's program coordinator, Cleveland Sellers, issued a fiery statement directed at Mayor Ivan Allen. The statement, read at a press conference, said: "We are not your subjects and we are not afraid of your gestapo police force. We will continue to fight you as long as there is one black person left in the United States."

James Forman, manager of Snick's national office here, charged that Carmichael was being held "a political prisoner." He said Carmichael expected to remain in jail pending grand jury findings.

Carmichael was turned over to Fulton County authorities after he waived preliminary hearing in Municipal Court. He arrived at Fulton County jail with a stack of books and $6 in his pocket. He was placed in an individual cell.

Meanwhile, four Negro leaders told Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. that there were "many innocent people" among those arrested earlier this week in the rioting in Capitol Avenue.

They said they called on the mayor to see what could be done in behalf of those persons whom they said were "innocent."

Mayor Allen conferred privately in his office for about an hour with Ald. Q. V. Williamson; State Sen. Leroy Johnson; Jesse Hill, Jr. and Sam Williams, president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

HYSTERIA CITED

The mayor said he agreed with the Negro leaders that many of those arrested Tuesday were simply "caught up in the hysteria" and were "incited by falsehoods and rumors" put out by Snick leaders. But he said it would be "up to the judge" to decide the merits of each case made Tuesday.

Meanwhile, representatives of 14 local organizations, ranging from the American Jewish Committee to the National Council of Churches, signed a letter to Allen which declared:

". . . it would be tragic, indeed, if community consensus were to become arrayed against certain individuals and organizations" as a substitute for relieving the slum area conditions which brought about Tuesday's disorder.

Mayor Allen and other officials have charged that Carmichael and Snick were responsible for the riot.

The letter said: "There has been in our opinion competent criticism of the violence and those who supported it, for no one can countenance violence, the injury of persons and the willful destruction of property."

SIGNERS LISTED

Signers of the letter included representatives of the Southern Regional Council; NAACP, American Friends Service Committee, Georgia Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; National Conference of Christians and Jews, United Presbyterian Church USA.

National Council of Churches, Georgia Council on Human Relations, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Urban League, Southern Student Organizing Committee, and Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

LODGE NOTICES

On Negro Separatism

MOVEMENT

By WILLIAM V. SHANNON

In terms of both ideas and political strategy, the civil rights movement has reached a critical stage.

Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has raised the provocative slogan "black power" and seems bent on transforming the civil rights movement into a purely Negro movement in which "whitey" will be the new second-class citizen.

This has divided the Negro radicals and their white sympathizers from the more sophisticated leaders of the larger, better-established organizations such as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Pressure on Leaders

These leaders, who believe in integration as an ideal and in cooperation with whites as the only practical strategy, are themselves under intensified pressure to prove that practical politics in coalition with whites actually brings results. The preoccupation of the Johnson Administration with the war in Vietnam rather than the war on poverty harms them, and so does the poor progress of the civil rights bill in the Senate.

Bayard Rustin, one of the chief Negro theorists of the coalition viewpoint, felt constrained to remind the readers of Commentary magazine this month that despite the great legislative and juridical victories for civil rights over the past dozen years, "Negroes today are in worse economic shape, live in worse slums and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954."

"More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954; the gap between the wages of the Negro worker and the white worker is wider; while the unemployment rate among white youths is decreasing, the rate among Negro youths has increased to 32 per cent," Mr. Rustin wrote.

Under these circumstances, radicalism of the Stokely Carmichael variety naturally finds an audience in the Negro ghettos. But this radicalism and the furor over "black power" have almost paralyzed many politicians who are fearful that a white backlash vote may develop against them in November if they push too actively for programs that help Negroes, such as open occupancy in housing and the war on poverty.

The Immigrant Thesis

Meanwhile, some white intellectuals have advanced the theory that the Negroes coming to the Northern cities from the impoverished rural South are not really so different, after all, from the European immigrants of the past century. The crisis of the cities and the social disorganization of Negro families are not, it is suggested, so strikingly new as most people have thought.

Although an enhanced sense of historical perspective is always welcome, it is surely the differences rather than the similarities between the European immigrants and the Negroes that matter. In past generations, when a successful immigrant moved into a new and better neighborhood, his children might at first be snubbed at parties or suffer other social slights, but few neighbors were gripped by the panicky impulse to sell their house, before more of "them" moved in and property values fell. The sexual fantasies and hysterical fears that complicate racial problems did not exist or, at least, not with the same intensity for ethnic minorities.

Many Negroes who do not share Stokely Carmichael's romanticism or confused revolutionary fervor have nevertheless been taking a fresh look at the inevitable limits of integration and at the positive possibilities of revitalizing the big city ghettos. Livingston Wingate, executive director of Haryou-Act, the Harlem antipoverty agency, has said what few Negro leaders would have said until very recently and that is that no amount of busing is likely to bring integrated schooling for most of New York's Negro children. It is more important to upgrade the quality of those schools than to worry about integration, he argues.

Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a Negro neurosurgeon, has organized the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), which hopes to develop self-help and self-employment programs in Negro neighborhoods. It is odd to think of Harlem as a slum, Dr. Matthew contends, when its central location in Manhattan could make it a fantastically valuable stretch of real estate. He and other little-known Negro leaders around the country are striving in different ways to shape the separatist impulse behind the "black power" slogan into constructive channels.

They recognize that although individual Negroes, like white immigrants of past generations, are climbing to success, their individual triumphs do not transform or even importantly alleviate the lives of the impoverished Negroes left behind in the ghettos.

By Their Own Efforts

If Harlem and similar neighborhoods are to be transformed, Negroes have to do it themselves by their own efforts. A man can only respect other people when he first respects and has confidence in himself. Jobs and locally-run community action programs are essential in achieving that self-respect and confidence.

But since Negro America, like an underdeveloped foreign country, needs investment capital and technical assistance, Negroes in the slums can work out their own salvation only with the economic and political cooperation of the larger society. There is no separate black path to power and fulfillment that does not intersect with many white routes in this interdependent nation.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON is a member of the editorial board of The Times.

MOVEMENT

Eugene Patterson

Power, Yes-- To Destroy

AC 9/21/66

"This country does not function by morality, love and nonviolence, but by power."—Stokely Carmichael. Thus at one sweep he brushes aside nonviolence, love and morality as components of power. They happened to have been the main components of the power that wrought a racial revolution over the last decade. But to Carmichael, that wasn't power enough.

The young Negro wants "black power." And what is that? At this point he begins to sound severely confused: "The white man is irrelevant to blacks . . . The rebuilding of this society, if at all possible, is basically the responsibility of whites . . . As for initiating the use of violence, we hope that such programs as ours will make that unnecessary; but it is not for us to tell black communities whether they can or cannot use any particular form of action to resolve their problems."

* * *

Carmichael wanders even further along this twisted path. Even if Negroes initiate violence, he says, responsibility for it lies not with them but with whites. "That man who goes out and throws a brick at a white cop is taking part in an uprising as Crispus Attucks, another black man, was . . . in the American Revolution."

And so forth. Apologists to the contrary, it spells violence, race hatred and anarchy. Are these the components of power in this country? They obviously are not, and the proof is now present.

The civil rights bill of 1966 is dead and little mourned. Civil rights bills were passed when nonviolence was the motive force of Negro power.

More than that, the country's reaction to Negro needs generally has changed since Watts. As Gene Roberts wrote this week in a New York Times survey of the civil rights movement nationally, "Public support for the Negro and his problems is waning, white opposition is growing, and the civil rights movement is falling into disarray."

* * *

Far more than a civil rights bill is being lost in the name of "black power." It is foolishness and folly, as the adult Negro leadership has tried to tell its masses. But a few demagogues can recruit savage mobs; Negro demagogues did it as effectively in Summerhill and on Boulevard as white bullies did it in Grenada.

They also can dazzle the inexperienced or the unknowing; witness campus enthusiasm for Carmichael that rivals poor white belief in Lester Maddox.

But impatience and anger can't alter reality for either race. Black power is no power, just as white supremacy was weakness. When the traders on emotion have fretted their hour and gone away, that fact will remain in the wreckage.

Black Power Gained Little In Rights Vote, Leaders Say

MOVEMENT AC 9/25/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24—Black power advocates haven't gained much ground among Negroes embittered over the defeat of the 1966 civil rights bill—but responsible Negro leaders may have lost some.

That was the way moderate civil rights leaders in the nation's capital this weekend were assessing the effects the death of the controversial measure would have within the Negro community.

Minutes after a second cloture vote failed last week, Senate sponsors of the bill predicted its defeat would open up a "new element of danger"——the possibility that Negroes would turn to black power for revenge.

"Certainly," said National Urban League Director Whitney Young, "the fact that the bill was defeated gives more credence and validity to extremist statements."

The man-on-the-street in Negro communities, said Young, will probably be full of despair and hopelessness. "He sits there like a volcano: Given the incident, he may explode."

JUST THE same, Young agreed with NAACP Washington Director Clarence Mitchell's appraisal that the overwhelming majority of American Negroes won't turn to black power.

"I don't think they'll start throwing bricks," Mitchell said in an interview here. "The people who throw bricks probably don't care what goes on in Congress—they'd probably be out throwing bricks anyway."

But, added Young cryptically: "The death of the bill makes it more difficult for those of us who try to be responsible to maintain our influence as civil rights leaders. People want to know what rewards being moderate will get us."

Young and Mitchell — and other responsible civil rights leaders — generally predict that Negroes disappointed over the failure of the civil rights bill are more likely to take out their frustrations in the voting booths than on the streets.

SEVERAL civil rights organizations, especially in congressional districts where Negroes constitute a big "swing" vote, are already preparing strong campaigns against congressmen who voted against the 1966 measure.

Expectedly, Negro leaders also see a strengthening of civil rights activity in the North.

The 1966 bill, with its controversial open-housing provision, was the first to have its greatest potential effect outside the South. Its defeat, some say, was as much due to Northern reluctance as Southern opposition.

"We've already had our confrontation in the South," said one civil rights leader privately. "And, in terms of gain, there's been much more progress there than in the big Northern cities.

"Look at Atlanta," he said, by way of example. "In five years, Atlanta will probably be one of the most liberal cities in the nation with regard to civil rights.

"We're not going to ignore the South," he continued. "We're just not going to ignore the North, either."

Still, says William L. Taylor, staff director for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the defeat of the bill "won't change the position" of the civil rights leadership.

THE BILL, says Taylor, "wouldn't have had a great deal to give ghetto Negroes — but its loss will mean a lot, anyway."

"Its main effect now will be psychological," Taylor said. "There's no question that effect will be adverse."

To most whites, there's no question that recent black power demonstrations — in Atlanta and other U.S. cities — caused a white backlash that contributed to the bill's defeat.

"The death of the bill is undeniable evidence," says Atlanta Rep. Charles L. Weltner, the only Georgian to vote for the measure, "that the people of the United States are not going to suffer organized violence under the guise of civil rights.

"For those genuinely interested in expanding opportunities," the congressman said, "it ought to be compelling persuasion that black power advocates must be repudiated."

BUT YOUNG, for one, finds that a tough position to accept.

"The news media," he said, "built these isolated black power riots into a Frankenstein, and then asked the Negro leadership 'Why can't you control it?'

"For every Negro who participates in a riot," Young said, "100 die in Viet Nam. The 97 per cent of the Negroes who have remained non-violent are being penalized for the actions of a few. The Negro community, unlike others, is being asked to be 100 per cent pure."

At week's end, most civil rights leaders were agreeing that the death of the bill hadn't changed the 97 per cent or the remaining 3 per cent.

Said Taylor stoically: "The problems just aren't going to go away by themselves."

MOVEMENT

"BLACK POWER" AND COALITION POLITICS

by BAYARD RUSTIN

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"BLACK POWER" AND COALITION POLITICS

BAYARD RUSTIN

THERE are two Americas—black and white—and nothing has more clearly revealed the divisions between them than the debate currently raging around the slogan of "black power." Despite—or perhaps because of—the fact that this slogan lacks any clear definition, it has succeeded in galvanizing emotions on all sides, with many whites seeing it as the expression of a new racism and many Negroes taking it as a warning to white people that Negroes will no longer tolerate brutality and violence. But even within the Negro community itself, "black power" has touched off a major debate—the most bitter the community has experienced since the days of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, and one which threatens to ravage the entire civil-rights movement. Indeed, a serious split has already developed between advocates of "black power" like Floyd McKissick of CORE and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC on the one hand, and Dr. Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and Whitney Young of the Urban League on the other.

There is no question, then, that great passions are involved in the debate over the idea of "black power"; nor, as we shall see, is there any question that these passions have their roots in the psychological and political frustrations of the Negro community. Nevertheless, I would contend that "black power" not only lacks any real value for the civil-rights movement, but that its propagation is positively harmful. It diverts the movement from a meaningful debate over strategy and tactics, it isolates the Negro community, and it encourages the growth of anti-Negro forces.

In its simplest and most innocent guise, "black power" merely means the effort to elect Negroes to office in proportion to Negro strength within the population. There is, of course, nothing wrong with such an objective in itself, and nothing inherently radical in the idea of pursuing it. But in Stokely Carmichael's extravagant rhetoric about "taking over" in districts of the South where Negroes are in the majority, it is important to recognize that Southern Negroes are only in a position to win a maximum of two congressional seats and control of eighty local counties.* (Carmichael, incidentally, is in the paradoxical position of screaming at liberals—wanting only to "get whitey off my back"—and simultaneously needing their support: after all, he can talk about Negroes taking over Lowndes County only because there is a fairly liberal federal government to protect him should Governor Wallace decide to eliminate this pocket of black power.) Now there might be a certain value in having two Negro congressmen from the South, but obviously they could do nothing by themselves to reconstruct the face of America. Eighty sheriffs, eighty tax assessors, and eighty school-board members might ease the tension for a while in their communities, but they alone could not create jobs and build low-cost housing; they alone could not supply quality integrated education.

The relevant question, moreover, is not whether a politician is black or white, but what forces he represents. Manhattan has had a succession of Negro borough presidents, and yet the schools are increasingly segregated. Adam Clayton Powell and William Dawson have both been in Congress for many years; the former is responsible for a rider on school intergration that never gets passed, and the latter is responsible for keeping the Negroes of Chicago tied to a mayor who had to see riots and death before he would put eight-dollar sprinklers on water hydrants in the summer. I am not for one minute arguing that Powell, Dawson, and Mrs. Motley should be impeached. What I am saying is that if a politician is elected because he is black and is deemed to be entitled to a "slice of the pie," he will behave in one way; if he is elected by a constituency pressing for social reform, he will, whether he is white or black, behave in another way.

SOUTHERN Negroes, despite exhortations from SNCC to organize themselves into a Black Panther party, are going to stay in the Democratic party—to them it is the party of progress, the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society—and they are right to stay. For SNCC's Black Panther perspective is simultaneously utopian and re-

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*See "The Negroes Enter Southern Politics" by Pat Watters, *Dissent*, July-August 1966.

actionary—the former for the by now obvious reason that one-tenth of the population cannot accomplish much by itself, the latter because such a party would remove Negroes from the main area of political struggle in this country (particularly in the one-party South, where the decisive battles are fought out in Democratic primaries), and would give priority to the issue of race precisely at a time when the fundamental questions facing the Negro and American society alike are economic and social. It is no accident that the two main proponents of "black power," Carmichael and McKissick, should now be co-sponsoring a conference with Adam Clayton Powell and Elijah Muhammad, and that the leaders of New York CORE should recently have supported the machine candidate for Surrogate—because he was the choice of a Negro boss—rather than the candidate of the reform movement. By contrast, Martin Luther King is working in Chicago with the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO and with religious groups in a coalition which, if successful, will mean the end or at least the weakening of the Daley-Dawson machine.

The winning of the right of Negroes to vote in the South insures the eventual transformation of the Democratic party, now controlled primarily by Northern machine politicians and Southern Dixiecrats. The Negro vote will eliminate the Dixiecrats from the party and from Congress, which means that the crucial question facing us today is who will replace them in the South. Unless civil-rights leaders (in such towns as Jackson, Mississippi; Birmingham, Alabama; and even to a certain extent Atlanta) can organize grass-roots clubs whose members will have a genuine political voice, the Dixiecrats might well be succeeded by black moderates and black Southern-style machine politicians, who would do little to push for needed legislation in Congress and little to improve local conditions in the South. While I myself would prefer Negro machines to a situation in which Negroes have no power at all, it seems to me that there is a better alternative today—a liberal-labor-civil rights coalition which would work to make the Democratic party truly responsive to the aspirations of the poor, and which would develop support for programs (specifically those outlined in A. Philip Randolph's $100 billion Freedom Budget) aimed at the reconstruction of American society in the interests of greater social justice. The advocates of "black power" have no such programs in mind; what they are in fact arguing for (perhaps unconsciously) is the creation of a *new black establishment.*

Nor, it might be added, are they leading the Negro people along the same road which they imagine immigrant groups traveled so successfully in the past. Proponents of "black power"—accepting a historical myth perpetrated by moderates—like to say that the Irish and the Jews and the Italians, by sticking together and demanding their share, finally won enough power to overcome their initial disabilities. But the truth is that it was through alliances with other groups (in political machines or as part of the trade-union movement) that the Irish and the Jews and the Italians acquired the power to win their rightful place in American society. They did not "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps"—no group in American society has ever done so; and they most certainly did not make isolation their primary tactic.

IN SOME quarters, "black power" connotes not an effort to increase the number of Negroes in elective office but rather a repudiation of non-violence in favor of Negro "self-defense." Actually this is a false issue, since no one has ever argued that Negroes should not defend themselves as individuals from attack.* Non-violence has been advocated as a *tactic* for organized demonstrations in a society where Negroes are a minority and where the majority controls the police. Proponents of non-violence do not, for example, deny that James Meredith has the right to carry a gun for protection when he visits his mother in Mississippi; what they question is the wisdom of his carrying a gun while participating in a demonstration.

There is, as well, a tactical side to the new emphasis on "self-defense" and the suggestion that non-violence be abandoned. The reasoning here is that turning the other cheek is not the way to win respect, and that only if the Negro succeeds in frightening the white man will the white man begin taking him seriously. The trouble with this reasoning is that it fails to recognize that fear is more likely to bring hostility to the surface than respect; and far from prodding the "white power structure" into action, the new militant leadership, by raising the slogan of black power and lowering the banner of non-violence, has obscured the moral issue facing this nation, and permitted the President and Vice President to lecture us about "racism in reverse" instead of proposing more meaningful programs for dealing with the problems of unemployment, housing, and education.

"Black power" is, of course, a somewhat nationalistic slogan and its sudden rise to popularity among Negroes signifies a concomitant rise in nationalist sentiment (Malcolm X's autobiography is quoted nowadays in Grenada, Mississippi as well as in Harlem). We have seen such nationalistic turns and withdrawals back into the ghetto before, and when we look at the conditions which brought them about, we find that they have much in common with the conditions of Negro

*As far back as 1934, A. Philip Randolph, Walter White, then executive secretary of the NAACP, Lester Granger, then executive director of the Urban League, and I joined a committee to try to save the life of Odell Waller. Waller, a sharecropper, had murdered his white boss in self-defense.

life at the present moment: conditions which lead to despair over the goal of integration and to the belief that the ghetto will last forever.

It may, in the light of the many juridical and legislative victories which have been achieved in the past few years, seem strange that despair should be so widespread among Negroes today. But anyone to whom it seems strange should reflect on the fact that despite these victories *Negroes today are in worse economic shape, live in worse slums, and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954.* Thus—to recite the appalling, and appallingly familiar, statistical litany once again—more Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954; the gap between the wages of the Negro worker and the white worker is wider; while the unemployment rate among white youths is decreasing, the rate among Negro youths has increased to *32 per cent* (and among Negro girls the rise is even more startling). Even the one gain which has been registered, a decrease in the unemployment rate among Negro adults, is deceptive, for it represents men who have been called back to work after a period of being laid off. In any event, unemployment among Negro men is still twice that of whites, and no new jobs have been created.

So too with housing, which is deteriorating in the North (and yet the housing provisions of the 1966 civil-rights bill are weaker than the anti-discrimination laws in several states which contain the worst ghettos even with these laws on their books). And so too with schools: according to figures issued recently by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 65 per cent of first-grade Negro students in this country attend schools that are from 90 to 100 per cent black. (If in 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down the desegregation decision, you had been the Negro parent of a first-grade child, the chances are that this past June you would have attended that child's graduation from a segregated high school.)

To put all this in the simplest and most concrete terms: the day-to-day lot of the ghetto Negro has not been improved by the various judicial and legislative measures of the past decade.

NEGROES are thus in a situation similar to that of the turn of the century, when Booker T. Washington advised them to "cast down their buckets" (that is to say, accommodate to segregation and disenfranchisement) and when even his leading opponent, W. E. B. Du Bois, was forced to advocate the development of a group economy in place of the direct-action boycotts, general strikes, and protest techniques which had been used in the 1880's, before the enactment of the Jim-Crow laws. For all their differences, both Washington and Du Bois then found it impossible to believe that Negroes could ever be integrated into American society, and each in his own way therefore counseled withdrawal into the ghetto, self-help, and economic self-determination.

World War I aroused new hope in Negroes that the rights removed at the turn of the century would be restored. More than 360,000 Negroes entered military service and went overseas; many left the South seeking the good life in the North and hoping to share in the temporary prosperity created by the war. But all these hopes were quickly smashed at the end of the fighting. In the first year following the war, more than seventy Negroes were lynched, and during the last six months of that year, there were some twenty-four riots throughout America. White mobs took over whole cities, flogging, burning, shooting, and torturing at will, and when Negroes tried to defend themselves, the violence only increased. Along with this, Negroes were excluded from unions and pushed out of jobs they had won during the war, including federal jobs.

In the course of this period of dashed hope and spreading segregation—the same period, incidentally, when a reorganized Ku Klux Klan was achieving a membership which was to reach into the millions—the largest mass movement ever to take root among working-class Negroes, Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, was born. "Buy Black" became a slogan in the ghettos; faith in integration was virtually snuffed out in the Negro community until the 1930's when the CIO reawakened the old dream of a Negro-labor alliance by announcing a policy of non-discrimination and when the New Deal admitted Negroes into relief programs, WPA jobs, and public housing. No sooner did jobs begin to open up and Negroes begin to be welcomed into mainstream organizations than "Buy Black" campaigns gave way to "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movements. A. Philip Randolph was able to organize a massive March on Washington demanding a wartime FEPC; CORE was born and with it the non-violent sit-in technique; the NAACP succeeded in putting an end to the white primaries in 1944. Altogether, World War II was a period of hope for Negroes, and the economic progress they made through wartime industry continued steadily until about 1948 and remained stable for a time. Meanwhile, the non-violent movement of the 1950's and 60's achieved the desegregation of public accommodations and established the right to vote.

Yet at the end of this long fight, the Southern Negro is too poor to use those integrated facilities and too intimidated and disorganized to use the vote to maximum advantage, while the economic position of the Northern Negro deteriorates rapidly.

The promise of meaningful work and decent wages once held out by the anti-poverty programs has not been fulfilled. Because there has been a lack of the necessary funds, the program has in many cases been reduced to wrangling for posi-

tions on boards or for lucrative staff jobs. Negro professionals working for the program have earned handsome salaries—ranging from $14- to $25,000—while young boys have been asked to plant trees at $1.25 an hour. Nor have the Job Corps camps made a significant dent in unemployment among Negro youths; indeed, the main beneficiaries of this program seem to be the private companies who are contracted to set up the camps.

THEN there is the war in Vietnam, which poses many ironies for the Negro community. On the one hand, Negroes are bitterly aware of the fact that more and more money is being spent on the war, while the anti-poverty program is being cut; on the other hand, Negro youths are enlisting in great numbers, as though to say that it is worth the risk of being killed to learn a trade, to leave a dead-end situation, and to join the only institution in this society which seems really to be integrated.

The youths who rioted in Watts, Cleveland, Omaha, Chicago, and Portland are the members of a truly hopeless and lost generation. They can see the alien world of affluence unfold before them on the TV screen. But they have already failed in their inferior segregated schools. Their grandfathers were sharecroppers, their grandmothers were domestics, and their mothers are domestics too. Many have never met their fathers. Mistreated by the local storekeeper, suspected by the policeman on the beat, disliked by their teachers, they cannot stand more failures and would rather retreat into the world of heroin than risk looking for a job downtown or having their friends see them push a rack in the garment district. Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael may accuse Roy Wilkins of being out of touch with the Negro ghetto, but nothing more clearly demonstrates their own alienation from ghetto youth than their repeated exhortations to these young men to oppose the Vietnam war when so many of them tragically see it as their only way out. Yet there is no need to labor the significance of the fact that the rice fields of Vietnam and the Green Berets have more to offer a Negro boy than the streets of Mississippi or the towns of Alabama or 125th Street in New York.

The Vietnam war is also partly responsible for the growing disillusion with non-violence among Negroes. The ghetto Negro does not in general ask whether the United States is right or wrong to be in Southeast Asia. He does, however, wonder why he is exhorted to non-violence when the United States has been waging a fantastically brutal war, and it puzzles him to be told that he must turn the other cheek in our own South while we must fight for freedom in South Vietnam.

Thus, as in roughly similar circumstances in the past—circumstances, I repeat, which in the aggregate foster the belief that the ghetto is destined to last forever—Negroes are once again turning to nationalistic slogans, with "black power" affording the same emotional release as "Back to Africa" and "Buy Black" did in earlier periods of frustration and hopelessness. This is not only the case with the ordinary Negro in the ghetto; it is also the case with leaders like McKissick and Carmichael, neither of whom began as a nationalist or was at first cynical about the possibilities of integration.* It took countless beatings and 24 jailings—that, and the absence of strong and continual support from the liberal community—to persuade Carmichael that his earlier faith in coalition politics was mistaken, that nothing was to be gained from working with whites, and that an alliance with the black nationalists was desirable. In the areas of the South where SNCC has been working so nobly, implementatior of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 has been slow and ineffective. Negroes in many rural areas cannot walk into the courthouse and register to vote. Despite the voting-rights bill, they must file complaints and the Justice Department must be called to send federal registrars. Nor do children attend integrated schools as a matter of course. There, too, complaints must be filed and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare must be notified. Neither department has been doing an effective job of enforcing the bills. The feeling of isolation increases among SNCC workers as each legislative victory turns out to be only a token victory—significant on the national level, but not affecting the day-to-day lives of Negroes. Carmichael and his colleagues are wrong in refusing to support the 1966 bill, but one can understand why they feel as they do.

It is, in short, the growing conviction that the Negroes cannot win—a conviction with much grounding in experience—which accounts for the new popularity of "black power." So far as the ghetto Negro is concerned, this conviction expresses itself in hostility first toward the people closest to him who have held out the most promise and failed to deliver (Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, etc.), then toward those who have proclaimed themselves his friends (the liberals and the labor movement), and finally toward the only oppressors he can see (the local storekeeper and the policeman on the corner). On the leadership level, the conviction that the Negroes cannot win takes other forms, principally the adoption of what I have called a "no-win" policy. Why bother with programs when their enactment results only in "sham"? Why concern ourselves with the image of the movement when nothing significant has been gained for all the sacrifices made by SNCC and CORE? Why compromise with reluctant white allies when nothing of consequence can be achieved anyway? Why indeed have anything to do with whites at all?

*On Carmichael's background, see "Two for SNCC" by Robert Penn Warren in the April 1965 COMMENTARY—ED.

On this last point, it is extremely important for white liberals to understand—as, one gathers from their references to "racism in reverse," the President and the Vice President of the United States do not—that there is all the difference in the world between saying, "If you don't want me, I don't want you" (which is what some proponents of "black power" have in effect been saying) and the statement, "Whatever you do, I don't want you" (which is what racism declares). It is, in other words, both absurd and immoral to equate the despairing response of the victim with the contemptuous assertion of the oppressor. It would, moreover, be tragic if white liberals allowed verbal hostility on the part of Negroes to drive them out of the movement or to curtail their support for civil rights. The issue was injustice before "black power" became popular, and the issue is still injustice.

In any event, even if "black power" had not emerged as a slogan, problems would have arisen in the relation between whites and Negroes in the civil-rights movement. In the North, it was inevitable that Negroes would eventually wish to run their own movement and would rebel against the presence of whites in positions of leadership as yet another sign of white supremacy. In the South, the well-intentioned white volunteer had the cards stacked against him from the beginning. Not only could he leave the struggle any time he chose to do so, but a higher value was set on his safety by the press and the government—apparent in the differing degrees of excitement generated by the imprisonment or murder of whites and Negroes. The white person's importance to the movement in the South was thus an ironic outgrowth of racism and was therefore bound to create resentment.

But again: however understandable all this may be as a response to objective conditions and to the seeming irrelevance of so many hard-won victories to the day-to-day life of the mass of Negroes, the fact remains that the quasi-nationalist sentiments and "no-win" policy lying behind the slogan of "black power" do no service to the Negro. Some nationalist emotion is, of course, inevitable, and "black power" must be seen as part of the psychological rejection of white supremacy, part of the rebellion against the stereotypes which have been ascribed to Negroes for three hundred years. Nevertheless, pride, confidence, and a new identity cannot be won by glorifying blackness or attacking whites; they can only come from meaningful action, from good jobs, and from real victories such as were achieved on the streets of Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma. When SNCC and CORE went into the South, they awakened the country, but now they emerge isolated and demoralized, shouting a slogan that may afford a momentary satisfaction but that is calculated to destroy them and their movement. Already their frustrated call is being answered with counter-demands for law and order and with opposition to police-review boards. Already they have diverted the entire civil-rights movement from the hard task of developing strategies to realign the major parties of this country, and embroiled it in a debate that can only lead more and more to politics by frustration.

On the other side, however—the more important side, let it be said—it is the business of those who reject the negative aspects of "black power" not to preach but to act. Some weeks ago President Johnson, speaking at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, asserted that riots impeded reform, created fear, and antagonized the Negro's traditional friends. Mr. Johnson, according to the New York *Times*, expressed sympathy for the plight of the poor, the jobless, and the ill-housed. The government, he noted, has been working to relieve their circumstances, but "all this takes time."

One cannot argue with the President's position that riots are destructive or that they frighten away allies. Nor can one find fault with his sympathy for the plight of the poor; surely the poor need sympathy. But one can question whether the government has been working seriously enough to eliminate the conditions which lead to frustration-politics and riots. The President's very words, "all this takes time," will be understood by the poor for precisely what they are—an excuse instead of a real program, a cover-up for the failure to establish real priorities, and an indication that the administration has no real commitment to create new jobs, better housing, and integrated schools.

For the truth is that it need only take ten years to eliminate poverty—ten years and the $100 billion Freedom Budget recently proposed by A. Philip Randolph. In his introduction to the budget (which was drawn up in consultation with the nation's leading economists, and which will be published later this month), Mr. Randolph points out: "The programs urged in the Freedom Budget attack all of the major causes of poverty—unemployment and underemployment, substandard pay, inadequate social insurance and welfare payments to those who cannot or should not be employed; bad housing; deficiencies in health services, education, and training; and fiscal and monetary policies which tend to redistribute income regressively rather than progressively. The Freedom Budget leaves no room for discrimination in any form because its programs are addressed to all who need more opportunity and improved incomes and living standards, not to just some of them."

The legislative precedent Mr. Randolph has in mind is the 1945 Full Employment bill. This bill —conceived in its original form by Roosevelt to prevent a postwar depression—would have made it public policy for the government to step in if the private economy could not provide enough em-

ployment. As passed finally by Congress in 1946, with many of its teeth removed, the bill had the result of preventing the Negro worker, who had finally reached a pay level about 55 per cent that of the white wage, from making any further progress in closing that discriminatory gap; and instead, he was pushed back by the chronically high unemployment rates of the 50's. Had the original bill been passed, the public sector of our economy would have been able to insure fair and full employment. Today, with the spiralling thrust of automation, it is even more imperative that we have a legally binding commitment to this goal.

Let me interject a word here to those who say that Negroes are asking for another handout and are refusing to help themselves. From the end of the 19th century up to the last generation, the United States absorbed and provided economic opportunity for tens of millions of immigrants. These people were usually uneducated and a good many could not speak English. They had nothing but their hard work to offer and they labored long hours, often in miserable sweatshops and unsafe mines. Yet in a burgeoning economy with a need for unskilled labor, they were able to find jobs, and as industrialization proceeded, they were gradually able to move up the ladder to greater skills. Negroes who have been driven off the farm into a city life for which they are not prepared and who have entered an economy in which there is less and less need for unskilled labor, cannot be compared with these immigrants of old. The tenements which were jammed by newcomers were way-stations of hope; the ghettos of today have become dead-ends of despair. Yet just as the older generation of immigrants—in its most decisive act of self-help—organized the trade-union movement and then in alliance with many middle-class elements went on to improve its own lot and the condition of American society generally, so the Negro of today is struggling to go beyond the gains of the past and, in alliance with liberals and labor, to guarantee full and fair employment to all Americans.

Mr. Randolph's Freedom Budget not only rests on the Employment Act of 1946, but on a precedent set by Harry Truman when he believed freedom was threatened in Europe. In 1947, the Marshall Plan was put into effect and 3 per cent of the gross national product was spent in foreign aid. If we were to allocate a similar proportion of our GNP to destroy the economic and social consequences of racism and poverty at home today, it might mean spending more than 20 billion dollars a year, although I think it quite possible that we can fulfill these goals with a much smaller sum. It would be intolerable, however, if our plan for domestic social reform were less audacious and less far-reaching than our international programs of a generation ago.

We must see, therefore, in the current debate over "black power," a fantastic challenge to American society to live up to its proclaimed principles in the area of race by transforming itself so that all men may live equally and under justice. We must see to it that in rejecting "black power," we do not also reject the principle of Negro equality. Those people who would use the current debate and/or the riots to abandon the civil-rights movement leave us no choice but to question their original motivation.

If anything, the next period will be more serious and difficult than the preceding ones. It is much easier to establish the Negro's right to sit at a Woolworth's counter than to fight for an integrated community. It takes very little imagination to understand that the Negro should have the right to vote, but it demands much creativity, patience, and political stamina to plan, develop, and implement programs and priorities. It is one thing to organize sentiment behind laws that do not disturb consensus politics, and quite another to win battles for the redistribution of wealth. Many people who marched in Selma are not prepared to support a bill for a $2.00 minimum wage, to say nothing of supporting a redefinition of work or a guaranteed annual income.

It is here that we who advocate coalitions and integration and who object to the "black-power" concept have a massive job to do. We must see to it that the liberal-labor-civil rights coalition is maintained and, indeed, strengthened so that it can fight effectively for a Freedom Budget. We are responsible for the growth of the "black-power" concept because we have not used our own power to insure the full implementation of the bills whose passage we were strong enough to win, and we have not mounted the necessary campaign for winning a decent minimum wage and extended benefits. "Black power" is a slogan directed primarily against liberals by those who once counted liberals among their closest friends. It is up to the liberal movement to prove that coalition and integration are better alternatives.

Reprinted from COMMENTARY September 1966

For a complete list of Commentary Reports write to COMMENTARY, *165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022*

SNCC Has Money Trouble; Carmichael Blames Others

MOVEMENT

10/2/66 AC

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has been in such a financial squeeze since rioting here that its chairman, Stokely Carmichael, says he is not receiving any pay.

The black power advocate, making this statement to a three-judge federal court here Saturday, said fund-raising efforts throughout the country have been hurt severely.

He attributed arrests of SNCC personnel, statements by Mayor Ivan Allen blaming Sept. 6 rioting on SNCC, and unfavorable press reports as factors causing the organization's difficulties.

TESTIMONY during the three - day hearing indicated that other SNCC workers are not asking for their pay as a result of the economic slump.

Mr. Carmichael made his statement Saturday in the final day of a hearing which began here Thursday. He is charging that Georgia's riot laws are unconstitutional and city and county officials schemed to get him indicted in county court on riot charges.

The SNCC chairman said there was an overall scheme to discredit him and his organization, and this served to squelch his right of free speech.

U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Elbert P. Tuttle and U.S. District Judges Frank A. Hooper and Sidney O. Smith Jr. took the matter under advisement.

MR. CARMICHAEL, who testified for 45 minutes, admitted he was present during the Sept. 6 riot but denied he had anything to do with it.

He volunteered, however, that a newsman had asked him for a statement over a local radio station concerning a white policeman's shooting of a fleeing Negro youth charged with auto theft.

He said he told the radio audience Negroes were going to meet in the Summerhill area at 4 p.m. and organize a protest demonstration that would "tear this town up."

He told the court that Negroes "need to stand up" for their rights and show white people they are "not contented . . . and eating watermelon."

He said he believes part of the problem is that Negroes are afraid to stand up for their rights.

On cross examination, he said that the expression "tear this town up" has a different meaning to Negroes than what whites may think it means. He said he was speaking of a protest demonstration.

HE SAID he was at the riot scene only six minutes, saw there was nothing he could do to stop it, and left the area. During the hearing, a number of witnesses said SNCC personnel and Mr. Carmichael had nothing to do with the rioting.

Mr. Carmichael testified that as a result of a bad press, threating telephone calls have been plaguing SNCC.

City Detective D. E. Brown said a SNCC worker, Fay Bellamy, was running through the crowd shouting profanity and was calling Mayor Ivan Allen "whitey." She has denied this.

City and county officials have denied they made it a point to single out Mr. Carmichael and SNCC members for prosecution, and said there was no scheme to "scapegoat" anyone.

POLICE officers testified they considered they have sufficient evidence to bring cases against the persons they charged with rioting and disorderly conduct.

SNCC is asking that insurrection laws, in addition to the disorderly conduct and rioting laws, be ruled unconstitutional because they are not definable.

City and county attorneys said prior decisions by Georgia courts have defined the meanings of such acts.

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Dr. King Weighing Plan to Repudiate 'Black Power' Bloc

10/10/66

MOVEMENT

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 9—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that he would meet with top advisers this week to decide whether to repudiate and oppose all "black power" organizations.

This action, if it comes, would be a major step toward fashioning a new national civil rghts coalition that would operate with out such black power oriented organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

Integration Is Stressed

Already, a move is under way by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to unit around a "manifesto" opposing racial separatism and reaffirming racial integration as the major goal of the civil rights movement.

Dr. John Morsell, assistant national director of the N.A.A.C.P., confirmed that talks were under way among these organizations, but declined to go into specifics

For Dr. King even to consider joining in a movement that might ultimately isolate CORE and the Student Committee is a major departure for him and underlines his concern over white "backlash" and recent

Continued on Page 32, Column 1

DR. KING STUDIES RIGHTS BLOC SPLIT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

civil rights reversals in Congress.

He has said frequently that he opposes the black power philosophy, but that the civil rights movement needs a diversity of organizations—including the Student Committee and CORE.

In an interview here today, however, he said he felt there was now a need to decide whether the philosophies of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the black power organizations "are so diametrically opposed that we can't get together."

He said he and his top aides and advisers would try to reach a decision on this question on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, when he has scheduled a closed meeting to discuss ways of combating a new wave of white backlash.

Does this mean, he was asked, that he will consider starting a campaign of opposition to Snick and CORE in isolating them from the "mainstream" of the civil rights movement.

"Yes," he said, "it does."

But he added that he had agreed only to consider the question with his advisers, and that he had not yet reached a decision.

Some of his advisers and aides, he said, believe that the black power movement is directly responsible for much of the sharp opposition that the civil rights movement has encountered in recent weeks.

But others think, he said, that "black power is being used as an excuse by many white people for the way they felt all along."

Dr. King said a series of "disturbing developments" in recent weeks had prompted him to take another look at black power and the civil rights movement in general.

Developments Are Listed

Among these developments, he said, are the death of the civil rights bill of 1966, the "unfortunate silence of the White House" on civil rights programs in recent months, and segregationist victories in Democratic primaries in Arkansas, Maryland and Georgia.

"We're all concerned," he said, "but I am not as pessimistic as some. If Lester Maddox [who once brandished a pistol in his fight against restaurant desegregation] is elected Governor of Georgia, it may develop more unity among Negroes and white liberals than ever before."

He added, however, that "something must be done" immediately to "galvanize" Negroes and white moderates and liberals around civil rights goals. This is the major reason for calling this week's meeting and for carrying on discussions with civil rights leaders who are opposed to black power.

Dr. King said he was open to new approaches and would insist only that they not include "violence or separatism."

Mr. Morsell said in a telephone interview that much of the recent talks among civil rights leaders had centered on using Mr. Randolph's propo "freedom budget" as a way trying to rally public supp anew for the civil rights mo ment.

The freedom budget p calls for up to $100-billion new Federal spending in an fort to upgrade Negro educa and attack widespread pove among Negroes.

MOVEMENT

King's SCLC Not Expected To Break with Black Power

AC 10/14/66

By DUANE RINER

Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference is expected to shy away from an outright repudiation of the "black power" movement in a public statement Friday at the conclusion of a private two-day SCLC summit meeting in Atlanta.

Sources close to Dr. King indicated Thursday night that the civil rights leader would maintain a conciliatory role in an attempt to keep lines of communication open among warring factions.

The "black power" slogan, first sounded by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and later adopted as the philosophy of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), will be described by SCLC as an unfortunate and ambiguous phrase which has contributed to a loss of public sympathy with the civil rights movement and setbacks in Congress, the source reported.

SCLC will cite its gains through the use of a non-violent approach and re-affirm its determination to continue along the same course.

New goals also will be listed by SCLC, a spokesman said. Among them will be increased job opportunities for Negro youth, training for both adults and youngsters in an automated society and a continued push for open housing. Poverty will be cited as the "overriding causal effect" of the Negro's plight.

"We're just trying to do a total analysis of the whole situation," said the Rev. Andrew J. Young, an associate of King. "Black power and the white backlash are only a small part of the discussions."

Young said the talks between SCLC leaders and advisers concerned the full scope of the racial struggle "from the Mississippi Delta to Viet Nam."

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

King and Advisers Debating 'Power'

Continued from Page 1

Asked about a possible condemnation of "black power," Young said: "It's not that kind of a meeting."

King has warned that the new SNCC terminology carries anti-white connotations and is dangerous.

Best known among outside advisers to SCLC attending the two-day meeting is Bayard Rustin of New York, an organizer of the 1963 march on Washington, who recently declared that "CORE is dead and Snick is dying."

Rustin last August described "black power" as "an emotional reaction to 300 years of second class citizenship."

Other non-member SCLC advisers attending include leaders of predominantly Negro labor unions and legal counsel.

What may have been a hint of another agenda topic came from Rustin in an airport meeting with reporters when he said responsible civil rights groups should branch out into assistance to the poverty stricken of both races.

The SCLC conference is one in a series of discussions among leaders of more moderate civil rights organizations following setbacks in Congress and declining support for the entire civil rights movement.

Participating in similar talks have been Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL-CIO), and Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women.

Randolph has indicated a joint "manifesto" disowning black power advocates might soon be issued. The black power slogan was originated during a Mississippi March last June by members of Snick.

King has taken a lighter approach toward black power than other leaders. Wilkins has branded it as "racist" and Randolph has called it "a menace to racial peace and prosperity."

King has continued to advocate non - violence and has warned that the new slogan is "ambiguous" and "gives the impression that we are calling for exclusive power and a kind of black nationalism that does not involve a coalition with whites."

Snick chairman Stokely Carmichael has defined the policy as meaning Negroes must organize to take political or economic power where available.

Those expected to meet with King were James Bevil, northern project director; Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, program director; Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC vice president-at-large and treasurer; the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, director of the Washington office of SCLC, and Dr. Lawrence Reddic, SCLC historian and director.

MOVEMENT

SCLC Won't Back Any Candidate

AC 10/16/66

By MARION GAINES

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said Friday that the election of segregationist Lester Maddox as governor of Georgia would not slow down the civil rights movement and could serve the purpose of uniting Negroes and white moderates.

The civil rights leader said at a press conference here that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which he heads, will not endorse a candidate in the governor's race.

Arch-segregationist Maddox, the Democratic nominee, is running against conservative Congressman Howard (Bo) Callaway, the Republican entry, in the Nov. 8 general election.

On the prospect of Maddox becoming governor, King asserted that Maddox "cannot stop what we are doing in the civil rights movement."

People who think Maddox can stem the civil rights tide are laboring under "a great delusion," said King.

On another topic, King condemned "connotations of violence and separatism attached to the black power slogan" but stopped short of denouncing the leaders of the "black power" movement.

PLANS CAMPAIGN

King also announced plans for a nationwide campaign — complete with mass demonstrations in major cities — to obtain a guaranteed annual income for the country's poor.

King read a statement at a press conference here defending the "principles of nonviolence and Negro unity with all people of good will" and cautioning against extremism.

He declared that the nonviolent weapons of SCLC were used successfully in "the historic battles of Birmingham, Selma and Montgomery" and had produced "victories" in "head-on confrontations with some of America's worst racists."

BLACK POWER

King held out hopes of keeping communications open with the militant "black power" organizations Stokley Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Floyd McKissick's Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

He said both SNCC and CORE "have been great forces in the past in the civil rights movement" and at that time were "committed to non-violence."

"We should continue to try to bring them back to the founding principles" of nonviolence, he said.

He denounced riots as "socially destructive and self-defeating" but defended "nonviolent demonstrations" as a proper method for people to seek redress of grievances.

King's statement came after two days of private consultation with officials of the SCLC.

Answering questions, King said he endorses a statement issued in New York by seven national Negro leaders aimed at repudiating "black power" and affirming integration, by nonviolent means, as a goal.

That statement, which assailed "any strategies of violence," was signed by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Baynard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

In his statement here, King declared it was "a false assumption that the so-called white backlash is caused by the slogan 'black power.' "

"Actually, the black power slogan has been exploited by the decision-makers to justify resistance to change," he said.

In the nationwide crusade for a guaranteed annual income, King said SCLC will be joined by religious groups, international trade unions, major colleges and universities and other civil rights organizations.

Mass demonstrations to that end, he said, will likely not begin until after the November elections. A logical starting place for them, he said would be in Mississippi, then in major Northern cities and "ultimately in Washington."

MOVEMENT AC 10/21/66

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION,

King Urges Guaranteed $4,000 Income for All

By BILL SHIPP

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. told the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday that every American family should receive a guaranteed annual income of at least $4,000.

"There's too much money around for anyone to be poor," he said. He said the $4,000 "floor" should be higher for "larger families."

The Nobel Peace Prize winner from Atlanta also said he favored passage of a $2 an hour minimum wage law.

King said a guarantee of employment was not enough, but that every person has "a right" to a liveable income.

King said he believed, in view of the many welfare programs the country now has, that a guaranteed annual wage would mean a savings in the long run.

The civil rights leader devoted most of his talk to more than 400 Jaycees to proposals for abolishing poverty in the U.S.

If the U.S. can spend $24 billion a year to fight a war in Viet Nam, he said, "it seems we can spend billions to put God's children on their feet right here in America."

Returning to the subject of "black power" whose advocates he refused to repudiate last week, King said:

"I don't use the (black power) slogan because it has unfortunate connotations. . . . If black power means black separatism, it is a misguided concept.

"The Negro needs the white man to free him from his fear," King said. "The white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt."

The Baptist preacher condemned rioting but added, "A riot is the language of the unheard. . . . The summers of riot . . . are caused by the nation's winter of delay."

He said all Americans must work to keep the nation from choas."

MOVEMENT

Young Deplores Publicity Given Fiery Negro Leaders

By JOHN J. GOLDMAN
Los Angeles Times News Service

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — Millions of moderate Negroes throughout the nation have become embittered because small groups of militants within the civil rights movement have been heavily publicized. They are particularly apprehensive because they think most whites believe they are interested only in violence and separatism.

This is the worried view of Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

THE REASON, Young said: "Dissidents have managed almost completely to dominate public attention and draw it away from the quiet, constructive work of the Negro in his struggle for equality.

"Less than 2 to 3 per cent in the country believe in violence as a way of resolving conflict," Young said in an interview this week assessing progress of the civil rights movement, "most Negroes are upset about riots."

He added:

"Out of 18 million Negroes, 17,990,000 did not throw a Molotov cocktail or shout 'Black Power' or 'Kill Whitey.' What they did was bear in silence their disappointments and frustrations.

"They are being penalized for the few. Less than 2 per cent or 3 per cent have any interest in separatism or going back to Africa. Nobody says

WHITNEY YOUNG
Executive Director

don't understand responsibilities —that their freedom ends where the other person's begins . . .

"It doesn't matter how much education people have. Ralph Bunche (Negro U.S. undersecretary general) can't move to Cicero. But Al Capone could.

"I think a Communist could come over here and live in Cicero.

"Housing has revealed the prejudices of the North to be deep and real. There is now a direct correlation between how liberal people are and how far away they are from the problem."

to vote. We, ourselves, have failed to dramatize the less dramatic jobs that have to be done.

"We are having a problem of another kind—liberal whites who, to prove their legitimacy, have to out-militate the most militant Negro. They, too, are calling for Black Power.

"They take a masochistic pleasure in being kicked around with the Negro.

"I spoke recently in Greenwich Village and they (the supra-liberals) said to me, 'You didn't cuss us out.' I said: 'You aren't my enemy. You're in worse shape than me.' "

THEN YOUNG SPOKE of society's role.

"Where society has failed and sabotaged responsible leaders is in publicizing the action of the few, but not giving to the responsible civil rights organizations power and tools in terms of tangible things.

"We are being asked to fight a war without tools. We can't go into a ghetto and say be patient, be nonviolent . . .

"Responsible leaders have been given praise, not programs. When foundations and others set up programs they put it into new structures. These people aren't known in the Negro communities.

"These people aren't experienced. If this money went to the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we could say to the community: 'Look what we're doing.'

"We're being sabotaged. People are getting money who have no experience in community organization. They don't know where the bodies are buried, where to touch. When a grant is given, it goes to a new group.

"We're in trouble, but every revolution may go through these things," he said. "Now America is having to do some real soul searching."

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He added:

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"They are being penalized for the few. Less than 2 per cent or 3 per cent have any interest in separatism or going back to Africa. Nobody says Italians have to be penalized because 13 Costa Nostra people were picked up."

YOUNG LEANED back in a chair in his seventh floor office at the Urban League's new Manhattan headquarters. He spoke quietly of the Negro in his speech for equality. He talked deliberately, choosing his phrases with care.

"The press lacks sophistication. You ought to be covering where Negroes move in and whites don't move out.

"At Core's convention in Baltimore (the Congress of Racial Equality national convention this summer) there was a tiny number of delegates but almost twice as many reporters. At the Urban League's convention in August there were 1,500 delegates and less than 30 reporters.

"We weren't talking about 'Black Power,' 'Kill Whitey.' We had participants from the top corporations of the country, had people who employ 10 million workers. We were talking about retraining and job training.

"It's gotten to the point where it's a big joke in Harlem how to get on the front page . . . papers made these 'readers' into a Frankenstein and then say to us: 'Control them.' "

LAST YEAR the Urban League placed 50,000 Negroes in jobs. Its 78 branches — a new one just opened in Jackson, Miss. — are operating with a $1.6 million budget in 1966. Young, 45, dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work for seven years before coming to the Urban League, turned to housing, another major problem facing the Negro.

"There now needs to be a massive educational program for all people.

"I am now convinced 90 per cent of all white Americans don't know what freedom and democracy are all about. They don't understand responsibilities —that their freedom ends where the other person's begins . . .

"It doesn't matter how much education people have. Ralph Bunche (Negro U.S. undersecretary general) can't move to Cicero. But Al Capone could.

"I think a Communist could come over here and live in Cicero.

"Housing has revealed the prejudcies of the North to be deep and real. There is now a direct correlation between how liberal people are and how far away they are from the problem."

YOUNG turned instead to the need for new maturity and perhaps a new direction within the civil rights movement itself.

"Within the movement a new maturity is needed that understands the opening of doors, the establishment of a right is just one phase of the civil rights struggle.

"It is meaningless unless it is coupled with providing a historically deprived people with the resources to take advantage of the right.

"There's nothing glamorous in getting people to register, going door to door to get people to vote. We, ourselves, have failed to dramatize the less dramatic jobs that have to be done.

"We are having a problem of another kind—liberal whites who, to prove their legitimacy, have to out-militate the most militant Negro. They, too, are calling for Black Power.

"They take a masochistic pleasure in being kicked around with the Negro.

"I spoke recently in Greenwich Village and they (the supra-liberals) said to me, 'You didn't cuss us out.' I said: 'You aren't my enemy. You're in worse shape than me.' "

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"We're in trouble, but every revolution may go through these things," he said. "Now America is having to do some real soul searching."

185 Billion Freedom Budget Offered to Abolish Poverty

MOVEMENT

AC 10/27/66

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — A $185 billion "Freedom Budget for all Americans," designed to end poverty in the United States in the next 10 years, was proposed Wednesday by a coalition of national civil rights, religious and labor groups and intellectuals.

Conceived by the veteran civil rights advocate, A. Philip Randolph, the budget funds will be requested from the federal government to extend greatly the operations of existing social, educational and antipoverty programs.

The plan, as outlined at a two-hour conference of civic, labor and religious leaders, is to attack the causes of poverty on several fronts. It seeks a guaranteed annual income, increased welfare and social security payments, full employment, farm income parties, and fully adequate health, housing and educational opportunities for all persons.

The proposal's monetary concepts were worked out by a team of economists headed by Dr. Leon Keyserling, who said it would require neither new taxes nor money earmarked for the war in Viet Nam. Keyserling maintained that the money could come from projected "economic growth dividends" of the nation's Gross National Product for the next 10 years.

An often stressed point during the conference was that the plan, coming out of the civil rights coalition, hopes to improve the lives of more than 34 million Americans in poverty, 75 per cent of whom are white.

"The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society," Randolph told the group.

The 77-year-old head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters said: "We cannot achieve these goals (ending poverty) through haphazard, piecemeal efforts . . . for better or worse, we are one nation and one people. We shall solve our are problems together or together we shall enter a new era of social disorder and disintegration."

Randolph also said that "not since the march on Washington has there been such broad sponsorship and enthusiastic support as has been mobilized on behalf of the 'Freedom Budget for all Americans.' "

The architect of that 1963 march, Bayard Rustin, is also the principal coordinator of the Freedom Budget as director of the A. Philip Randolph institute.

Rustin announced that a massive education program had begun through cooperating groups to garner nationwide support for the plan. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the budget, published in an 84-page booklet, were being sent to the sponsoring organizations.

10-YEAR PLAN AIMS TO ERASE POVERTY

MOVEMENT

Rights, Religious and Labor Leaders Ask $185-Billion U.S. 'Freedom Budget'

10/27/66 NYT

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

A $185-billion "freedom budget for all Americans" designed to end poverty in the United States in the next 10 years was proposed yesterday by a coalition of civil rights, religious and labor leaders.

Conceived by A. Philip Randolph, Negro rights and labor official, the budget would be requested from the Federal Government to extend greatly the operations of social, educational and antipoverty programs.

Such a grant would require an act of congress.

The plan, as outlined at a two-hour conference at the Salem Methodist Church, Seventh Avenue and 129th Street, attacks the causes of poverty on several fronts. It seeks a guaranteed annual income, increased welfare and Social Security payments, full employment, a rise in farm income and health, housing and educational opportunities for all persons.

New Taxes Barred

The proposal's monetary concepts were worked out by a team of economists, headed by Dr. Leon Keyserling, who said the program would neither require new taxes nor cut into expenditures for the war in Vietnam.

Dr. Keyserling, chairman of former President Harry S. Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, maintained that the money could come from projected "economic growth dividends" of the nation's gross national product for the next 10 years.

The sponsors estimate that the "economic growth dividend from our gross national product [the sum of the nation's goods and services] would total $2,442-billion from 1966 through 1975 from which the needs of the freedom budget could be met.

This dividend was explained as the still uncommitted taxes the Federal Government would collect during this 10-year period, or Federal surplus income.

The conference, attended by close to 100 persons, stressed

Continued on Page 20, Column 3

'FREEDOM BUDGET' FOR POOR CHARTED

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

that the plan hoped to improve the lives of more than 34 million Americans, 75 per cent of whom were white.

"The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society," Mr. Randolph told the group.

In a clear, deep baritone, the 77-year-old head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said:

"We cannot achieve these goals through haphazard, piecemeal efforts. For better or worse, we are one nation and one people. We shall solve our problems together or together we shall enter a new era of social disorder and disintegration."

Mr. Randolph said that "not since the march on Washington has there been such broad sponsorship and enthusiastic support as has been mobilized on behalf of the freedom budget for all Americans."

The architect of that 1963 march, Bayard Rustin, is the principal coordinator of the freedom budget as director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Mr. Rustin announced that a massive education program had begun to attract nationwide support for the plan. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the budget, published in an 8[illegible]-page booklet, were being sent to the sponsoring organizations.

He said he expected many student groups to welcome the opportunity to "reassert a student leadership in the civil rights movement that the freedom budget will make possible."

'Every Method Possible'

In addition, Mr. Rustin said, New York's Senators, Jacob K. Javits, Republican, and Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat, have promised to introduce Mr. Randolph to other Senators at a meeting in January to explain the proposal.

Extended lobbying for the plan will be the major responsibility of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an amalgamation of rights, labor and religious groups, that is headed by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"We'll use every method possible to translate the proposal into reality," Mr. Wilkins told the meeting.

Theodore M. Kheel, the labor mediator, said the budget was good for business as well as for the poor.

"Today's outcast can be tomorrow's customer," he said, "The wage earners [auto workers] whose increases were attacked as inflationary are now the auto industry's best customers."

Donald Slaiman, director of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Relations Department of Civil Rights, told the group:

"We in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. reject the proposition that the social and economic progress must be suspended because of the costs of the war.

"Such a suspension could be the costliest penalty of all, for the strength of American society, on which is based the spirit of the American people, is the nation's most powerful weapon on every front."

Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, who did not attend the conference because of other commitments, sent a statement that said in part:

"We have not achieved our present stature in the world by patient acceptance of explanations, however plausible, of why something cannot be done.

Drafted New Deal Laws

"We have demanded, rather, that we find ways to achieve our goals and in the shortest possible time. There is no limit on American ingenuity and imagination. There is only a limit on our will to use them."

In addition to the social changes, the budget proposes that funds be allocated to "overcome other manifestations of neglect in the public sector, by purifying our airs and waters, and bringing our transportation systems and natural resource development into line with the needs of a growing population and an expanding economy."

Mr. Keyserling, who was a major drafter of New Deal legislation under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, said the program could be funded "without robbing anyone." While the economist would not at first give a hard figure that would be requested from the Government, he later agreed with an evaluation from another economist that $185-billion would be asked.

Mr. Keyserling was a principal speaker in New York earlier this year at a meeting that preceded the White House Conference on Civil Rights, where he maintained that the war in Vietnam had had no effect on poverty programs because the nation could afford both.

He maintained then, as he did yesterday, that what was necessary to win the campaign against poverty was a realization of the total cost and the will of Government to make the expenditure.

Maintaining that poverty could be defeated through the social and antipoverty agencies, Mr. Keyserling a stocky, peppery man, remarked:

"The envelopes are already addressed. All we have to do is put more money in them."

The economist was referring to Social Security envelopes and those of other agencies for social improvement that needed more money.

The announcement of the freedom budget marked the first time since the split over black power earlier this year that the five major civil rights groups had agreed to work together publicly on a major national program.

While their roles in the budget have not yet been detaile[illegible] spokesmen for the N.A.A.C.P., the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Urban League have said their groups will cooperate fully.

After a recent discussion of the proposal with Mr. Rustin, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. indicated that his Southern Christian Leadership Conference might sponsor nationwide demonstrations to gain support for the plan

The freedom budget booklet lists 140 sponsors, including I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, Morri B. Abram, president of the American Jewish Committee; Kenneth B. Clark, psychology professor at the University of the City of New York, Msgr. George S. Higgins, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Benjamin Spock, national chairman of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and Mitchell Svirdoff, director of the New York City Department of Human Resources.

MOVEMENT NYT 10/28/66

'Budget' to End Poverty Stirs Capital Skepticism and Sympathy

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27—Officials here reacted today with a mixture of skepticism and sympathy to a proposed $185-billion "freedom budget" to eliminate poverty in America over the next 10 years.

The proposal was disclosed at a meeting in New York City yesterday by a coalition of civil rights, religious and labor leaders.

Conceived by A. Philip Randolph, a Negro leader and labor official, it seeks to abolish poverty through massive government expenditures on job programs, higher welfare payments, a guaranteed annual income, increased farm income, and large-scale attacks on disease and urban decay.

The "freedom budget" was backed up by an 84-page statistical analysis prepared by Dr. Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Truman Administration. Dr. Keyserling led a team of economists who worked out the monetary proposals in the "budget."

Many officials acknowledged that they had not read the report but that newspaper accounts of it had caused some discussion.

Those who had seen the report, however, offered a variety of opinions. One White House source said that many of the broad goals of the "freedom budget" were "not at all inconsistent with the aims of the Great Society," although he did not specifically endorse the 10-year timetable.

An official of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Robert A. Levine, said that the $185-billion figure was "not unreasonable" when compared with some Government estimates of what it would take to eradicate poverty.

However, Mr. Levine was quick to add that poverty program officials felt generally that the additional cost of ending poverty, over and above existing programs, would be "substantially lower" than Dr. Keyserling's estimates.

He suggested that the difference might be because Dr. Keyserling had included in the "freedom budget" a number of items—farm income and anti-pollution efforts, for example—not normally counted as welfare or anti-poverty expenditures.

The chief criticism, however, was raised by a Government economist who disputed the economic assumptions that underlie the proposal.

Dr. Keyserling assumed an annual growth rate of 5 per cent in the Gross National Product—the dollar measure of the total goods and services produced by the nation's economy. The gross national product has been currently estimated to be at a rate of nearly $750-billion annually.

Dr. Keyserling estimated that the first-year addition to the gross national product would amount, therefore, to abount $35-billion, and that cumulative additions to a steadfastly expanding "base" figure would amount to $2,442-trillion over the next decade.

This figure, Dr. Keyserling contended, would produce additional tax revenues for the Federal Government of $400-million to $550-billion, even at present rates—sufficient, in his view to pay for $185-billion in new "priority programs" for the very poor and still allow for increases in other Federal programs.

The Government economist suggested that the 5 per cent average annual growth rate assumed by Dr. Keyserling was excessively optimistic, and that, accordingly, the growth in Government revenue might be somewhat less than forecast in the "budget."

Moreover, some officials appeared suspicious of any long-range program on the ground that it could not make allowances for unforeseen spending needs, such as wider wars, a huge jump in the space program and Congressional demands for veterans' benefits.

"The point of annual budgets," one economist said, "is that it gives us each year a chance to reassess priorities in the light of the economy's performance. A long-range plan tends to tie you down."

Dr. Keyseling, however, seemed undaunted. He said he did not expect immediate acceptance of the long-term commitments implicit in the proposal. He voiced hope that it would persuade people that such a program was "economically feasible" without "raising taxes," and that it would improve "public acceptability" to the notion of mobilizing the nation's resources against poverty over a long period of time.

The legislative prospects for some specific items in the "freedom budget" — particularly the notion of a guaranteed annual income — were seen here as dim.

MISSISSIPPI

More Poverty Funds Needed Conyers Says

Jackson Daily News
10/28/66

Michigan Democrat Says U.S. Must Get Priorities Straight

By KAY KOCHTITZKY
Daily News Staff Writer

The $1.7 billion allocated for the war on poverty in this country, compared with the billions spent on the war in Viet Nam, is a misplacement of America's immediate priorities.

This is the opinion expressed by Congressman John Conyers Jr. (Dem., Mich.) in an address Thursday night to the annual meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

"As a member of the Great Society team, I have contended that the $1.7 billion spent on the war on poverty, when we spend billions on that horrible war in Viet Nam, is a misplacement of our immediate priorities," he told the group.

Conyers said America must get her priorities straightened out. "America's greatest priorities to be fulfilled are right here in our own slums and rural areas," he said.

Conyers, the first Negro appointed to the House Judiciary Committee, said the war on poverty "must not be a struggle to support people."

He said the poverty program should "give people the chance they deserve to develop their capabilities so they and others can share the promise of this nation."

The issue in the United States today, Conyers said, is equal rights for the American Negro.

The right to the ballot is the most important civil rights accomplishment, he said. "This is truly the key to all we are doing," he told the Council.

Conyers was introduced by Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state NAACP president.

The Rev. Duncan Gray, Episcopal priest from Meridian, gave the welcome, and Dr. Perry Nussbaum, of Temple Beth Israel in Jackson, introduced the guests. The invocation was given by the Rev. Nathaniel Machesky, Roman Catholic priest from Greenwood.

CARMICHAEL ASKS DRAFT'S DEFIANCE

MOVEMENT

Scores Vietnam War at Rally for Black Power on Coast

10/30/66

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

BERKELEY, Calif., Oct. 29 —Stokely Carmichael assailed the Johnson Administration today and called upon the nation's youth to say "Hell, no! to the draft."

A big segment of an audience of more than 10,000 on campus here gave the leader in the black power movement a standing avation when he shouted:

"We have to say there's a higher law than a racist named McNamara, a fool named Rusk and a buffoon named Johnson."

Mr. Carmichael, the national chairman of the Stu- Committee, also referred disparagingly to Gov. Edmund G. Brown, a two-term Democrat, and his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan.

Without naming the two candidtes, whose increasingly bitter campaign furnished a backdrop for the all-day rally in the university's outdoor Greek Theater, Mr. Carmichael asked his audience:

"Can you disassociate yourself from two clowns that go up and down the state talking about each other? Can you disassociate yourself from two idiots like that?"

Scattered Heckling

Later in his speech, which drew frequent laughter and applause, and a few instances of heckling, which he disregarded, he told his hearers that "You can't move morally against a man like Brown or Reagan—you've got to move politically to put them out of business." He added:

"You can't move morally against Lyndon Baines Johnson. He's an amoral man."

Mr. Carmichael, in his wide-ranging talk of 55 minutes, covered the war in Vietnam, the draft, civil rights and a group of other subjects in what was billed as a "black power conference."

He had been detained in New York by his draft board for so to cancel an appearance at a long yesterday that he had had black power meeting on the Stanford University campus at Palo Alto.

At an early morning conference with leaders of Negro groups that had opposed the Berkeley rally in the wake of recent racial rioting in this area, he had agreed not to talk black power to a predominantly white audience. As a result the protesters publicly withdrew their objections to his appearance.

Despite his decision, announced at a San Francisco news conference this morning, not to speak to the rally's theme, the audience in the amphitheater faced a lectern draped with a red-lettered sign: "Black power and its challenges."

White and Negro organizers spoke during a period of more than six hours before Mr. Carmichael's arrival.

One unscheduled speaker, a leather-jacketed young Negro, Rodney Fletcher, grabbed a microphone and told the crowd: "If you're going to talk to black people you better get your guns. The revolution you are intellectualizing is in the streets. Go down to your jails and find out how many black people are rooming there.

Danny Grey of Watts, scene of the August, 1965, rioting, the next speaker, said on the same theme: "I am not saying we are advocating guns in the streets but if the white community doesn't take protective action we're going to have to do something to protect Negroes from white people."

The Berkeley rally had been opposed not only by some Negro leaders but by Mr. Reagan, the former television and movie actor, who had sent Mr. Carmichael a telegram asking him not to appear.

"I didn't dignify it by even answering him," the S.N.C.C. official told a questioner.

He also said at his news conference:

"I want to make it clear that we are not a tool of the radical left or right. We have not become a partisan political organization."

The rally, preceded by weeks of negotiation between university officials and the sponsoring organization, Students for a Democratic Society, a new left group, had prompted heated last hour exchanges between Governor Brown and Mr. Reagan.

Governor Brown had interrupted his campaign on Thursday to fly to Oakland to meet with law enforcement authorities of the Bay area. He expressed himself as satisfied that there would be no violations at the rally but that the police were ready to cope with any contingency.

Frank Woodward, the campus police chief, said there were "no incidents".

Mr. Reagan, at a Commonwealth Club luncheon in San Francisco yesterday, labeled the Governor's Oakland meeting "a grandstand stunt."

Mr. Brown called a news conference in Sacramento and warned "those who are attempting to turn race against race—black power wielders and white supremacist shouters" — that "they will be shown no quarter and given no amnesty in California."

United Press International Telephoto

BEFORE CAMPUS RALLY: Stokely Carmichael, listening to associate at right, at news conference yesterday in San Francisco. Mr. Carmichael is national chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. At left, wearing cap, is Brother Lennie, who was in Watts rioting in Los Angeles. After news sessions there was a rally at Berkeley.

Honduras To Ask U.N. Aid In Recovering U.S. Islands

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 29 — Honduras today disclosed plans to enlist United Nations help in its efforts to recover the Swan Islands, two specks of land in the Caribbean Sea, from United States ownership.

Humberto Lopez Villamil, the Honduran chief delegate, said his Government intends to place the matter before the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee.

Black Power Rally Set for Washington Canceled by Powell

NYT 11/17/66

MOVEMENT

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1 (UPI)—Representative Adam Clayton Powell has canceled a proposed black power national conference and withdrawn as its "sole convenor," his office disclosed today.

The Manhattan Democrat had scheduled the meeting for the Thanksgiving weekend, but called it off in a letter mailed Friday to about 500 potential delegates.

Mr. Powell said in the letter he did not believe one man should act as organizer of the movement. He suggested that a national committee be set up to convene a national conference some time next year. He said he would serve on such a panel.

"The growth and development of 'black power' will stagnate as long as only one man is responsible for the organizing thrust," Mr. Powell wrote. "Black people themselves must provide the mass basis necessary for success.

"I, therefore feel it is best to withdraw as the sole convener of the national conference on black power.

"I am unequivocally committed to the concept of 'black power' as a means to achieving immediately full political and economic power as well as educational excellence for the black masses."

Mr. Powell originally called the conference at the request of Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee but later disassociated himself from Mr. Carmichael's black power pronouncements.

(MISSISSIPPI) MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1966. C 31

Warmth of Whites in Mississippi Encourages N.A.A.C.P.'s Leader on Tour

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 16—Roy C. Wilkins, whose name used to be anathema here, today completed a five-day speaking tour of Mississippi that was marked by several surprising developments.

In Canton, the Mayor came out for a rally in honor of Mr. Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association of Colored People. The Mayor, who is white, stayed to the end and joined with 400 Negroes in singing "We Shall Overcome."

In Tchula, a little town in race-conscious Holmes County where Negroes once lived in dread of the White Citizens Council, the main street was thrown open for a Wilkins speech and Negro rally. Later the Mayor invited Mr. Wilkins to visit him.

White businessmen came out to meet Mr. Wilkins in Natchez and gave assurances that Negroes would be hired in growing numbers in downtown stores and businesses.

"This was a very satisfying experience," Mr. Wilkins said of his tour, during which he spoke in 15 towns, "and I had the opportunity to talk to several thousand people."

"Whites didn't come out in great numbers," Mr. Wilkins said, "but some did show up at the meetings and we talked with others."

"I get the impression," he said, "that Mississippi officials in many localities and the middle and upper echelon of business people who were not interested before are now deeply concerned about race relations."

Mr. Wilkins, who four years ago was arrested on Jackson's main street because he sought service at a "white" restaurant, found no obstacles to service or lodging on this visit and was warmly greeted in many places. His appearances, even in the racially tough town of Philadelphia, failed to stir any immediate white segregationist reaction.

Tuesday night, however, near Carthage, where Mr. Wilkins had visited briefly Sunday before his appearance in Philadelphia, two explosions went off—one outside an N.A.A.C.P. voter registration center

outside the home of an of- of the civil rights organ-

New York, Henry Lee national publicity di- for the N.A.A.C.P., said lieved that the explosions something to do with Mr. ns's visit to Carthage.

day, as he boarded a plane eturn to New York, Mr. ins said:

ississippi, I can see, is be- ing atuned to the trend of rest of the country. Missis- i senses the trend, and white ple in positions of influence are encouraging the people in that direction."

At several places where he spoke, Mr. Wilkins lashed out at "black power" and defended his organization's position in the battle over the pre-school Head Start program in Mississippi between the Child Development Group of Mississippi and the newly funded Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc.

Several N.A.A.C.P. leaders in the state, among them Aaron Henry, state president of the organization, have taken positions on the board of the new Head Start group. This has evoked protests from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party a predominanily Negro group, and from other civil rights militants.

During the tour Mr. Wilkins said he had recommended refunding of the Child Development Group and had given support to Mississippi Action for Progress only after it appeared that there would otherwise be no prospect for a statewide Hea Start program.

Mr. Wilkins said that N.A.A.C.P. membership in Mississippi has doubled since 1965. Sources in the organization's state headqquarters here said there were now 10,000 members in the state.

False Used Car Ads Called Blot on Whole Auto Industry

ATLANTIC CITY (AP) — E. S. Kossman, president of the Association, criticized car dealers who lured the public into showrooms with false advertising. He said the "razzle-dazzle price cutting advertising" put a blot on the whole auto industry.

He spole at the 48th annual convention of the New Jersey Automotive Trade Association.

"If the cars and trucks are sold for the price advertised", he said, "I am sure the dealers would have nothing left after the advertising bills are paid.

KENNEDY CLASHES WITH CORE CHIEF

MOVEMENT

Says at Hearing McKissick Hinders Negro Progress by Black Power Stand

NYT 12/9/66

By United Press International

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8—Senator Robert F. Kennedy, a frequent defender of civil rights causes, accused Floyd B. McKissick today of hindering rather than helping Negroes by his black power advocacy.

The New York Democrat, a member of a Senate subcommittee studying urban decay, engaged in an exchange with Mr. McKissick after the head of the Congress of Racial Equality had defended black power and said one of its aims was to make ghettos livable.

"You make our job very hard when you put us up against such a slogan," said Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut who is the subcommittee's chairman.

Mr. McKissick replied that he saw nothing wrong with it and doubted it would be changed.

"It is the slogan and what is associated with it that has set back the civil rights movement," Mr. Kennedy said.

Change Stressed

There has always been a drive to achieve black power, Mr. McKissick said, but it was not voiced previously because "we didn't want to offend the white man." He said this had changed.

"It would appear you are turning your back on Negroes and whites working together and if people can't meet your definition, you read them out," Mr. Kennedy responded.

"I believe black power will be accepted just like Irish power has been accepted," Mr. McKissick said.

He said he was not throwing anyone out of the movement.

Mr. McKissick said several times during his testimony that

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

KENNEDY CLASHES WITH CORE CHIEF

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

the civil rights movement, as originally conceived, was dead. It died with the March on Washington in 1963, he said, because it dealt strictly with integration. A vacuum now has been filled with black power, he said.

In explaining black power, Mr. McKissick said CORE sought Negro political and economic power, creation of a black consumer bloc, enforcement of Federal laws and an end to police brutality.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Floyd B. McKissick, head of the Congress of Racial Equality, addressing Senate subcommittee yesterday.

The Negro, he said, "is no longer ashamed of his color, that his roots are in Africa. He doesn't cut off all his hair because it is kinky."

Logical Successor

Mr. McKissick said black power was the logical successor to the civil rights movement, which he contended dealt primarily with integration of the 10 per cent of the Negroes who belonged to the middle class and not with the 90 per cent who lived in poverty.

He said CORE sought to provide Negroes with militant leadership but that it disapproved of violence. He said CORE had prevented racial violence in Baltimore last summer.

Racism, Mr. McKissick said, is the cause of racial violence. "Until we can solve the problem of racism, we cannot solve the problem of the ghettos," he said.

Previous witnesses have expressed concern at the lack of Federal and local action over the growing plight of cities.

"There is no better argument for black power, for the mobilization of the black community as a political, social and economic bloc, than the words you have heard in this room," Mr. McKissick said.

"This is what we have always meant by black power. It is a rational militant call from a whole segment of this nation's population to do what you have not been able to do — destroy racism in this country, create full employment in the American ghetto, revise the educational system to cope with the 20th century and make the American ghetto a place in which it is possible to live with hope."

He also said:

"For God's sake, end this terrible war in Vietnam, bring black men home to rebuild their own lives, their own communities, and take the incredible costs of killing and use them to save the lives of the poor."

Mary McGrory

The Changing Civil Rights Movement

AC 12/12/66

WASHINGTON—Anyone curious about the change that has come over the civil rights movement in America had only to watch Floyd McKissick and A. Philip Randolph in their separate appearances before the Senate Cities Committee last week.

Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is 78. McKissick, the chairman of the Council of Racial Equality, is 44, and has spent the best years of his life in litigation to get himself and his children into the schools they wished to attend.

For Randolph, the 1963 March on Washington represented the culmination of a lifetime of patience, persuasion and hope. For McKissick, that romantic and moving episode was "a glorious picnic," which signalled "the death of the civil rights movement," and led to the creation of "black power."

Randolph was brought up in the tradition of "black and white together." But broken promises, he told the committee in his sad, deep tones, have split the Negro youth from its old leadership, and the grand old man of the struggle is shunned by his own in the ghettoes.

McKissick obviously does not have this problem of alienation. A band of youths followed him into the caucus room and applauded when he said the first step towards racial peace is to end the war in Viet Nam.

Randolph fears the future, the explosion of the sullen young rebels in the ghetto. McKissick seems almost jaunty. He has a slogan which he has no intention of abandoning, although Sens. Abraham Ribicoff and Robert Kennedy warned him it was dangerous and divisive. He has a program and, obviously, he thinks the times are with him.

The senators deplored the "black power" concept, they ignored his program, but they were obviously impressed by McKissick's recollection of things past.

What made him an agitator was an incident of his childhood. As a 13-year-old Boy Scout, he was assigned to patrol a street blocked off for skating. Challenged by a policeman, he resisted—"you know," he said, "a Boy Scout is supposed to be trustworthy, obedient, loyal"—and was struck and carried off to the police station.

Up until then, he did not know whether to be a lawyer or a preacher. That taste of "blood and asphalt" decided him. He went on to college, to law school, the Army, all the while bringing suits on various schools that closed their doors on him and his children.

"That is the difference between black and white," he said. "You have to spend the productive years fighting for what—you don't know—for no reason other than that you woke up one morning and found out you were black."

DR. KING WILL WRITE BOOK DURING LEAVE

12/14/66

MOVEMENT NYT

Atlanta, Dec. 13 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has begun a two-month leave, during which he will write a book analyzing the civil rights movement and where it is headed, his aides said today.

Dr. King will confer with Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., in New York tommorrow. It was understood that he would then go to the Bahamas. The need for a rest is believed to be another reason for the leave.

Dr. King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said in a news release that he had decided to write the book becauseof recent events in the rights field.

"There is an uneasy feeling in the rights movement that we may have lost our sense of direction, and tha the forces of goodwill are in disarray," he said. "I feel a need to reexamine the course of our movement and to suggest new ideas and programs."

The book is tentatively entitled "Where Do We Go From Here?". Dr. King's office said he planned to evaluate progress in the rights drive, the white backlash, implications of the black power slogan and Federal priorities.

"Our traditional allies are now in search of new purpose and meaning, and I hope the book help in this quest," the statement said.

During Dr. King's absence the Leadership Conference will be directed by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, vice president-at-large and secretary-treasurer, and Rev. Andrew Young, exeecutive director.

MOVEMENT

5 OF 6 INSURGENTS LOSE IN N.A.A.C.P.

NYT 1/4/67

Traditionalists Are Returned in Board Election

By DAVID HALBERSTAM

All but one of the insurgents seeking election to the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were defeated yesterday.

The association's national membership returned five of the traditionalists to office, including Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers.

Of the so-called young Turks, only Mrs. Daisy Bates, famed for her leadership during the Little Rock school crisis and thus the best known of the insurgents, was elected.

The board election had attracted considerable attention. In a direct challenge to the organization's leadership, the insurgents had charged that the N.A.A.C.P. was not keeping up with the times, that it had failed to adapt to new methods in the civil rights fight.

Controlled Nomination

The young Turks, who controlled the nominating committee of the national board, put up their own six candidates for the at-large seats, thereby dumping six traditional members. The incumbents decided to contest the election, however, and yesterday the results were announced at the association's annual meeting.

One N.A.A.C.P. official, who correctly predicted the results earlier in the day, said that the insurgents had hurt themselves by appearing to some of the membership to be too critical of Roy Wilkins, the organization's executive director.

This official said that although an insurgent victory would not necessarily have reflected anti-Wilkins feeling, yesterday's vote did strengthen Mr. Wilkins's position.

The N.A.A.C.P.'s voting procedure is complicated. Each local chapter voted for the twelve candidates and the six top names were sent in, each with a numerical score that reflects the size of the chapter.

Mr. Reuther received 1,182 votes for the highest total.

Other Winners Named

Others elected were:

Bishop Stephen G. Spotts-

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Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, chairman of the board since 1961, with 1,061 votes; Arthur B. Spingarn, a former president of the organization and now honorary president, who like Mr. Reuther is white, with 1,045 votes; former Judge Hubert T. Delaney of New York City, with 958 votes; Mrs. Bates, with 901 votes; and Dr. H. Claude Hudson, a Los Angeles banker, with 799 votes.

Mathew Perry, a South Carolina lawyer, was the one traditionalist defeated in the election.

Two of the leaders of the young Turk movement tallied particularly low totals. Chester Lewis, a Wichita, Kan., lawyer who has been critical of the regular leadership, received 542 votes, and L. Joseph Overton, a New York labor leader, received 465.

Mr. Lewis, in a keynote speech to the New York state chapter last October, called for the inclusion "of younger grassroots individuals and groups on the board."

Mr. Wilkins, who reviewed the last year in civil rights for both the association and newsmen at a press conference yesterday, appeared particularly confident. He called 1966 a "fair" year for civil rights, although a good year for the N.A.A.C.P.

Mr. Wilkins defended Adam Clayton Powell, needled other civil rights organizations, decried the failure of Congress to pass a civil rights bill in 1966, and gave a serious warning to Northern and Western urban officials and educators.

This last was his most somber note of the day.

"It is my considered opinion," he said, "that until we launch a crash program that seriously addresses itself to the gross and disgraceful racial discriminations and inequities in our public school systems in Northern and Western urban centers, we will have riotous outbreaks plaguing us with disturbing frequency."

Young Negroes will riot, he said, "because the world of education has failed to reach and teach the language of democracy, opportunity and dignity. We cannot talk to these people. The language of the white community and of white municipal officials is not their language."

"Bluntly stated," Mr. Wilkins concluded, "the alternative to the dilly-dallying of the day is riots."

Earlier, he reported that the N.A.A.C.P. had a gross income from all sources of $1,408,385, an increase over 1965 of $28,072.

Of the total figure, he said, 82 per sent came from the membership. Thus, he said, only "those organizations which depend on white people suffered" financially because of the changes in the civil rights fight in 1966.

Carmichael Blasts Demos For Treatment of Powell

MOVEMENT

AJ 1/9/67

By BILL WINN

Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, issued a broad condemnation of the national Democratic party Monday with Atlanta Rep. Julian Bond standing at his side.

Speaking to a crowd of about 50 reporters and onlookers at a service station, Mr. Carmichael charged that the Democratic party has been "feeding on the needs of Afro-Americans. We, the nourishment of the Democratic party, are given in return racists' vomit and are expected to swallow it, grin, and shuffle away saying, 'Thank you, boss man.'"

Mr. Carmichael accused the Democratic party of attacking New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell in the "high-handed manner that the . . . party has always used toward Afro-Americans in this country.

"THEIR CIVIL rights bills were not worth the time and energy some secretaries spent in typing them," the civil rights leader said.

"They (the bills) were obviously designed to pacify Afro-Americans, shut them up, keep them off the streets, but we will not be pacified. We will not shut up. We will not stay off the streets."

Mr. Carmichael, who read from a prepared statement, said that Rep. Powell was being punished for doing "what every other congressman does and for doing it with more style."

He addressed part of his remark directly to President Johnson:

"Lyndon Johnson, we remember the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. Afro-Americans from Mississippi were not represented in the Congress. . . . The Democratic party told them to go back to Mississippi.

"Now we see once again your Democratic party operating as it has always operated. . . . We remember that our votes, the votes of black men and women across this nation, are responsible for Democrats sitting in Congress and in the White House.

"We remember, Lyndon Johnson, and we will remember when the Democratic party comes into the black community in 1968, with its platitudes and promises, its words of sympathy and its posture of being the Afro-American's friend."

Mr. Carmichael closed his remarks by saying, "Take away Powell and we will take away Johnson. And if you don't believe it, baby, just try us."

LOOKING FOR FURNITURE?
THEN DON'T MISS
LESTER MADDOX'S
PICKRICK FURNITURE

Harlem Still Hot on Powell Issue, Taking It as a Personal Affront

NYT 1/12/67 MOVEMENT

By DAVID HALBERSTAM

The discussions yesterday in Harlem's restaurants and bars, beauty parlors and homes and on the streets were chiefly on one subject—Adam Clayton Powell.

There was anger there, but it was controlled rather than open, and personal rather than public.

"It's like a death in the family," said Floyd McKissick, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. "It's like there's mourning in every family here."

"I've never seen it so personnal," said Bayard Rustin, influential Negro intellectual. "It's as if the action was not taken against Adam Powell but against Harlem. Everyone here lived a little with Adam, and went down a little with him."

Harlem had suspected the worst, and when Mr. Powell lost his committee chairmanship on Monday the anger began. It set in even more on Tuesday when he temporarily lost his seat; their seat, they believe.

"I've lived in Harlem for 25 years," said Mrs. Etta Burten, a housewife, 1305 Amsterdam Avenue, "and the people don't know him, don't know what he's done for Harlem. How can I talk—it would take me years."

"Powell was the only man who carried out his promises to Negroes," said William Johnson, an unemployed longshoreman, "and so because he did this, they got rid of him. I would back Powell one million per cent. Even the Uncle Toms will back Powell. He's a black man, thinks black, talks black. A soul brother because he feels what black people feel."

Loved His Arrogance

"They loved him," Mr. McKissick said, "because he was arrogant, so arrogant that he couldn't be controlled by anybody black or white. He was always saying what they wanted to say, doing what they wanted to do, doing in the open what the white man did in private."

That was just the trouble, said Miss Luise Gilens 27 years old, who was interviewed at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 119th Street. "He should have tried to hide what he did just like the rest of them. He was too bold. He put his business out on the streets."

One 70-year-old woman who disagreed with the others and refused to give her name said:

"I knew him and his family. He was a nice boy. But I was ashamed of his statement after he heard the Congress' decision. He sounded like a black nationalist." She referred to Mr. Powell's contention that his exclusion was a "lynching — Northernstyle."

David Henderson, 18, a bank teller said it was "black supremacy all over again."

"When you're black you stand out. They unseated Adam to show black people that they're not as big as they think they are. I hope we put him back where he belongs—be rebellion, strength, I'm all for violence, any shape any form if this is what it takes to get him back."

"I cried when I eard it," said Mrs. Lucille Lanclos, who is in her 70's. "You got to stick with him through the thick and thin. All they want us to be is porters and scrubwomen. He's a black man so they don't want him to have power.

"Why do they hate the black man so? We put him there—why do they have to take him away? I don't believe in violence but I believe you reap what you sow—that's what the Bible says, so I'm praying."

Special Relationship

Part of the explanation for the intensity of the feeling is the special relationship between Mr. Powell and his district. There was, said Mr. Rustin, a relationship between Harlem's suffering and misery and Mr. Powell's jauntiness and stylish life. "They enjoyed him mocking the white hypocrisy and the white politician," he said.

A beauty shop owner on Seventh avenue who asked that her name not be used said: "He was our leader and he was our friend. He helped us years ago and you got to remember it. Why I remember a store here and it didn't hire colored people and so Adam said in 1939 'come on children, let's walk' and so we picketed and now there's as many colored working there as white." Commenting on Mr. Powell's actions in Congress, she added:

"I don't say he did right, but if he was a white man he'd of gotten away with it."

Another woman, shopping on 125th street said:

"He had too much power and seniority to be a Negro. We have to unite or they'll keep cutting us down. I don't want to give you my name because when your name's on paper, Mr. Charley's got you on his list."

Mr. Charley is Negro slang for the white man.

'Has to Be a Revolution'

In a drugstore at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, Everald J. Walsh, a young man in his twenties who described himself as a social researcher, said:

"Everybody should be prepared to go to war. If we can die in Vietnam we should be willing to die right here. There has to be a revolution. Lyndon Johnson sold out under pressure from politicians who have to help him justify his policies in Vietnam. So Powell was the scapegoat. Whitey plays a fine hand of poker."

John Mathews, a record store clerk who was interviewed on 119th Street, said:

"He gave them too much rope and they hung him with it. He should be a symbol for the black people. Somebody has to stand tall and set an example. But his personal image is not the true image of the black people. I don't go for that playboy stuff."

Charles Morgan, 34, a salesman said: "Powell is a powerful Negro, lots of support and backing. So they had to find some reason to oust him. When you're too powerful and black they want you out."

CARMICHAEL ASSERTS HE WON'T RUN AGAIN

MOVEMENT

CHICAGO, Jan. 15 (UPI)—Stokely Carmichael the Negro leader, said today that he was not going to seek re-election as head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In a brief interview on a television program, Irv Kupcinet's Morning Show, Mr. Carmichael said, however, he was "not going to retire."

The committee, which shrank under Mr. Carmichael from a biracial civil rights group to a hard-core, Negro protest organization, will hold elections in May.

Mr. Carmichael assumed command of the committee, amid rumors of a financial crisis, last May in a shakeup that saw John Lewis deposed as chairman and James Foreman as executive secretary.

Formed in 1960 during the sit-in movement, the committee became a leading civil rights group. After passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, however, it turned much of its attention toward protests against United States involvement in Vietnam.

One of Mr. Carmichael first acts as chairman was to begin a purge of white members of the group. Lated it grew more militant with shsouts of "black power."

Dr. King Plagued by Resistance And Apathy in Chicago Slums

MOVEMENT

Rights Leader's Aides Cite Some Gains, but Find Problems of Northern Ghetto Tougher Than Those in the South

1/16/67

By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Jan. 15—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's latest venture in his year-long drive to eradicate Chicago slums is encountering resistance at City Hall and apathy in the Negro ghettos.

The civil rights leader announced last month that the Chicago Freedom Movement would seek political leverage with an "intensive" and "massive" campaign to register Negroes to vote before the February and April elections for aldermen and Mayor.

Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, summoned Hosea L. Williams from the organization's Atlanta headquarters to mobilize "political power in the Negro community." He arrived promptly with a dozen staff aides who had worked with him in voter registration campaigns throughout the South.

In their first month here, none of the new arrivals has taken a fancy to Chicago.

"I don't like Chicago," Mr. Williams asserted the other day. "We're used to working with people who want to be freed. The Chicago Negro isn't concerned about what the power structure is doing to him. It's cold here, and I'm having a lot of problems."

A Cold Reception

The reception from potential registrants has often been as chilly as the Chicago winter.

"One lady came at me with an icepick," Leon Hall of Montgomery reported after canvassing a typical South Side block of rundown tenements.

"A lot of people won't even talk to us," said Lester Hankerson of Savannah, who says he was beaten up by the state and local police in Grenada, Miss., two months ago. "I would rather be working there. People here are not interested in first-class citizenship."

"This is worse than Alabama," Mr. Hall asserted. "At least you have some fresh air there."

He pointed beyond the black snow and broken glass on a ghetto street to a long red-brick apartment building, formerly a warehouse, he had just canvassed. "Those people are so cramped up," he observed, it's like being in jail."

For years the entrenched Democratic organization of Mayor Richard J. Daley, nurtured by a pervasive patronage system, has been able to count on ghetto precinct captains for overwhelming election majorities.

[illegible] fourth view, the slow pace of progress in the civil rights movement here must be attributed in large part to dissention among the leaders of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, an umbrella organization of the affiliated civil rights groups.

"Dr. King's efforts have not been fruitless," he said, "but Chicago has been a nightmare. Our time schedule is way off base, largely because of division in the Negro leadership."

Albert A. Raby, convenor of the coordinating council, acknowledges that there is a sharp split in the civil rights leadership on how to gain political strength in Chicago.

Most of the younger, more militant Negroes, he said, want to mount an all-out attack to defeat the Daley organization as the only way to accomplish lasting social change.

The more conservative element, not as numerous but with better organized backing, prefers to restrict the campaign to the aldermanic level now for control of some 15 wards with large Negro populations.

Stronghold Is Sought

This element feels such an achievement would establish a stronghold the "machine" would have to respect and respond to in meeting the freedom movement's goals of equal opportunity in employment, education and housing.

These leaders say that Mayor Daley has made civil rights concessions when sufficient pressure was exerted, while the prospect for gains under a new power structure would be uncertain.

The pace of movement was stepped up when Dr. King's organizers, led by the Rev. James Bevel and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, arrived late in 1965. It spurted after Dr. King led open occupancy marches into bitterly resisting, all-white neighborhoods last summer.

Without political power the demonstrations have been essential to sustain momentum, even the most conservative voices agree. All elements of the movement expect the mass protests to be resumed next summer.

Dents have been made in the resistance to change. In nine months Mr. Jackson's Operation Bread Basket, employing economic boycotts, has produced 900 jobs for Negroes at five dairies, three soft drink companies and three retail grocery chains in the ghetto. It has

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The Mayor is seeking a fourth four-year term on April 4. Aldermen will be elected Feb. 28, with a runoff April 4 in any ward where no candidate receives a majority. Subservient organization candidates will have more opposition than usual from independent Negro candidates this time.

The registration drive is stressing problems and issues close to home for ghetto Negroes, but it is endorsing no candidates.

"We feel the people will be intelligent enough to vote for the right candidate when they know the issues," Dr. King said in announcing the drive. "If the Democratic machine is at fault, we hope the people will be intelligent enough to correct it. We want them to know it is necessary to participate in the political process."

Mr. Williams has been rushing from one neighborhood organization to another to brief Chicago Negroes helping with the campaign.

"There is no difference between the Daley machine in Chicago and the Wallace machine in Alabama, sugar," he told a questioner. "Both are out to keep you in slavery."

'They're Beaten Down'

"I have never seen such hopelessness," Mr. Williams said. "The Negroes of Chicago have a greater feeling of powerlessness than any I ever saw. They don't participate in the governmental process because they're beaten down psychologically."

Nearly a million of Chicago's 3.5 million residents are Negro. But an Urban League study shows that in 1962 only 63 per cent had registered to vote, compared with 78 per cent of the whites, and only 47 per cent had voted.

The Negro population has grown steadily since 1962, while that of whites in Chicago continues to decline, but figures of the Board of Election Commissioners show that in heavily Negro wards the voter turnout dropped in 1964 and again last November. Registration in some wards, Mr. Williams said, is now less than 50 per cent.

"The city discourages Negro registration," he asserted. "The lighter the registration, the easier it is for the machine to control the vote."

City officials took much of the steam out of the freedom movement's drive the week before last by refusing to open neighborhood centers where Negroes could qualify without making a trip downtown to City Hall.

"They said it would be too expensive," Mr. Williams exploded in his tiny, borrowed office in the heart of the Southside ghetto. "They wouldn't even give us what we got in Birmingham!"

There and elsewhere in the South civil rights workers led demonstrations until they got special registrars. Here neighborhood registration will be held, as usual before elections, on a single day, the last one for voters to register, a month before the aldermanic election Feb. 28.

In Mr. Williams's candid ment's goals of equal opportunity in employment, education and housing.

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Formation of a dozen tenant unions since last spring, a project in which Mr. Bevel has been engaged, has forced a few slum landlords to meet building code standards.

The fair housing demonstrations led by Dr. King last August brought wide-ranging commitments on open housing from Mayor Daley, the Chicago Real Estate Board, the Chicago Housing Authority, the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association and other key groups.

But the accord has yet to be implemented, and skeptics charge that the Mayor, faced with potential backlash from white ethnic groups he must also court, will continue to go no further than politically necessary toward achievement of civil rights goals.

Mr. Raby said the freedom movement's long campaign to desegregate Chicago's schools and upgrade ghetto education had been a "total failure" so far.

Last week the United States Office of Education, after a year-long study to determine whether to cut off Federal aid because of violations of civil rights laws, reported that 90 per cent of Chicago's Negro teachers were still assigned to Negro schools and that 85 per cent of white elementary pupils and 8 per cent of Negro elementary students still attended schools segregated by residential patterns. The report warned that changes must be made if aid is to continue.

Mayor Daley is a strong favorite for re-election over his Republican opponent, John L. Waner. This would leave civil rights advocates to contend with the classic system of ghetto political exploitation that has thrived here for years.

Welfare Recipients 'Afraid'

"Every welfare recipient is afraid to oppose the wishes of the precinct captain," said the Rev. Delton Franz, pastor of the Woodlawn Mennonite Church in the southside ghetto and host to a meeting to enlist registration workers the other day.

"This explains the reluctance to register and vote for a reform candidate for alderman," he went on. "Everyone living in public housing is afraid. They have been told that the machine alderman is the one who insures them living quarters, who keeps them on the welfare rolls. It is a false but very effective threat. When you've got so little you just aren't going to gamble."

Civil rights leaders hope for a minor breakthrough next month. Many of them are backing aldermanic candidates whose records indicate they would fight for civil rights goals regardless of Mayor Daley's position.

Yet they are haunted by years of experience that has left ghetto Negroes, as one leader put it, "unconvinced that the democratic process can really change their lives."

MOVEMENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1967.

Randolph Calls Negro Conference in Washington

By M. S. HANDLER

A conference of Negro leaders in all fields will be held in Washington next Wednesday to discuss ways to restore Representative Adam Clayton Powell to his seat to his chairmanship of the powerful House Labor and Education Committee. The leaders will also re-examine Negro-white relations.

A. Philip Randolph, a key civil rights leader who has initiated the meeting, has described it as a "summit conference" to take up what he calls a "crisis" in Negro-white relations.

A proposal that the conference blacklist Representative Emanuel Celler of the 10th District, among other Congressmen who opposed or failed to help Mr. Powell, was abandoned because most of the civil rights leaders felt that Mr. Celler was one of thhe foremost advocates of civil rights in Congress.

Last night, Mr. Randolph sent telegrams to about 100 Negro leaders of civil rights organizations, church denominations and labor unions, and also to Negro educators, professional men and women, prominent artists and entertainers.

The conference is to be held in the Church of the Redeemer, Presbyterian, at 15th and Girard Streets. The sessions will be all-Negro and closed to the public and observers.

In his telegram, Mr. Randolph, who is president of the Bortherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said that the first purpose of the conference was to evaluate the developments of Mr. Powell's Congressional chairmanship and seat loss and that the second purpose was to evaluate the situation and the meaning of the action against Mr. Powell to 22 million Negroes.

Mr. Randolph sent the telegrams after consulting with Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Dorothy I. Height of the National Council of Negro Women.

Those who were sent telegrams included Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Sammy Davis, Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne, Mahalia Jackson, Willie Mays, Jackie Robinson, Louis Armstrong, and Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Attendance to Be Limited

Mr. Randolph wants to limit the attendance to organizational heads and ntionally known persons.

According to an informed source, he has found that Mr. Powell's loss of his committee chairmanship and temporary loss of his seat has resulted in a deepening crisis in Negro-white relations. This, according to the consensus, requires a serious examination of the future status of Negroes in the United States.

According to this source Mr. Randolph felt that "we can learn one thing from the Powell affair—we must become politically more active in both parties and in the decision-making process."

Mr. Randolph, it is understood, will urge that the Washington conference examine and study the records of all Congressmen in the field of civil rights and specifically in relation to bills submitted to Congress to improve the condition of the Negroes.

It was learned, however, that all thought of including Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, who was named yesterday as head of the House Committee that will investigate Mr. Powell, among the Congressmen Negro voters will be asked to defeat because of their "hostile" or "ambivalent" attitude toward Mr. Powell, has now been abandoned by the organizers of the meeting. In a statement to The New York Times, Mr. Randolph said:

"There are no plans and I know of no plans to wage warfare against Congressman Celler. I regard Mr. Celler as a consistent and devoted advocate of civil rights in Congress for years. I consider him one of stanchest champions of civil rights in Congress."

Last week, when he announced the projected conference, Mr. Randolph let it be known that Representative Celler would be among a list of congressmen designated for defeat by the Negro voters in the northern urban industrial centers where there are substantial Negro populations. It was felt that Mr. Celler had not done enough to prevent Mr. Powell's defeat.

The decision to exclude Mr. Celler from the target list came during Mr. Randolph's consultations, which disclosed that most civil rights leaders and organizations hold Mr. Celler in high esteem.

Mr. Randolph announced that he has appointed Theodore E. Brown, a close associate, to coordinate the Washington conference. Mr. Brown is director of the American Negro Leadership Conference On Africa.

RIGHTS DRIVE LAGS IN MUCH OF SOUTH

MOVEMENT

Many Groups Are Cut Back and Battle for Survival as Contributions Decline

2/7/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 6 — The civil rights movement has collapsed in broad areas of the South, and is fighting what seems to be a last-ditch battle for survival in its few remaining spheres of influence.

This is the unmistakeable picture in the region now as one tours such Southern states as Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia — states that as recently as six months ago were focal points of civil rights activity.

It results mainly from a sharp decline in contributions to civil rights groups, a shift of volunteers in the movement to the antipoverty campaign and protests against the war in Vietnam, and from a decision of the organizations to use some of their limited resources in the North.

Civil rights headquarters have been abandoned in many communities, and street demonstrations are now only a memory in all except a handful of Southern counties.

It is difficult now in most parts of the South to find a civil rights worker.

The civil rights organizations themselves report a total of only about 65 organizers actively working in the region (compared to about 300 a year ago), and most of these cannot afford a permanent office or telephone.

Continued on Page 26, Column 1

Rights Drive Lagging in South As Most Groups' Funds Decline

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

However, in the South's larger cities and in some of the rural counties, Negroes are carrying on for themselves — carrying out their own voter registration drives, appearing before local governing boards to ask for street and school improvements, and occasionally organizing cooperatives to improve their economic condition.

In Mississippi, Miss Marian Wright, chief counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., said that the civil rights movement might have left 6 to 12 of Mississippi's 82 counties with local organizations strong enough to carry out "meaningful" political and economic programs for Negroes.

"But I'm not sure," Miss Wright went on. "You'll have to give them six months or so before you know."

Miss Wright and several other Mississippi Negro leaders are trying to encourage action by local Negroes through a new organization called Mississippi Action for Community Education. This is an organization that hopes to get foundation grants to instruct Negroes in carrying out voter registration drives and other forms of political activity.

Cutback Called Sharp

"If you are talking about organizations, the movement has sharply diminished," said Pat Watters, who is completing a study of the civil rights movement for the Southern Regional Council, a human relations organization based in Atlanta. "But there are a number of independent activities being generated by local Negroes—voter registration drives and economic programs.

"One result of the civil rights movement has been to generate an ability among Negroes to fight their own battles," he went on. "Obviously this is not true among all Negroes and the danger is that civil rights organizations have cut back too soon."

The cutback, for the most part, has been among the "direct action" organizations that make up the bulk of the civil rights movement:

¶ Isaac Reynolds, Southern regional director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said today that his organization now had "12 or 13" workers in Mississippi and Louisiana, fewer than it had in one town — Bogalusa, La.—alone late in 1965.

¶In Atlanta, Charles Cobb, a communications officer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said his organization had five organizers active in Alabama, two in Arkansas, three or four in Mississippi, and one in Georgia. Last year, before it began dispersing its organizing force into New York, Philadelphia and Boston, the student committee had about 100 organizers in the South.

¶A staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said that "about a dozen" of the conference's organizers remained in the South last month, after the organization expanded its organizing force in Chicago for a voter registration drive there. In January of last year, the conference had 25 to 30 workers in Birmingham, Ala., and more scattered throughout the state.

¶The Delta ministry, the direct action arm of the National Council of Churches, says it now has 28 workers in Mississippi, compared with about 45 a year ago.

¶Another civil rights organization, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which as recently as last summer provided doctors and nurses for the civil rights movement, has closed its office in Jackson.

Today, the officers of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party dramatized the current state of the movement in much of the South. The office doors were locked. The last of two telephones was removed several weeks ago. And across the hall, a man in a neighboring office said, "about once or twice a week someone will go in there for an hour or two and then they'll be gone."

Little more than a year ago, the party headquarters was one of the busiest civil rights outposts in the South. More than a dozen workers moved about the office on a typical day, answering telephones, operating a radio communications system that linked the office to staff workers in the "field," and feeding stacks of paper into mimeograph machines.

The decline, however, has not extended to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, which were established in the South before the 1960 sit-in demonstrations ushered in the "Negro Revolution."

The N.A.A.C.P. has 11 field directors and staff organizers in the South now, about the same number as it had in 1959, and plans to increase its staff later this year. The Urban League has an expansion program under way that it says, will give it about 17 affiliates in the South, about twice as many as it had in 1960.

Successful at Polls

For the most part, neither the N.A.A.C.P. or the Urban League has participated in direct action in the South. However, in Mississippi last year, the N.A.A.C.P. experimented with boycotts and street demonstrations and rallied Negroes into a political organization that was able to carry two counties last year for a Republican senatorial candidate, Prentice Walker.

Many of those still in the direct action wing of the movement seem uncertain as to what caused their organizations to decline in the South. Contributors, they say, simply stopped contributing and volunteers—who rushed into the South by the hundreds in the summer of 1964 and 1965 — stopped volunteering.

The decline began setting in after the march from Selma, Ala., to Montgomery, Ala., against voter discrimination in the spring of 1965, when the movement reached its peak in the South. And it accelerated after the student committee and CORE started their "black power" movement in the summer of 1966.

Internal conflict in the student committee and CORE, which have been torn over the question of whether whites should have a role in the civil rights movement, seem to have contributed to the decline.

Dr. King's Group Hurt

Although Dr. King's leadership conference stayed aloof from the black power movement, it also complains of sharp cutbacks in contributions.

The Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's chief aide, estimates that contributions are down 40 per cent over a year ago. The drop occurred in part, he says, because Northern whites lost interest in the movement after Negroes intensified their pressure for housing desegregation in Northern cities and suburbs.

Many Southern Negroes, meanwhile, are baffled by the rapid decline of the civil rights movement in their communities.

"All I know is there is not a bit of civil rights movement in LeFlore County now," said Robert Earl Thomas of Greenwood, Miss.

It was in that county that the student committee started voter registration activity in 1962, to be succeeded in 1964 by the Council of Federated Organizations, and in 1965 by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party.

"First, S.N.C.C. went out," Mr. Thomas said, "then C.O.F.O. went out, and then M.F.D.P. went out—they all just went out."

LOST OPPORTUNITY FOR RIGHTS CITED

MOVEMENT

Moynihan Sees Failure to Follow Johnson's Lead

2/9/67

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Daniel P. Moynihan, author of a controversial report on the Negro family, said in an article published yesterday that an opportunity to make a "total commitment to the cause of Negro equality" was lost 20 months ago because of the short-sightedness of civil rights leaders, Negro and white.

The article in the February issue of Commentary magazine says the nation was ready in June, 1965, to make this commitment after President Johnson, in a speech to the graduating class of Howard University in Washington, made a strong appeal for genuine equality for the Negro.

Mr. Moynihan called the speech "a bold beginning." But he said that before "half a year had passed the initiative was in ruins, and after a year and a half it is settled that nothing whatever came of it."

In the speech, Mr. Johnson called a White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." Mr. Moynihan, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor, was invited to participate.

Widespread Objections

At about the time of the President's speech, Mr. Moynihan wrote in Commentary, his report was published although it was intended to be an internal Labor Department document. It elicited widespread Negro objections for its contention that Negro families were becoming increasingly matriarchal and that family life among Negroes was disintegrating.

Although the report was first issued in 100 copies, it was later published by the Government Printing Office in the fall of 1965.

The report said 300 years of slavery and injustice had resulted in a "tangle of pathology" that would require a unified national effort to correct. Some Negro objections to the report, Mr. Moynihan said, actually put the blame on the Negroes for problems afflicting the race.

Negro objections to the report, Mr. Moynihan wrote in the Commentary article, contributed to the failure of the White House conference. He wrote:

"This time the opposition emanated from the supposed proponents of such a commitment: from Negro leaders unable to comprehend their opportunity; from civil rights militants, Negro and white, caught up in a frenzy of arrogance and nihilism; and from white liberals unwilling to ex-

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Furor Over Report

Mr. Moynihan stresses in the article that the furor over his report contributed to the failure to take advantage of the opportunity to win national support.

The reasons Mr. Moynihan cited for his belief that the nation was ready to follow Mr. Johnson's lead were that he had been "overwhelmingly elected the preceding fall and given the largest majorities in the House and Senate since those of the early Congresses that enacted the New Deal" and that the speech followed years of civil rights demonstrations in the South that were "unassailable in their justice."

"The timing here was perfect," Mr. Moynihan wrote.

He wrote that at the time the opposition to Negro advancement by Northern conservatives or Southern segregationists "would not have prevailed."

He quoted from a soon-to-be-published book titled "The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy," by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey that said of the White House conference:

"It strongly disorganized the civil rights forces who in the end managed to bring about a show of unity only in opposition to the Moynihan report, not in effective demands on the Administration."

Lack of Resources

Mr. Moynihan adds:

"The essential fact is that neither the Government nor the civil rights movement had the resources to prepare a program in response to the Howard speech. This was the point of un-paralleled opportunity for the liberal community and it was exactly the point where that community collapsed."

The author was pessimistic about immediate progress for Negro aspirations in the United States because of the white backlash.

"It appears," he wrote, "that the nation may be in the process of reproducing the tragic events of the Reconstruction: giving to Negroes the forms of legal equality, but withholding the economic and political resources which are the bases of social equality."

He noted that white Americans generally feel that Negroes "have received enough for the time being."

Mr. Moynihan, 39 years old is director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

He is the co-author, with Nathan Glazer, of a book, "Beyond the Melting Pot," and is scheduled to publish a book on Negro family life in 1967. He ran unsuccessfully for president of the New York City Council in 1965.

A Commentary official said the article was Mr. Moynihan's first public statement on the controversy that began in 1965. The official said Commentary is an independent magazine of thought and opinion that is published as a public service by the American Jewish Committee.

MOVEMENT

CHURCH AND SOCIETY
Opinion

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Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary of the Division
George A. Chauncey, Editor

Number 3 February 1967

"BLACK POWER"

George A. Chauncey

Several years ago there emerged within the civil rights movement a litany to be used at inspirational pep-rallies, in mass demonstrations, and while sitting in the paddy wagon waiting to be carted off to jail. In this litany the leader asked, "What do you want?" and the people responded, "Freedom!" The leader then asked, "When do you want it?" and the people responded, "Now!" In recent months, a slight revision in the litany has been made by certain civil rights workers. The answer to the when question is still the same: We want it now! But the answer to the what question has been revised. We want "black power"!

This revision of the accepted text has had, to put it mildly, an extraordinary effect on the racial situation in America. For one thing, it has touched off the most bitter debate within the Negro community itself since the days of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois; and it has percipitated a serious split between the advocates of "black power" like Stokely Carmichael of SNICK and Floyd McKissick of CORE, on the one hand, and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League on the other, with Martin Luther King somewhere in the middle as mediator. The slogan, secondly, has played right into the hands of white racists, giving them renewed opportunity to exploit historic and paranoiac white fears of "black domination." The slogan, thirdly, has provided moderate whites a ready-made excuse to discontinue support of the Negro's struggle. Practically every public figure worth his salt has felt compelled in recent months to lecture to the Negro community about the dangers of racism - in reverse; and some have even felt compelled to remind Negroes, rather pointedly, that in any showdown of power, they are in a distinct minority in American society. The slogan, finally, has baffled, offended, "hurt," disappointed, and dampened the enthusiasm of many genuinely liberal whites who now wonder, one, if they are still wanted at all and, two, if so, for what. What does this slogan mean? What's behind it? Why did it emerge? And what is our appropriate response to it? These are the questions to which this paper is addressed.

First of all, what does the slogan mean? Howard Moody, white pastor of the Judson Memorial Church in Greenwich Village, expresses the frustration many of us feel in trying to answer this question in these words:

> "...The ambiguity of the term 'black power' is... perplexing. Everything depends on where you were when you heard what words. The 'two faces' of Stokely Carmichael are sometimes very disturbing. When I see and hear him in a Harlem church engaged in incredible 'black' histrionics, I just want to run to my 'Whitey Survival Kit.' But when he writes about 'black power' in that 'decadent-white-intellectual' New York Review

> of Books, I want to clip it out and send it to all the rich white liberals who have stopped financing the movement. Yet if the truth is faced, probably neither of these versions of 'black power' is complete."
>
> (Christianity and Crisis, 17 October, 1966, page 224).

It is obvious, given the ambiguity of the term and the complexity of the situation from which it has emerged, that hardly any white man, certainly not this white man, is in a position to explain "black power". Certain emphases in the on-going conversation, however, seem relatively clear to anyone who will listen seriously.

In its simplest - and to the white liberal "most acceptable" definition - "black power" means nothing more than a way to help Negroes develop racial pride and use the ballot for educational and economic advancement. The term has both a psychological and a political thrust. Psychologically, "black power," with its emphasis on "black consciousness," is an endeavor to develop a simple pride, self-esteem, and sense of dignity in being black. To understand why this seems necessary to advocates of "black power," we must ask what is wrong with the present racial consciousness in the Negro community. And the answer to this question - if such men as Richard Wright, Charles Silberman, and James Baldwin are right - is that most Negroes, far from being supremacists, are in fact ashamed of being Negroes. Negroes in America, and especially in the South, these authors say, have been taught for years that they are inferior, sub-human, lazy, good-for-nothing "niggers", characterized by an animal's passions and a child's mentality. This intensive brain-washing has had its psychologically-and-spiritually-crippling effect: Many a Negro in America today sees himself as the white man sees him - and is ashamed. One purpose of the "black power" advocates is thus to liberate Negroes from this immobilizing shame of themselves. Through an emphasis on "black consciousness," "black culture," and "black beauty" they hope to develop individual self-confidence and racial pride.

The other thrust of the "black power" movement is political. What I am seeking, Carmichael says, is "presence" for the black people. What this means essentially is that he wants them to be a force that white people will have to reckon with. The key issue - the only issue - in America today, he believes, is power. "The reason the Negro is in the position he's in today," he says, "is not because he's not integrated, but because he doesn't have power." "Black power," he adds, is a way - the only way - to deal with this problem. And what does "black power" mean in this context? It means organizing, pooling resources, and finding out just how strong black people are. "Like the workers in the '30s,'" he says, "like the Irish in Boston, we must demand the right to organize the way we want to organize. 'Black power' is a demand to organize around the question of blackness. We are oppressed because we are black. We must organize around that question."

Frank Millspaugh, a former civil rights worker who is sympathetic to Carmichael's concept, summarizes it in this way:

> "It has been SNCC's not very original observation that Negroes in the South do not have political power commensurate with their numbers. SNCC further believes that if Southern Negroes had such political power, their need for employment,

better education, equal protection, and other amenities of modern life would be more rapidly and adequately met. Therefore, SNCC is attempting to create political units, based on Negroes' aspirations and depending on Negroes' support, which can become factors in political bargaining situations....

'SNCC calls this 'Black Power.'" This seems as American as apple pie, much more pacific than the Fourth of July, and it is perfectly legal, even in Alabama."

(Commonweal, 5 August 1966, p. 500).

Now, it should be clearly understood, as I have already indicated, that not all Negro civil rights leaders, by any means, are sympathetic to this new direction which SNCC and CORE are taking. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, for example, declared at the annual meeting of that organization last July: "No matter how endlessly they try to explain it, the term 'black power' means anti-white power....It is a reverse Mississippi, a reverse Hitler, a reverse Ku Klux Klan... We of the NAACP will have none of this." (Crisis, August-September 1966, p. 354).

Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, is another outstanding Negro critic. He contends in the October, 1966, issue of Commentary that "'black power' not only lacks any real value for the civil rights movement, but its propagation is positively harmful. It diverts the movement from a meaningful debate over strategy and tactics, it isolates the Negro community, and it encourages the growth of anti-Negro forces."

And seven well-known Negro leaders, including Wilkins, Rustin, Randolph, and Whitney Young (but not, significantly, Martin Luther King) recently purchased three-quarters of a page in the New York Times (October 14, 1966) in which to say, among other things: "We are committed to integration....We believe that a sense of personal worth and a pride in race are vital to integration in a pluralistic society, but we believe that these are best nurtured by success in achieving equality. We reject the way of separatism, either moral or spatial."

There is considerable disagreement in the movement itself about the wisdom and validity of Carmichael's call for "black power." We need to remember this. There is hardly any disagreement, however, as to the harsh social realities out of which the cry has emerged. We need, even more imperatively, to remember this. The issue was social injustice before "black power" became a slogan. The issue is still social injustice today.

The fact of life with which Carmichael, McKissick, King, Wilkins, Rustin, Young, and every other civil rights worker is confronted, you see, is this: Despite the many judicial and legislative victories which have been achieved in the past few years, Negroes today are in worse economic shape, live in worse slums, and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954. They are in worse economic shape: More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. The gap between the wages of the Negro worker and the white worker is wider than it was in 1954. While the unemployment rate among white youths is decreasing, the rate among Negro youths has increased to 32%. And unemployment among Negro men - the one area in which there has been a slight gain - is still twice that of whites. The situation is equally distressing in housing. Despite numerous efforts at urban

renewal (called by some cynics, "nigger removal"), the housing situation for Negroes in America is rapidly deteriorating; And even if the Civil Rights Act of 1966 had passed - which it did not because of its housing sections - there is reason to believe that it would have done very little good, because its housing provisions were considerably weaker than the anti-discrimination laws in several states which contain some of America's worst ghettos, even with these laws on their books. And so also with schools. According to figures recently issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 65% of the first-grade Negro students in this country still attend schools that are from 90 to 100 per cent black. As Bayard Rustin has put it: "If in 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down the desegregation decision, you had been the Negro parent of a first-grade child, the chances are that this past June you would have attended that child's graduation from a segregated high school!"

To put all this in the simplest and most concrete terms: the day-to-day lot of the rural Negro of the South or the ghetto Negro of the North has not been measurably improved by all the judicial and legislative measures of the past decade. In spite of innumerable meetings, marches, and martyrdoms, in spite of countless arrests, beatings and other forms of brutality endured, in spite of all the blood, sweat, and tears poured out, the day-by-day life of the average Negro in Mississippi or Manhattan, Selma or Chicago, Atlanta or LA has not been affected.

This is the brutal reality that has created such bitter disappointment among Negroes. The failure of white Americans to use their power to deal with this brutal reality is what has created such widespread despair. And the profound suspicion that white Americans don't intend to use their power to deal with this brutal reality is the source of angry resentment. It is out of this disappointment, despair, and resentment that the call for "black power" has arisen.

How should the white Christian respond to this cry? I submit that there are at least four elements in an appropriate response. One is sympathetic <u>understanding</u>. "Black power" advocates are emphatic in saying they don't want the white man's sympathy, and they are surely right in rejecting all forms of paternalism, neo-and otherwise. Moreover, all of us who are white must recognize that we <u>are</u> white, and that we have not lived in black skins and borne the constant hostility of a dominant race. We cannot hope to fully understand what it means to be a black man in America. It is imperative, however, for us to understand as well as we possibly can what the situation is in America which fosters so much disappointment, despair, and anger.

A second element is <u>gratitude</u>: gratitude not for the frustration, despair, hatred and violence, but gratitude that the Negro in America today is freeing himself from the psychological servitude of our white expectations; gratitude that he is no longer allowing us to treat him as a thing and get away with it; gratitude that he is forcing us to reexamine our own attitudes and actions, our images and illusions.

A third element in an appropriate response is <u>encouragement</u>: encouragement of the Negro to become a force with which we will have to reckon; encouragement of him to limit the power of sin. Years ago Reinhold Niebuhr wrote a famous diction: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary." Remembering particularly

the second half of this diction, we ought to welcome the emergence of other power to counter-balance our own.

The fourth and most important element in an appropriate response is work: work by which we do everything we possibly can within the white power structure, local, state and national, to effect those changes in our society which are required if we are to have equal opportunity in life as well as in law. It is our failure to do this work, and not the anguished cry for "black power," which has created the present crisis in race relations. And it is only as we do this work, only as we deal with situations out of which this cry has emerged, that justice can be established and reconciliation take place.

It is quite likely that the "race relations" in the next decade will be even more tense, painful, and agonizing than in the past decade. Whether ten years from now America looks more like a white-dominated police state or a truly democratic society depends to a great degree on what persons who are committed to the cause of justice and reconciliation do beginning now.

DR. KING TO PRESS ANTIWAR STAND

MOVEMENT

Says Vietnam Is the Major Obstacle to Rights Gains —Fears Summer Riots

NYT 3/24/67

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA, March 23 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. says the war in Vietnam has become the major obstacle to the civil rights movement and that he plans to take "a much stronger stand" against it.

"I feel it's playing such havoc with our domestic programs that I'm forced into [opposing the war]," Dr. King said in an interview.

The war has shifted attention and resources from the civil rights struggle, he said, adding that he believes civil rights programs will suffer less from his actively opposing the war than from not opposing it. The criticisms, he said, "will be much less than the frustrations and anxieties we will face in not opposing it."

Sees New Rioting

Dr. King will speak at an antiwar rally in Chicago next Saturday and then join his first antiwar demonstration in New York on April 15. He said the nation and President Johnson had become obsessed with the war.

Dr. King disclosed that he recently made plans for intensive organizing of Negro slums as a base to seek a guaranteed annual income and a nationwide campaign for economic improvement of Negroes through bargaining with major businesses.

"We have got to go all out to grapple with this economic problem," he said, talking of his plans for the first time since finishing a book about the racial struggle. Negro slums still retain explosive conditions, he said.

"Nothing much has changed," Dr. King said. "I'm afraid we're going to get a repetition of last summer."

Rioting erupted in Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha and several other cities in 1966.

Chicago again will be a target, Dr. King said, in an effort to "highlight or expose the problems of the ghettos through demonstrations." The demonstrations will center on housing and school segregation, he said, and might include marches by Negro pupils to predominantly white schools.

Dr. King described an agree-

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

DR. KING TO PRESS ANTIWAR STAND

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

ment ending demonstrations last year in Chicago as "a marvelous agreement on paper."

"But nothing much has been done," he said. "And this only intensifies the feelings in the slums."

Open housing was the major issue in 1966.

Dr. King said disenchantment over the war, "intolerable conditions" in the slums and white backlash against civil rights programs were creating an atmosphere for turmoil.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he heads, decided in recent meetings to concentrate on organizing slum residents, he said.

"We are bringing in about 50 solid organizers and we are going to have a workshop within the next three weeks to train them in the techniques of organizing," Dr. King said.

Chicago will be a primary target for this organizing, aimed at building "a base of power in order to bring enough pressure to bear to bring about a guaranteed annual income."

A second program, Dr King said, will seek to improve job opportunities for the Negroes through a nationwide program called "Operation Breadbasket." This program, which has worked in Atlanta and Chicago, involves bargaining with businesses for the hiring and promotion of Negroes.

Dr. King said clergymen from major cities would meet in May to set up the program. The first target, he said, probably will be a national company or product. If the bargaining efforts fail, then a boycott will be initiated, he said.

Dr. King brushed aside suggestions in recent months that the civil rights movement was dead.

"I think it is more alive than ever," he said, adding that his group's financial support was holding up.

He also discounted harmful effects of the black power movement and of divisions among Negro leaders.

Daley Charges Politics

CHICAGO, March 23 (AP)—Mayor Richard J. Daley contended at a news conference today that statements made by Dr. King were politically motivated.

Mr. Daley, a Democrat, is running for re-election April 4 against John L. Waner, a Republican, and Dick Gregory, Negro comedian who is seeking write-in votes.

Conference Explains Stand

A spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said in a telephone interview from Atlanta yesterday that the conference had not taken "any formal position on the war recently," but that the views of Dr. King on the war were substantially those of the conference officials.

The spokesman, Thomas E. Offenburger, acting public relations officer, noted that the conference directors at their annual meeting in Jackson, Miss., last August had adopted a resolution opposing the Vietnam war because of its effects on the civil rights movement and antidiscrimination and antipoverty measures.

"We are a civil rights organization and we intend to carry out all of our civil rights programs," Mr. Offenburger said. "But Dr. King and other leaders of the conference do feel that they must speak out against the war, particularly as it affects the struggle for civil rights.

Dr. King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, has expressed increasing concern about the effects of the Vietnam war on Negroes. Last November, for example, he told a news conference at the University of Pittsburgh that the draft was unfair to Negroes.

Last January, the Rev. James Bevel, a close associate of Dr. King, was named national director of the newly formed Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. On March 16 it was announced that Dr. King had agreed to play a leading role in an antiwar demonstration that the committee had scheduled to be held outside United Nations headquarters here on April 15.

Shooting in Santo Domingo Brings Offer of a Reward

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, March 23 (UPI)—The Government posted a $25,000 reward today for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those who attempted to kill Gen. Antonio Imbert Barrera earlier this week.

The general was shot and wounded while riding on a downtown street. His bodyguard, Marino Garcia, a former major, was also wounded.

Meanwhile, President Joaquin Balaguer named a retired general, Luis Amiama Tio, to be Interior Secretary of State. General Amiama Tio and General Imbert Barrera are the two surviving members of the team that killed Rafael L. Trujillo, the dictator, in 1961.

Mr. Balaguer also named General Amiama Tio as a member of a Government commission investigating the attempt of General Imbert Barrera's life.

War Called Unjust by King, Aides

(Copyright 1967 by The New York Times Co.)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The board of directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the national civil rights organization headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Thursday termed U.S. action in the war in Vietnam "morally and politically unjust."

The 60 to 70 member board, composed largely of Negro ministers, adopted a resolution that also said the war had "drowned the Negro's cry for equal rights."

RAP VIOLENCE

It is becoming difficult, the resolution said, for Negro leaders to preach "non-violence at home while our nation is practicing the very essence of violence abroad."

The resolution also said that the war is being fought by a disproportionate number of Negroes picked by "racially exclusive" draft boards and that President Lyndon B. Johnson, Congress and non-Negro Americans failed to understand "the frustration of a people asked to fight with all their life at stake for a nation which grants them only a partial life at home."

FIGHTING POOR

This nation, the resolution said, is in the contradictory position of fighting a war against poverty at home and fighting "a war against the poor" abroad.

"Rather than have the American dream slain in the jungles and swamps of Vietnam," the resolution said, "we pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to end that war."

A c 3/31/67 MOVEMENT

Black Political Power Force May Be Powell's 3rd Party

BIMINI, Bahamas (AP) — Birth of a "black political power third force" that could become a third party was announced Thursday by Adam Clayton Powell and other Negro leaders meeting on this British resort island.

The ousted Harlem congressman, who lives in self exile here, told a news conference that a national campaign "to elect the black man" would be pushed.

Powell, jaunty in a yellow sport shirt and yellow shorts and smoking a yellow cob pipe, announced, "We are getting together as a team very soon, criss-crossing the nation from Washington to Berkeley, Calif., stopping at strategic points."

Appearing with Powell were seven U.S. Negro leaders.

A crowd of natives, who stood behind them, chorused "talk your talk baby" as Powell told newsmen, "We have faith in the black man and also in the young white man."

A national conference of elected Negro public officials will convene in Los Angeles May 26, Powell announced. He said he will be the keynote figure.

"The future of black political power is the future of the United States," Powell asserted. "I don't know if this is the beginning of a third party, but we are discussing that."

California State Senator Marvyn Dymally, representing the Watts area, said the new black political organization would be called "The National Conference of Negro Elected Officials."

Dymally heads a California group formed last month with 48 members as the forerunners of the national organization. He said the national group has a 500-member initial potential.

34M C 4/7/67

The New York Times

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ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT
ESTABLISHED 1851

MOVEMENT

Dr. King's Error

In recent speeches and statements the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has linked his personal opposition to the war in Vietnam with the cause of Negro equality in the United States. The war, he argues, should be stopped not only because it is a futile war waged for the wrong ends but also because it is a barrier to social progress in this country and therefore prevents Negroes from achieving their just place in American life.

This is a fusing of two public problems that are distinct and separate. By drawing them together, Dr. King has done a disservice to both. The moral issues in Vietnam are less clear-cut than he suggests; the political strategy of uniting the peace movement and the civil rights movement could very well be disastrous for both causes.

Because American Negroes are a minority and have to overcome unique handicaps of racial antipathy and prolonged deprivation, they have a hard time in gaining their objectives even when their grievances are self-evident and their claims are indisputably just. As Dr. King knows from the Montgomery bus boycott and other civil rights struggles of the past dozen years, it takes almost infinite patience, persistence and courage to achieve the relatively simple aims that ought to be theirs by right.

The movement toward racial equality is now in the more advanced and more difficult stage of fulfilling basic rights by finding more jobs, changing patterns of housing and upgrading education. The battlegrounds in this struggle are Chicago and Harlem and Watts. The Negroes on these fronts need all the leadership, dedication and moral inspiration that they can summon; and under these circumstances to divert the energies of the civil rights movement to the Vietnam issue is both wasteful and self-defeating.

Dr. King makes too facile a connection between the speeding up of the war in Vietnam and the slowing down of the war against poverty. The eradication of poverty is at best the task of a generation. This "war" inevitably meets diverse resistance such as the hostility of local political machines, the skepticism of conservatives in Congress and the intractability of slum mores and habits. The nation could afford to make more funds available to combat poverty even while the war in Vietnam continues, but there is no certainly that the coming of peace would automatically lead to a sharp increase in funds.

Furthermore, Dr. King can only antagonize opinion in this country instead of winning recruits to the peace movement by recklessly comparing American military methods to those of the Nazis testing "new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." The facts are harsh, but they do not justify such slander. Furthermore, it is possible to disagree with many aspects of United States policy in Vietnam without whitewashing Hanoi.

As an individual, Dr. King has the right and even the moral obligation to explore the ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, but as one of the most respected leaders of the civil rights movement he has an equally weighty obligation to direct that movement's efforts in the most constructive and relevant way.

There are no simple or easy answers to the war in Vietnam or to racial injustice in this country. Linking these hard, complex problems will lead not to solutions but to deeper confusion.

N. P. Decries Stand Of Dr. King on Vietnam

MOVEMENT

Calls It a 'Serious Tactical Mistake' to Merge Rights and Peace Drives—Fears Harm to Both Causes

NYT 4/11/67

The directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People voted unanimously yesterday against the proposal by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to merge the civil rights and peace movements.

The 60-member board called Dr. King's plan "a serious tactical mistake." In a resolution adopted at its quarterly meeting here, the board said the effort to fuse the two movements "will serve the cause neither of civil rights nor of peace."

Dr. King, in a speech here last Tuesday, called on Negroes and "all whites of goodwill" to boycott the Vietnam war by becoming conscientious objectors to military service.

"A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death," Dr. King had asserted.

The N.A.A.C.P. resolution stated as follows:

"Civil rights battles will have to be fought and won on their own merits, irrespective of the state of war or peace in the world.

"We are not a peace organization nor a foreign policy association. We are a civil rights organization. The N.A.A.C.P. remains committed to its primary goal of eliminating all forms of racial discrimination and achieving equal rights and equal opportunities for all Americans.

"We are, of course, for a just peace. But there already exist dedicated organizations whose No. 1 task is to work for peace just as our No. 1 job is to work for civil rights."

The statement, which did not mention Dr. King by name, was the first by the group on the war in Vietnam. Last week,

Continued on Page 17, Column 1

N.A.A.C.P. TO AVOID STAND ON VIETNAM

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Whitney M. Young Jr., director of the National Urban League, said the peace and civil rights movements had different goals and that it would be inappropriate to merge them.

Time for Declaration

The N.A.A.C.P.'s director of public relations, Henry Lee Moon, asked whether the resolution had been intended as a reply to Dr. King, said:

"We felt it was time to make a declaration, to make our position clear."

Dr. King's speech also drew criticism yesterday from Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York:

"It's certainly bound to be resented," Senator Javits said, "by the country which is deeply involved in the war and which feels it can certainly do justice by the Negro at one and the same time."

Dr. King could not be reached for comment.

Czech Plant Requires

King's Dual Role Attacked by Bunche

MOVEMENT By JOHN SIBLEY AC 4/13/67

(Copyright 1967 by the New York Times Co.)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Dr. Ralph J. Bunche asserted Wednesday that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. should not try simultaneously to lead the civil rights movement and the crusade against U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

"In my view, Dr. King should positively and publicly give up one role or the other," declared Bunche, the U. N. undersecretary for political affairs. "The two efforts have too little in common."

King, replying later to Bunche and other critics, challenged them to "take a forthright stand on the rightness or wrongness of this war, rather than going off creating a non-existent issue."

KING REPLIES

At a news conference in Los Angeles, King stated:

"No one can pretend that the existence of the war is not profoundly affecting the destiny of civil rights progress."

Bunche said he was commenting not as an official of the United Nations but as a U. S. citizen. He is a director of the NAACP. The NAACP's 60-member board voted unanimously on Monday to oppose the effort to merge the civil rights and peace movements.

Bunche disclosed in an interview Wednesday that it was he who had moved to toughen the language of the NAACP resolution by denouncing the merger attempt as "a serious tactical mistake."

He added that Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and another NAACP director, supported his proposal.

NOT AN ATTACK

The phrase "serious tactical mistake" had occurred to him immediately, Bunche remarked, "because I had planned to use it in a speech I was supposed to make last Thursday at the University of Chicago."

Bunche stressed that he was not attacking King for the position he has taken on the U.S. role in Vietnam. His undelivered Chicago speech said of King:

"He is, after all, an active clergyman and naturally sensitive to moral issues and values. But he should realize that his anti-U.S.-in-Vietnam crusade is bound to alienate many friends and supporters of the civil rights movement and greatly weaken it—an ironic twist for a civil rights leader."

REFUSES STAND

Bunche declined to state whether he agreed with King's assertion that Negro troops are in Vietnam "in disproportionate numbers" and are suffering more than their share of hardships, injuries and deaths there.

MOVEMENT

these questions have been asked . . .

does Martin Luther King, Jr. have

THE RIGHT?
THE QUALIFICATIONS?
THE DUTY?

to speak out on Peace

In recent weeks some of the press has headlined several attacks on Dr. King's expressions on peace. Most people do not have an opportunity to read rebuttals which are always less prominently presented. They are particularly important because more than a few of the attacks were based on misconceptions of Dr. King's positions. An example is Dr. Bunche's criticism which was trumpeted on T.V. & Radio and beneath monster newspaper headlines. When Dr. Bunche withdrew his criticism with characteristic forthrightness and speed, his remarks were almost universally ignored by the press.

I think you will find this small sampling of perceptive observations as fascinating as I did and these reprints may help to redress the imbalance in the way news commentary reaches us.

Andrew Young
National Executive Director, SCLC

The New York Times

SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 1967

Another Opinion

Dr. King's Moral Stand

The following defense of Dr. Martin Luther King's anti-Vietnam war stand was written by James P. Brown, an editorial writer for The Providence Journal. It appeared in that paper last week as the column One Man's Opinion under the title "Dr. King's Critics Don't Understand."

• • •

Dr. King's critics don't understand the situation. They don't understand Dr. King. They don't understand the civil-rights movement. They don't understand the war in Vietnam. Above all, they fail to perceive the moral thread that ties this man and these causes inescapably together. . .

. . . Although Dr. King's estimates of civilian deaths in Vietnam may be exaggerated, there can be no question in the mind of any reasonable person that American forces in Vietnam, no matter how honorable their intentions, are heaping hideous destruction on many thousands of innocent people. Although Americans are not committing the deliberate atrocities that the Nazis committed, our leaders have argued that our ends in Vietnam justify means that are clearly contrary to conscience. We once condemned Hitler for embracing this immoral doctrine.

Compelled to Speak Out

As to the harm Dr. King's unpopular stand on Vietnam may do the civil-rights cause, this is, indeed, tragic. It would have been expedient for Dr. King to keep silent. But Dr. King is not just another Negro fighting for his rights. He is a minister of God, a disciple of the Prince of Peace and of Gandhi. His leadership of the civil-rights movement springs from his moral integrity, not from his skill as a political tactician. As a man of conscience, he is compelled to speak out against the wrong of the Vietnam war just as he has been compelled to stand against the wrong of racial injustice. . . .

Until recently, racial injustice was the central moral issue confronting the conscience of Americans. This issue remains. But it is being overshadowed, and in many ways adversely affected, by the larger moral issue posed by our actions in Vietnam.

There are many for whom it would be expedient not to speak out against the Vietnam war. Politicians, businessmen, teachers, clergymen, editors —all might argue that they have other important tasks that would be compromised if they embraced this unpopular cause. This is no excuse for silence.

Explaining his own strong stand on the Vietnam issue in a recent issue of the Yale Alumni Magazine, Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin Jr. wrote:

• • •

"Now let us suppose that a man has conscientiously done his homework on the war in Vietnam, and that his homework has led him to the following conclusions: that while it is true that we are fighting Communists, it is more profound to say that we have been intervening in another country's civil war; that despite the billions of dollars of aid, the heroic labor and blood of many Americans, the Saigon Government from Diem to Ky has been unable to talk convincingly to its people of national independence, land reform and other forms of social justice; that the war is being waged in a fashion so out of character with American instincts of decency that it is seriously undermining them (which is not to say that the V.C.'s are Boy Scouts, which they clearly are not); that the strains of the war have cut the funds that might otherwise be applied to anti-poverty efforts at home and abroad (which is the intelligent way to fight Communism); and finally, that the war would have a good chance of being negotiated to an end were we to stop the bombing in North Vietnam.

"If a man's homework leads him to these conclusions, then surely it is not his patriotic duty to cheer or stand silent as good Americans die bravely in a bad cause. . . ."

Like Mr. Coffin, like Rhode Island's Rev. Albert Q. Perry and a growing number of other religious leaders here and elsewhere, Dr. King has answered the call of a higher power. He has put his body on the line.

Detroit Free Press

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1967

As We See It

Dr. King Strengthens An Anti-War Coalition

HE RECALLED HOW this nation first became involved in Vietnam and got on the "wrong side of the world revolution" by sending aid in 1945 to the French who were seeking to perpetrate colonial rule over what was then Indochina.

He quoted from the Epistle of Saint John on the power of love.

He recited lines from a poem by James Russell Lowell:

Once to very man and nation
Comes the moment to decide
In the strife of truth and falsehood
For the good or evil side . . .

Thus, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called on Americans to protest this nation's war in Vietnam. In a major address at Riverside Church in New York, the Negro civil rights leader committed himself to a crusade against a war which he says is immoral in many ways.

He went further than many Americans opposing the war may be willing to go; he went further than this newspaper is willing to go. He advocated a boycott of the war effort and suggested that draft-age men declare themselves conscientious objectors.

But his stand holds clear political implications.

Dr. King articulates latent Negro opposition to a war which Negroes feel takes a disproportionate number of their sons to the jungles of Vietnam, which diverts the nation's attention from civil rights problems and its coin from the tasks of rebuilding cities and improving the lot of the ghetto dwellers.

Dr. King bases his dissent from the Johnson administration's Vietnam policies on "the mandates of conscience and the reading of history." He asserts that in Vietnam "we are adding cynicism to the process of death . . . We are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create a hell for the poor. Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now."

According to Dr. King this nation should atone for its sins and errors by taking the initiative in bringing peace. He proposes five things for the government to do:

- End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.
- Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope of creating an atmosphere for negotiation.
- Curtail military build-ups in Thailand and our interference in Laos to prevent new wars.
- Accept the fact that the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, has considerable support in South Vietnam and must play a role in its government.
- Set a date for removing all foreign troops from Vietnam as required by the Geneva Accords of 1954.

If the Johnson administration may consider Dr. King's proposals wholly unacceptable, this newspaper does not. Nor, we trust, will others. His proposals are similar to ones put forward by world leaders in other capitals; they comply with the terms of the Geneva Accords which the administration so often insists it is only seeking to implement.

Dr. King's speech is important for reasons other than his specific criticisms or his suggestions. It is important because it signals what may become widespread Negro opposition to the Vietnam war.

If it comes, this Negro opposition will not be isolated. Much of the nation's intellectual community—its articulate university scholars and students—also oppose the war and these campus-oriented groups may become more active in the months ahead. On Monday this newspaper reprinted a hard hitting speech in which Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, vigorously criticized the war and urged the administration to take new peace initiatives and to attach no preconditions on negotiations.

The Negroes. The liberal intellectuals. The labor movement.

These groups helped form the coalition which has kept the Democratic Party in power for most of the last third of a century.

The implication Dr. King's speech holds is that the Vietnam war may become an even larger issue for Americans in the months ahead and that the old Democratic coalition may remain fairly solidified but no longer in the Democratic Party as led by President Johnson.

It's an implication Gov. Romney, as he prepares his remarks on the Vietnam war, ought to weigh.

New York Post
MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1967

The Color of War

MAX LERNER

It is important to get it settled in our thinking once and for all: Is the Vietnam war a war of color or isn't it? If it is, then the belief of American Negroes in it is bound to be seriously compromised. If it isn't, then all that talk about its being a white man's war fought by black men is inexcusably irresponsible.

The current debate about the color of the war has been swirling around Dr. Martin Luther King, but it is unfair to tag him with it. What King did was to lend his voice and moral backing to the mass anti-war demonstration at the UN Plaza and in Central Park. Without him the speakers' list would have been a good deal thinner in substance, and the crowd not as massive. But King's views on the color of the war are different from those of Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael. The difference is an important one.

* * *

King says that the Vietnam war is immoral because it involves no American national interest that couldn't have been negotiated short of war. It is a perfectly defensible position, no different from that of Sen. Fulbright. It is also understandable how King, holding this view, should say that the war is linked with the civil rights movement—that the absorption with so expensive a war means less money and less psychic energy available for civil rights and the inner city. If King were white, not black, no one could deny his right to make this connection. Why then fault him as a black? Why ask him to decide which movement—peace or civil rights—he wants to fight for? Clearly he wants to fight for both.

* * *

I find this kind of talk, as well as the talk about American genocide, pretty dreary. The war is bad enough without distorting it to make it worse than it is. You can be against the war on a variety of grounds, but when you see it as a war of color you give a wild intensity to color hatreds, and you sharpen that line of color militancy which alone can divide America and set human being against human being in a senseless irrational color struggle.

* * *

As for King himself, it was inevitable that he should broaden out from his civil rights leadership to an anti-war militancy. As a Nobel Peace Prize laureate he couldn't stay out of the peace movement, especially when so many of his fellow clergymen are active in it. . .

. . . There have been disputes about the size of the New York demonstration, whether it was a hundred thousand or a quarter of a million or more. Yet what counted about it was not only its size but the fact that it was held, and that most of the people who came to it were not either color-conscious or politics-conscious, but only wanted to make their presence felt for peace.

* * *

Dr. King knows this, and knows how to avoid being used. But can one say this equally about some of the people at whose side he spoke, in a very different language?

THE NATION April 24, 1967
Combined with FRONTIER

Dr. King is certainly no firebrand, and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference has served as a bridge between the moderate civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, and the militant Congress of Racial Equality and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Hence, as in all such cases, the chastisement begins with a tone more in sorrow than in anger, in the hope that the erring sinner, having learned his lesson, will return to the fold. Dr. King's "friends" have spoken of his "tragic" (or "monumental") mistake, the "sorrowful occasion" which compels them to part from him, the "grave injury" he has done to the civil rights movement and to himself. "Many who have listened to him with respect," *The Washington Post* editorializes, "will never again accord him the same confidence." His usefulness, in this view, is all but over, unless he repairs quickly to the mourners' bench.

What has happened, what is going to happen, tells much about Dr. King as a man and a moral leader; it tells even more about the Establishment. What did its officers expect him to do? Stand still, with summer coming up and tensions rising? The more sensible voices among those who deplore Dr. King's declaration are compelled to concede that the civil rights movement has been stymied, and that the war, if not the sole cause, is the principal one. So once again they expect the Negro to wait, despite the fact that the President could (*The Nation* does not advocate it), by imposing wage and price controls, carry on both the war and civil rights programs. But that would reduce the prospects for a continuance of profit at the level to which business has become accustomed—the more so because some slight faltering in the onrush of "prosperity" has become evident. This course does not appeal to Mr. Johnson, who, under his Populist cloak, is about as business-minded a President as any we have had in this century. Thus we behold once more the familiar spectacle of pseudo-liberalism seizing on a war in order to avoid expenditures it never liked and to which it yielded only under duress.

• • •

The leaders of the moderate civil rights organizations have played along with the powers that be, hoping to placate them and to receive a measure of continued support, while giving their own members an impression of practicality merged with aggressiveness. This dual role Dr. King has now made more difficult, and the leaders don't like it.

One of the biggest myths of U.S. politics, and the most convenient for the Establishment, is that foreign policy has no relation to domestic need. The fact is, quite apart from Vietnam, that one cannot push a reform movement as significant as the Negro's demand for full equality, and at the same time pursue a policy which makes us the world's policeman. The whole history of the civil rights movement shows the incompatibility. In the darkest days of the cold war, say from 1947 to 1955, Negro rights were shelved. There were splendid opportunities, as when Eisenhower came into office in 1952 and the Supreme Court made its decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954, but he did not act, nor did Congress. The 1955-65 decade saw a slight breather in the cold war, enough to make civil rights gains possible. Now, with the deepening involvement in Vietnam, things are at a standstill once more. The whole history refutes King's critics.

Equally to the point, King spoke because he cannot play fast and loose with the moral issues which American power and the zooming technology of war have forced on public notice. He could not urge his people to practice nonviolence in the streets of American cities and condone violence in the jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam. It is significant that the NAACP did not attack King's moral stand, only his operational strategy. They would like to keep moral conviction and public action apart. But the time is past when the separation could be maintained. The partition has been broken, and it will not be rebuilt.

The critics who were never friends of King's, and who never made common cause with him, are more severe than those who have lost an ally—and the storm is only beginning. We are told that in proposing a boycott of the war he is stopping just short of sedition. The next step will be to accuse him of outright sedition, which is the verbal form of treason, and to try to shut him up. Dr. King has offered himself as the symbol of the moral force which got him his present prominence and the Nobel Prize. The imminent showdown may well center upon him. Whatever the consequences may be for King himself, the issues will be clearer for Negroes and whites alike by the time the voters go to the polls in 1968.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1967

Letters to the Editor of The Times

Dr. King's Peace Stand Supported

To the Editor:

By commenting as it did in the editorial "Dr. King's Error" (April 7) The Times has, in my estimation, committed an error it will want later to rectify and done an unfortunate disservice to a great American and a great Christian.

Perhaps you allowed Dr. King's harsh charges ("recklessly comparing American military methods to those of the Nazis") to distract you from the main thrust of his action. The objection, however, to his "fusing of two public problems that are quite distinct and separate" has an odd ring to it, coming as it does from a newspaper which has always stressed integrity and the indivisibility of freedom.

The two issues are fused in Dr. King because he is a man of peace who said on April 2: "It would be very inconsistent of me to teach and preach nonviolence . . . and then applaud violence when thousands of thousands of people, both adults and children, are being maimed and mutilated and many killed in this war."

The reason Dr. King says "the Great Society has been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam" is not because he contests your assertion that "the nation could afford to make more funds available to combat poverty even while the war in Vietnam continues." It is rather because he knows that Congress will not make more funds available so long as this war continues. Dr. King uses the old Biblical saying: "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," and maintains that the heart of Congress and of the Administration is in this war.

The Times says Dr. King has every right and obligation to explore the ethical implications of the war "as an individual," yet it is only "as an individual" that he has spoken out. He has not committed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as an organization to participate in any action. Moreover, his reasons for speaking out go far beyond his feeling that "the two issues are inextricably bound together" and his insight into "the interrelatedness of racism and militarism." It is because, as he says, "I love America" and "want to see our great nation really stand up as the moral example of the world."

It is because he wants "to arouse the conscience of the nation . . . so that at least we can move more and more toward a negotiated settlement of that terrible conflict . . . and it is out of this moral commitment to dignity and the worth of human personality that I feel it is necessary to stand up against the war in Vietnam."

Quite rightly Dr. King insists "the United States must take the first steps, I mean the initiative, to create an atmosphere for negotiation. . . ."

Are we, as a nation, so lacking in self-confidence, courage and faith that we, in all our might, cannot bring ourselves to launch such a crucial initiative?

JOHN P. C. MATTHEWS
Princeton, N. J., April 8, 1967

DR. KING DISAVOWAL ACCEPTED BY BUNCHE

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., April 13—Dr. Ralph J. Bunche said today he accepted "at face value" the disavowal by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of any effort to merge the civil rights movement and the campaign against United States involvement in Vietnam.

Later in the day, speaking in Los Angeles, Dr. King declared:

"We do not believe in any merger or fusion of movements, but we can equally believe that no one can pretend that the existence of the war is not profoundly affecting the destiny of civil rights progress."

Dr. Bunche, in a statement today, responded:

"I am very happy to see this statement by Dr. King." Dr. Bunche added:

"So far as I'm concerned—and I speak only for myself—Dr. King's disavowal of any such intent takes care of the issue to which my statement had been directed."

New York Post

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1967

An Un-Patriot?

JAMES A. WECHSLER

In a small, crowded room at the Biltmore, three hours before Gen. Westmoreland delivered his pep talk at the Associated Press luncheon not many blocks away, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King was reaffirming his refusal to be intimidated by the flag-waving binge foreshadowed by the Westmoreland mission here.

The occasion was a news conference to announce the largest coalition of religious, civic and public leaders so far organized in protest against U.S. escalation in Vietnam. It is launching a campaign under the slogan "Negotiation Now"—with cessation of our bombings described as the first step.

Presumably Gen. Westmoreland was unaware, when he applied the label "unpatriotic acts" to home-front dissent, that such groups as the National Council of Churches, the Unitarian Universalist Association and the Christian Citizenship Dept. of the Episcopal Church had joined hands with SANE, ADA, the Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Congress and numerous others in broadening the base of the anti-escalation movement.

* * *

There has been a concerted drive in recent weeks, quietly encouraged by Administration spokesmen, to isolate King as a "far-out" figure and depict him as the captive of the fringe unilateral-withdrawal faction. His designation as major spokesman for the new coalition was an answer to that attack.

King's agreement to undertake the assignment reflected his own resolve to impart an ecumenical quality to the anti-war protest. He is deeply convinced there is a great unease in the country about the war. While he recognizes, as he sadly observed yesterday, that there are also many who favor new and more adventurous military action, he believes that "never in the history of our nation" have so many Americans been afflicted by conscientious doubts.

Inevitably he was asked about the charge that peace marches may reduce rather than enhance Hanoi's willingness to negotiate a settlement.

"I am sure that our bombings do much more to harden resistance in Vietnam than any peace demonstration possibly could," he said quietly. He conceded he could offer no assurance that a bombing-halt would lead to negotiations, but he noted that both U Thant and Soviet spokesmen have said that it would.

"We can take the chance because of the vast power we have as a nation," he said. Then, almost as if anticipating Westmoreland's rhetoric, he said solemnly: "I speak not out of a hatred for America but a love for America. We have morally and politically isolated ourselves from much of humanity . . . I want to see us set a moral example."

* * *

Some pro-Administration journalists have again written King's obituary. It has been said that his involvement in the Vietnam conflict has fatally injured his stature as a civil rights leader. Yet he remains a curiously resilient figure with a special capacity for communicating with wide varieties of people. His judgment now is that the war shadows all other events, and that no one with any pretension to leadership can ignore its existence. And non-violence remains his fighting faith.

To those who say he should have stuck to his civil rights role, he answers: "I don't believe in segregating any principles."

* * *

The New York Times

Letters to the Editor of The Times

Dr. King's Place in Civil-Rights Tradition

To the Editor:

Dr. Martin Luther King's argument that the war in Vietnam has precluded meaningful attempts to cope with poverty and discrimination at home may or may not be correct. His conclusion that, as a civil-rights leader, he must therefore oppose that war may or may not be wise. But the implication made by many of his critics that, as a civil-rights leader, Dr. King departs radically from precedent in speaking out against American foreign policy, cannot bear historical examination.

The fact is, though some seem to have forgotten it, that many of the initial leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were men who devoted much of their public careers openly to attacking American foreign policy. The first president of the association, Moorfield Storey, assumed that office already known as a persistent critic of the American acquisition of the Philippines.

While serving as president between 1910 and 1929, Storey continued his anti-imperialism, publicly condemning American interventions in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, and in Nicaragua.

No Criticism of Leaders

Oswald Garrison Villard, the first treasurer of the association, was one of the stanchest critics of the Treaty of Versailles and remained an opponent of "foreign entanglements" throughout his life. Though the situation of the Negro American was even more perilous then than now, neither Storey nor Villard was, to the best of my knowledge, attacked for speaking out on foreign-policy issues while serving with the association, nor was it suggested that their positions somehow hurt the cause of civil rights.

• • •

But it has also been forgotten that the precedent of a civil-rights organization, as an organization, criticizing American foreign policy, was set not by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, let alone by Dr. King, but by the N.A.A.C.P. through its executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson, in connection with the American occupation of Haiti. The intervention in Haiti and the intervention in Vietnam may be different in intent, but surely they are equally "foreign policy"—as distinguished from "civil-rights"—issues.

Whatever the merits of Dr. King's position, in short, he stands in a solid historical tradition when, as a civil-rights leader, he speaks out against American foreign policy.

WILLIAM B. HIXON JR.
Instructor in History
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Mich.
April 10, 1967

A CLOSING NOTE . . .

Although SCLC engages its primary attention in civil rights, its board unanimously supports Dr. King's right to speak as well as his position on the war. We do not feel that Dr. King will injure the civil rights movement by his stand on peace. He believes the civil rights movement stands on its own merits and does not believe people will withhold support from it, nor give support to it, based on his positions on peace. His integrity and moral leadership would both be corrupted if he kept a dishonest silence.

Since he believes the existence of the war is profoundly damaging domestic democratic progress, both his sense of responsibility and his moral conscience impel him to express his views even as he continues unabated in his vigorous civil rights work.

A. Y.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE Wednesday, May 10, 1967
Page 8, Section 10

MOVEMENT

Wilkins Views Issues

Another 'Long, Hot Summer?'

BY AL KUETTNER

New York (UPI) — "Thousands of young Negroes will be turned loose from school this summer with muscles in their arms and mischief in their minds. We must find jobs for them or we are going to have trouble."

Speaker: Roy Wilkins, executive director of the 460,000-member National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Time: May, 1967.

Will it be another "long, hot summer" of street rioting, as predicted by racial leaders with less optimism and more militancy than Wilkins?

"All the ingredients are there, but I don't think it has to happen," Wilkins said in an exclusive interview with United Press International in which he touched on wide-ranging aspects of the civil rights movement.

Eager to Work

Wilkins feels there must be aggressive cooperation at all levels of government and business to make available jobs on a massive scale to young Negroes, who, he insists, are now qualified and eager to work.

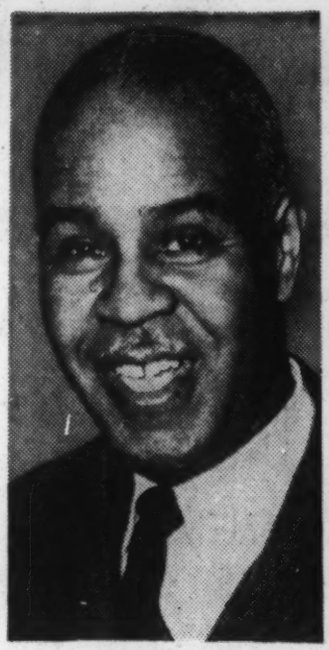
"Last summer the unemployment among Negro teen-agers was 32 per 100 as against 14 per 100 for whites," he said. "All I can say is that if this summer you have one out of three Negro teen-agers wandering around, you are going to have trouble. You better find jobs."

In his annual manpower report to Congress last week, President Johnson called for "new directions" in hiring policies to absorb many of the 2 million unemployed in the nation. He said they were mainly school dropouts, minority groups and older and handicapped workers.

Assails War Link

Wilkins denounces in strong terms efforts by such leaders as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to link their organizations with get-out-of-Vietnam drives.

"Civil rights is our business and that's all we have a right to be as organizations," he said. "I don't care what a per-



ROY WILKINS
"You Better Find Jobs"

and do everything possible to see that it is."

On the peace movement controversy involving some Negro leaders:

"I have no comment on a man's moral reaction to the war. But I urge the American people not to judge what a John X says about the draft law in judging what 20 million American Negroes should have in the form of equal employment opportunities.

"Cassius Clay is a very skillful championship boxer. It is a pleasure to watch him fight. But I refuse to accept him as a symbol of 20 million Americans. . .

"The Negro in this country has a history of loyalty in wartime. He knows he hasn't gotten a square deal from his country but nevertheless it's his country.

"I think that tactically, whether he intended it or not, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has diverted the energies and attention of the Negro population and his friends among whites from civil rights as the central issue to war and peace.

"This is regrettable. I prefer to keep my feelings about this war out of the discussion of civil rights. If you mix the two together or try to tie them together, you do a disservice to both. (The King stand) is confusing our followers so that, when you call on the public for help on this civil rights bill, they say,

was 32 per 100 as against 14 per 100 for whites," he said. "All I can say is that if this summer you have one out of three Negro teen-agers wandering around, you are going to have trouble. You better find jobs."

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"Civil rights is our business and that's all we have a right to be as organizations," he said. "I don't care what a person thinks as an individual."

Wilkins, whose organization was banned in Alabama for several years, gently scoffs at former Gov. George Wallace who has boasted that "most Negroes" in his state voted for his wife when she was elected governor recently. He feels Wallace is using misleading figures.

No Plans to Retire

Wiry and alert at 65, Wilkins shows no signs of retirement. At present, he is marshalling forces for the new civil rights bill and beginning to map strategy for the Negro's role in the 1968 presidential election.

He views President Johnson as the "most sincere" chief executive on civil rights in history.

Wilkins apparently has weathered a "young Turk" storm that could have sent the NAACP ship onto the rocks a few years ago. Negro youths accused the organization of selling out to the white power structure and of being satisfied with status quo for the 11 percent of the U.S. population who are Negroes.

Civil Rights Views

On issues swirling around the civil rights theme, Wilkins had this to say:

On the summer ahead:

"I hope it will be mild. Trouble will be at a minimum if cities will do what they should on minority rights — especially on teen-age jobs. But much work still needs to be done on civil rights. Our job is far from over."

On the new civil rights bill which expands voting, employment and housing privileges for Negroes:

"This new act is intended to tidy up those already passed . . . a kind of clean-up operation. We feel optimistic that we can get the act passed this summer (a similar effort failed last year).

"You ask if it will take more demonstrations to obtain a new act; I hope not. We expect Congress to move on the urgency of the situation. I must say that the mood of the Negro population is one of skepticism with regard to relief through legislation.

"There is a common expression that the only time the responsible white power structure as they call it—and I hate the term—the only time it moves is when there is a riot. I would hate for that to be proved true this year.

"We will work very hard to see that this bill is enacted can Negroes should have in the form of equal employment opportunities.

"Cassius Clay is a very skillful championship boxer. It is a pleasure to watch him fight. But I refuse to accept him as a symbol of 20 million Americans. . .

"The Negro in this country has a history of loyalty in wartime. He knows he hasn't gotten a square deal from his country but nevertheless it's his country.

"I think that tactically, whether he intended it or not, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has diverted the energies and attention of the Negro population and his friends among whites from civil rights as the central issue to war and peace.

"This is regrettable. I prefer to keep my feelings about this war out of the discussion of civil rights. If you mix the two together or try to tie them together, you do a disservice to both. (The King stand) is confusing our followers so that, when you call on the public for help on this civil rights bill, they say, 'Well, isn't this the gang that was against the Vietnam war?' "

Views on Wallace

"As to Mr. Wallace's desire to run for president, I think the answer is simple. There is a strong feeling in this country against what they call 'big government' and a strong feeling that 'we can do it better than they can down there in Washington.' This doesn't have anything to do with civil rights and it is not a feeling confined to one region.

"Mr. Wallace thinks he can exploit that feeling.

"I also feel that it would be pertinent for Mr. Walllace to cite the predicament of the Negroes in Alabama if he's trying to sell his brand of racial equality to the rest of the country—how do they stack up, what jobs do they have, how are their schools, what process of integration takes place? The fact is, the situation of the Negro is not good in Alabama."

Powell Issue

On the issue of Adam Clayton Powell:

"It occurred at a most unfortunate time. It was a diversion on the civil rights front at the very time the new Congress was organizing, when new lines were being formed, when strategies were being developed. The Negro population was outraged and I feel personally justifiably so at the treatment accorded Adam Clayton Powell. But we wasted the whole first quarter of 1967 arguing about Adam."

On President Johnson's support of the civil rights movement:

"At the risk of being termed a Johnson stooge, I will have to answer in the affirmative. My contacts with the President and the facts on what he has done lead me to believe he is the most sincere President on this issue, has said more and done more and pointed out more areas for correction than any President in history."

On black power:

"I saw where the dean of students at Columbia called it 'romantic nonsense.' The fact is this is a slogan, and slogans never solved any economic, social or political problems."

Tokyo Trade Fair

Tokyo (AP)—Officials of the Washington State Pavilion at the eventh Tokyo International Trade Fair say 183 business contacts were made on the basis of inquiries at the pavilion.

ouse Unit Ready to Curb esegregation Guidelines

5/12/67

Appropriations Panel Seeks Southern Votes to Block a G.O.P. Substitute for Johnson's School Aid Plan

SCHOOL DESEG

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 11—A House Appropriations subcommittee has tentatively agreed to Southern demands for Congressional curbs on school desegregation guidelines.

The move is a part of the backstage maneuvering now under way as the Administration's school aid bill, delayed for nearly a month, heads for a showdown on the floor the week after next.

Southern Democratic votes will be crucial in the Administration's effort to block a Republican substitute bill.

While Democrats outnumber Republicans, 247 to 187, the 83 Democrats from the 11 Southern states hold the balance of power.

The Administration bill proposes a $3.5-billion one-year extension, starting in July of next year, of programs of aid to elementary and secondary school children, primarily those in poverty areas. The Republicans ha proposed a substitute under whcich lump sum grants would be given to the states.

In return for their votes, Southern Democrats have held out firmly for some relief from school desegregation guidelines.

The principal move in this direction is expected to come from the House Appropriations subcommittee, which allocates funds for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The subcommittee is prepared to bring out a money bill that would bar the use of Federal funds for achieving percentage desegregation goals—a key element in the school desegrega-

Continued on Page 39, Colu

HOUSE UNIT MAPS GUIDELINES CURB

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

tion guidelines.

Under the Office of Education's desegregation guidelines, school systems that are 8 or 9 per cent desegregated are expected to double that rate this year, while districts with a lower desegregation rate are expected to make "proportionately greater efforts to catch up with the leaders."

Southerners have bitterly protested that use of percentages or quotas, violates the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 under which the use of the law to correct "racial imbalance" is forbidden.

If integration quotas are set in the South, the Southerners argue, then Southern school systems will be expected to have more integration than their Northern counterparts.

Just this month, the Supreme Court refused to delay enforcement of a top-to-bottom school desegregation decision handed down last month by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

The Court of Appeals, in its 8-to-4 decision, had ruled that it was possible for the Office of Education to use percentages without violating the civil rights act.

Despite the ruling, Southern efforts to hamstring the school desegregation guidelines are expected to win final approval in the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, Education and Welfare and perhaps in Congress as a whole.

Backers of the plan insist that it would not constitute an effort to legislate within the framework of an appropriations bill.

They argue that the crackdown on guidelines will merely be a reieration of Congressional intent under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They point out that the act specifically said that "desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

Southerners also are expected to wage a strong—and possibly successful—floor fight to amend the Administration's school aid authorization bill to provide further relief from the guidelines.

Democratic leaders have virtually agreed to accept one Southern proposal that would require a hearing in advance on any move to delay Federal funds to a school district suspected of practicing discrimination.

The House adopted an identical amendment last year, by a vote of 220 to 116. However, it was switched around in Senate-House conference to provide a 90-day limit on Federal deferment of funds.

Two administrative actions within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare this week have also been viewed by many as timely efforts to woo Southern support for the embattled school aid bill.

One action, in effect swept the power of Harold Howe 2d, the United States Commissioner of Education, to enforce desegregation guidelines by cutting funds to noncomplying schools.

The move, announced yesterday, places all civil rights enforcement activities within the office of John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Until now, various bureaus within the department have administered civil rights enforcement in conjunction with their programs—public health, education, vocational rehabilitation, aging and welfare.

Mr. Gardner said that he had acted under a year-old instruction from the House Appropriations subcommittee which handles his department's funds. While the subcommittee's instructions are not law, Executive departments generally follow them to avoid the difficulties over their budgets.

The move was generally viewed as well-timed to soothe Southern complaints.

Mr. Gardner said that he had acted under a year-old order from the House appropriations subcommittee that handles his department's funds. However, the move was generally viewed as well timed to soothe Southern complaints.

Although some Southerners expressed satisfaction today over the shifting of guidelines enforcement away from Mr. Howe, they said that this alone would not win them over to the Administration's school aid bill.

Another administrative move, announced just this week, involves use of Southern educators to serve as desegregation compliance officers in hardcore Southern school districts this summer.

Last summer, about 100 law students most of them from the North, were hired to work with and investigate Southern school districts having trouble with desegregation orders. Many Southern superintendents and principals complained that the young law students were arrogant and did not understand Southern desegregation problems.

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MOVEMENT NYT 5/12/67

CORE LEADER GETS FELLOWSHIP HERE

Innis to Study City Problems Under Ford Grant

By EARL CALDWELL

Roy Innis, militant leader of the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, yesterday became the first civil rights fellow-in-residence of an organization that analyzes urban and civil rights problems.

Announcement of Mr. Innis's selection was made after the Ford Foundation had granted $500,000 to the organization, the Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

The center also announced that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and one of his chief aides, the Rev. Andrew Young, secretary-treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had agreed to take part in the fellowship program.

The fellowships, which offer new services to civil rights leaders, were announced by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the social scientist who is also president of the organization.

One of Seven Grants

The grant to the center was the largest of seven announced by the Ford Foundation yesterday. All were to aid various civil rights and antipoverty programs.

According to Dr. Clark, fellowship-in-residence to Mr. Innis, an outspoken advocate of black power, is for six months, but is renewable.

The civil rights fellowships are designed to give the leaders the opportunity to evaluate their programs and tactics and to indulge in long-range planning.

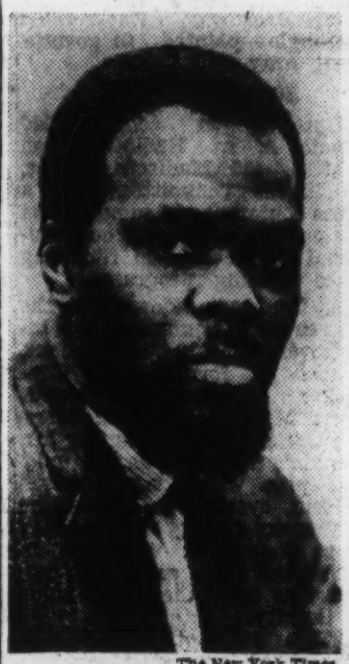
During the fellowship period, the center is making available to the civil rights figures its professional research staff, consulting social scientists and other services that many of the activists—particularly those at the local level—do not normally have.

Community and Education

Mr. Innis, who has taken leave from his position as a chemist at Montefiore Hospital to accept the fellowship, will use his time to study community organizations as related to problems of education.

Dr. King and Mr. Young, because of the demands on their time, have flexible agreements with the centre as to the use of their fellowships.

Dr. Clark said he had also discussed similar fellowships with other civil rights leaders, including Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE; Stokeley Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



The New York Times

GRANTED FELLOWSHIP: Roy Innis, chairman of Harlem CORE, is Metropolitan Applied Research Center's first civil rights fellow.

Dr. Clark said the Ford Foundation funds would enable his group to grant four academic fellowships to social scientists and three student internships.

'Valuable Experience'

One of the academic fellowships has already been granted to Dr. Hylan Lewis, professor of sociology at Howard University. He is directing the fellowship and internship programs.

Dr. Clark, who is on leave from his post as professor of psychology at City College, declined to predict the impact this program would have on the civil rights movement, but he said that "in terms of individuals, it would seem to be a valuable experience."

He said the fellowships would give civil rights activists some scholarly perspective, and give scholars more insights into practical civil rights activities.

First Lady Returns to Capital

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson returned to Washington yesterday afternoon on an Eastern Air Lines shuttle after a brief visit here. She had come Wednesday and attended a concert at Carnegie Hall for retired employes of hte International Ladies Garment Workers Union. She received an award that evening from the Citizens Committee for Children of New York at a dinner at the Hotel Pierre.

MOVEMENT

AJ 5/17/67

Carmichael Calls LBJ 'Hunky and Buffoon'

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Stokely Carmichael, linked by the FBI to a secret Marxist-Leninist group dedicated to overthrowing the government, says President Johnson is a buffoon leading a nation of murderers and cowards.

Carmichael made the statements during a peace rally Tuesday night just hours after it was disclosed that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had told Congress about Carmichael's alleged connections with the subversive group.

Addressing 1,000 persons at a mobilization for peace meeting, Carmichael called the President a "hunky"—a derisive term for a white man—and urged young men to go to jail rather than fight in Vietnam.

"We're going to eat their jail food and call them better fed than dead," Carmichael said. He repeatedly referred to Johnson as a "hunky" and a "buffoon" in his address.

IN TESTIMONY before a House panel that was made public Tuesday, Hoover said Carmichael has been "in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese Communist organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals."

RAM "is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary," Hoover said, "and its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxist-Leninism."

Hoover also noted that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which Carmichael headed until his recent resignation, had taken an active stand in opposition to U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

FCC Chief Pledges Better Mobile Radio

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Chairman Rosel H. Hyde of the Federal Communications Commission says more and clearer radio channels will be assigned to police departments, taxi companies and others who use mobile radio.

Hyde told a national manufacturers association group that congestion and interference on present channels "cannot be tolerated." He promised a major reassignment of frequencies would be made.

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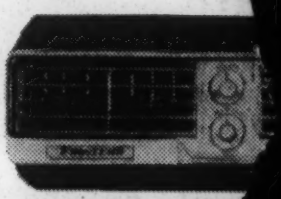
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CARMICHAEL SEES REVOLUTION NEAR

MOVEMENT

Tells Coast Parley Negroes Are Past Talk of Reform

5/28/67

By EARL CALDWELL

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 27—Stokely Carmichael told a wildly cheering all Negro audience last night that Negroes could "no longer talk about reform" but were "going to have to talk about revolution."

Mr. Carmichael, former national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, called for the forming of more "self-defense groups" in keynoting the California Black Conference on the Survival of Black People.

Nearly 1,200 Negroes from across the state crowded the Jefferson High School auditorium in the Watts District of Los Angeles, still scarred from racial disorder two summers ago, for the opening session of the three-day conference.

Wilfred T. Ussery, national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, said that the conference was designed to find ways of meeting "the growing threat of black people."

Threat Discussed

In discussing this threat, he Ronald Reagan, a conservative Republican, as Governor of California and Lester G. Maddox, a Democrat whom he called a gun-wielding racist, as Governor of Georgia. Mr. Ussery of San Francisco, chairman of the conference, said that more than 1,000 delegates had been registered.

The delegates and speakers represent a spectrum of views in Negro communities across the state, from militant nationalist philosophies to moderate civil rights stands.

A few hours before he delivered his address, Mr. Carmichael was denounced as "an Uncle Tom" by a Communist group that picketed the conference.

About 30 young Negroes, membere of the Los Angeles branch of the Communist party of the U.S.A., carried signs in front of the school urging Negroes to join an armed revolution in the United States.

The demonstrators also ridiculed other Negro leaders, including Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan; Floyd B. McKissick, executive director of CORE, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Michael Laski and Eston Simmons, two of the organization's national officers, made speeches outside the school to "expose these elements who say they are revolutionaries." The demonstration ended before Mr. Carmichael arrived.

The news media were barred from the opening session of the conference but were permitted to interview participants at news conferences.

Mr. Carmichael, wearing faded blue denims and an overall jacket, said Negroes had "a duty and a responsibility" to wage a revolution "if we must."

He predicted that if Israel and the United Arab Republic went to war "the United States will be in it the next day." He said that the United States would support Israel but that "nobody in Snick is going to fight for any white man."

He said that the question Negroes must consider was is whom they were going to fight for. He indicated that H. Rap Brown, the new national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, would outline his position in a later appearance at the conference.

'67 Christmas Stamp Doubles Displeasure

WASHINGTON, May 26 (AP)—The Post Office announced Friday that the 1967 Christmas stamp would be the same as last year's but twice the size.

And the American Civil Liberties Union said its opposition to issuance of the stamp would be twice as strong as it was last year.

But whether the liberties group will be joined in its protest this year by all the Jewish organizations that opposed issuance of last year's stamp was uncertain.

The Post Office said the new stamp was a five-color reproduction of Memling's "Madonna and Child with Angels." Last year the stamp was .75 by .87 of an inch. This year it will be .84 by 1.44 inches.

Licensing of Nurses Spreads

Mandatory licensing of both registered and practical nurses is spreading in the United States, Medical World News reports. Maryland is the latest state to pass a bill creating a state board to license and set standards for the nurses. This brings to 37 the number of states with licensing for registered nurses and 16 the number that license practical nurses.

RIGHTS GIFTS LAG, DR. KING REPORTS

MOVEMENT

But N.A.A.C.P. Funds Rise, as Do Urban League's

5/28/67

ATLANTA, May 28 (AP)—The public opposition of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to the Vietnam war has cost the civil rights organization he heads some financial support, but he says that new contributors aligned with the peace movement have offset part of the loss.

Two other civil rights organizations, responding to a survey by The Associated Press, reported revenue on the rise; two others said that little cash had been added to their already depleted treasuries.

"We are in fairly good shape, Dr. King said, speaking of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"I think we are in a rather difficult period right now," said his executive assistant, the Rev. Andrew J. Young. "But we are not worried. We're getting along."

Mr. Young said support had fallen off among civil rights supporters who objected to Dr. King's linking of the movement with the protest against the war.

Dr. King's proposal that the two movements cooperate drew sharp criticism from some Negro leaders, notably Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. King has denied he wants a "mechanical merger," but he has said that Vietnam and civil rights are matters of conscience that tie together the two movements.

In a speech in New York on April 4, he denounced United States involvement in Vietnam and called for a unilateral cease-fire by the United States.

Now he has taken a leadership role in Vietnam Summer, a nationwide project to mobilize antiwar sentiment. He says the war effort has diverted both national attention and funds from civil rights and antipoverty programs.

Dr. King said that generally the contributors he had lost were those who made $5 donations while he had gained some $500-a-donation supporters. However, neither Dr. King nor Mr. Young could, or would, provide details of the organization's financial condition.

The leadership conference had a record budget of $1.5-million in 1965, but trimmed this to $1-million in 1966. At Dr. King's suggestion, the staff was cut from 150 to 85. Most of the discharged employes were low-paid workers, some of them students.

"We're now running at the rate of about $1-million for this year's budget," said the public relations director, Tom Offenburger.

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"We're now running at the rate of about $1-million for this year's budget," said the public relations director, Tom Offenburger. Generally, whatever comes in is spent, he said.

"While we're not in danger of going out of existence, neither do we have the money to do what we need to do," Mr. Young said.

Of the other civil rights organizations, the N.A.A.C.P., which is the oldest, and the National Urban League, the quietest, report improving financial support.

However, the foremost "black power" groups, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee, still are struggling for money.

The student committee, which in the last year lost much of its college campus following, may have picked up additional support recently.

Committee Is Silent

Its officials wouldn't talk to a reporter, but an informed source said the organization's money problems had been eased by Stokely Carmichael's college speeches and fund-raising projects. The source said a recent fund-raising affair in the home of a New York sculptor had produced "at least $10,000."

"I don't think Snick is getting a lot of money," the source said, "But it is doing better."

However, Mr. Carmichael has been replaced recently as chairman of the student committee and it is not known if he will continue his fund-raising projects.

CORE'S financial problems were illustrated dramatically on May 10 when Walter S. Brooks, its director in Baltimore, announced that his office was to be closed because there was no money to pay rent or utility bills.

In a handwritten news release, Mr. Brooks said CORE's 1966 target city project, aimed at Baltimore, was $3,000 in debt and that his office had been self-sustaining since January.

CORE's national director, Floyd B. McKissick, charged that Mr. Brooks had spoken without authority and said the Baltimore office would not close.

But, Mr. Brooks said, "We have appealed to all but the racists, and now there is no longer electricity to run off this release."

In New York, Don Smith, the CORE public relations officer, said income had improved slightly in recent months.

CORE Cuts Debt

By early May, CORE had reduced its indebtedness to about $137,000, Mr. Smith said, compared to the $400,000 debt of February, 1965.

"There may be reason for looking up," he said.

The projected spending of the N.A.A.C.P. for 1967 is $1.9-million—about $250,000 higher than last year. Over-all income has been about the same as in 1966, said John A. Morsell, assistant executive director.

However, there is a rise in at least one area. The N.A.A.C.P. said recently that its $500 life memberships had grown from 14,001 in 1963 to 22,147 by the end of last year.

The Urban League has not been affected in its fund-raising by either Dr. King's antiwar stand or black power; it opposes both.

Guichard Parris of New York, public relations director, said the league's income had increased.

In the last fiscal year, the league had an income of $2.37-million, and it now expects an operating budget in the current fiscal year, ending June 30, of $1.8-million, plus special project funds of about $2-million, Mr. Parris said.

Baptist Church Is Thriving In Soviet, Official Reports

WASHINGTON (AP) — Despite Communist restrictions, Baptist churches in the Soviet Union continue to thrive, the Rev. Dr. Josef Nordenhaug, general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, reported after a visit there.

Russian Baptists form the largest Baptist group in the world outside of the United States, he wrote in The Baptist World. He said there were an estimated total of 550,000 members in 4,500 Baptist congregations, which hold overflow services as often as six times a week, some of the services lasting up to three and a half hours

MOVEMENT

CORE Chairman Assails Anti-Riot Bill

7/2/67 NYT

By EARL CALDWELL
Special to The New York Times

OAKLAND, Calif., July 1 — In a speech filled with emotion, Floyd B. McKissic called on CORE's annual convention last night to "do something" about the antiriot legislation that is now being considered by Congress.

Mr. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said that the bill was "not designed to stop Stokely Carmichael but to stop black people."

He called the violence that has flared in Negro ghettos across the country not riots, but "rebellions by black people."

Then, with tears streaming down his face, Mr. McKissick shouted that "these are black people who say "get off my neck, treat me like a man'."

The antiriot bill of which Mr. McKissick spoke cleared the House Judiciary Committee this week. It is expected to win approval after Congress returns on July 10.

If passed in its present form, the bill would make it a Federal offense for anyone moving to cross state lines with the intent "to incite, promote, encourage or carry on a riot or other violent civil disturbance."

The hard-hitting speech, delivered before an aroused crowd of nearly 3,000 persons in Oakland's Civic Auditorium, came during the convention's opening session, which was to have been keynoted by the former heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay.

But the fighter, convicted last month of refusing to comply with the draft, ended up as CORE's honored guest and was presented with a special award.

As it turned out, Mr. McKissick was the keynoter.

He told the convention that an organized plan was underway to "castrate any black man who stands up for the truth."

And he said that black people all over the country had a stake in whatever happens to Stokely Carmichael, the black-power advocate. "The young militants must exist and they must live," he said.

Clay Offers to Help Poor

Clay, who prefers the Moslem name of Mohammad Ali, told the convention that he would put his boxing title—stripped from him by boxing organizations—on the line "against anyone" this fall and that he would give all the proceeds to help feed poor, "starving" Negro children in the South.

He made the offer after Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian, had produced a copy of a study made for the Field Foundation, detailing the effects intense poverty has had on poor youngsters in the South.

Mr. Gregory told the convention earlier that he planned to make a trip "around the world" to "try and beg money from other nations" to purchase food for the needy in the South. He said that he would visit every country that received aid from the United States and "every Communist country that I can get into." It was at this point that the deposed boxing champion stepped forward and made his offer.

Mr. Gregory said later that he would join immediately in working out the details for such a fight.

Mr. McKissick presented Clay with a plaque on behalf of CORE, honoring him as "one of the great Americans, if not the greatest living American in the country today."

Delegates to CORE's convention turned today to the scheduled business of making the slogan "black power" a working program.

MOVEMENT

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
July 5, 1967

Seek Alliances, Rustin Urges Negroes at Fisk

By ROB ELDER

The civil rights movement is not dead, but it has moved from the drama of the decade 1955-1965 into a period of politics in which Negroes must seek alliances, Bayard Rustin said here last night.

Addressing the 24th annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, the veteran civil rights leader declared that "the period of protest" must now be replaced with programs which can deal with jobs, schools and housing.

AND BECAUSE these issues affect not only Negroes, he said, Negroes cannot deal with them by using the separatist methods preached by "black power" advocate Stokely Carmichael.

Aiming his remarks at members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who were in the audience, Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said:

"If Stokely and his ilk believe this society is ever going to do anything special for Negroes, they are profoundly wrong.

"We have got to have allies. You must remember that alliances are not built on affection, as if you were choosing a girl friend. Five out of six alliances must be made with people you're going to have to call bastards next week."

THE TRADE UNION movement, he said, is the Negroes' "most fundamental ally, and the vicious attack on it by Negroes is basically stupid."

Negroes must say to the unions, he said, "that we do not agree with the black power people — who have no program anyway — that there is no place for whites."

The present period of politics is more difficult than the period in which protest could be effective, Rustin said, because national consensus on civil rights has disappeared, and because the press, interested in the new, the sensational, and in conflict, can no longer be expected to "make the movement."

RUSTIN, FOR seven years special assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., noted that King was the symbol of the protest period, when "he who walked most, was arrested most, and was brutalized most became the symbol of the movement.

"But not Dr. King or anyone else" can become the symbol of political programs, he said.

The civil rights movement, he went on, has entered "truly a new period" in which "we have got to put forth a concrete, objective, achieveable program"—a task which he said is "tedious and irksome and dry as dust, and newspapers do not print it."

RUSTIN CALLED for "a $2 minimum wage right away," full government - sponsored medical care and "guaranteed work" to provide jobs for all citizens.

Bayard Rustin
'Achievable programs'

He drew laughter when he quoted a statement by U.S. Sen. Robert Kennedy on water pollution and said the poverty program could provide meaningful jobs by "helping the rich who have yachts" and assigning "hundreds of thousands" of young men to clean up the nation's rivers.

The entire poverty program and educational system must be revised, he said, to "redefine study as something you work at and get paid for." Until the head of the Negro family is given economic security, he declared, "We will accomplish nothing."

DURING THE following questions and answer period, the gray-haired speaker perched on the back of a chair and listened patiently to long rebuttals from three young people who defended Carmichael's "black power" approach.

The three identified themselves as Delano Farrar of Boston, Ronald Green of New York and Eileen Carpenter of Nashville. Farrar and Green said they are members of SNCC, while Miss Carpenter said she is not a member.

Farrar told Rustin that if he expects approval of the "Freedom Budget" proposed by the speaker, "you're out of your mind."

"BUT YOU keep your dream," the young man added.

Replied Rustin:

"I know very well the Freedom Budget is not going to be passed tomorrow morning. But yes, I have a dream . . . my dream is that the American people are educable. . . .

"And I have faith in you, and all the more so because you stand up and challenge me," he added to the young man.

WHEN MISS Carpenter repeatedly insisted that economics is not the heart of the problem, and that Negroes can unite against racism, Rustin gently told her:

"No, my dear, all Negroes cannot get together. The problem with Negroes is that they're just like white people. I know it's ugly, but it's true."

Finally, after Green again defended Carmichael's "black power" approach, Rustin noted:

"People who are really anticipating power never discuss it."

Race Institute Told

Superficial News Tied to Rights Riots

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
July 5, 1967

By ROB ELDER

Superficial news reporting is partially responsible for violence in the civil rights movement, Dr. Herman H. Long, president of Talladega College, told the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University yesterday.

Long, a former director of the institute and a member of the race relations department at Fisk until he became president of the Alabama college, said the mass media twist interpretations of civil rights developments to fit "formula interpretations."

FORMULAS often used by newspapers, radio and television, he said, include "the prediction of violence," emphasis on "vulnerability" and "divisiveness" among Negro leaders, and "the self-fulfilling prophecy of white backlash."

The result, he said, "is that the immediate elements of a conflict situation are distorted far beyond their importance." Negro leadership strategy is created on the basis of these formula interpretations, and this has "in a sense led to legimitazation of violent methods as a real choice for some Negro leadership groups."

Challenged by some members of the institute audience who argued, in a question and answer session, that violence is an "effective means of social change," Long insisted that such arguments are oversimplified, and that justification of violence by Negroes on grounds that whites use violence "is a negative argument."

CONFRONTED, however, with questions from one woman who insisted Negroes will be "slapped down" until they use violence, Long explained:

"My non-violence doesn't extend that far. If someone hits me. I hit them back."

His statement drew applause from the audience.

IN ANSWER to another question, Long said "black power" has "essentially the same logical consequences" as white supremacy. "It leads to segregation — to separation," he said.

He criticized adult Negro leaders for failing to confront what he termed the "quote, 'new left,' " movement among Negro students, and for leaving "the initiative on the other end."

Any concept of Negro power as "absolute" is an illusion, Long declared, explaining that Negroes must exercise political strength in balance of power bargaining with the community as a whole.

"BLACK POWER," he said, "remains a generalized, highly emotional slogan" without any clearly defined means or ends. It "tends to be divisive since it has taken on some of the language which has attempted to divide the Negro community on a class basis," he said.

For example, Long explained, "black power sloganeering tends to cast suspicion on (Negroes) who may just happen to be educated, or just happen to be doctors or dentists, or just happen to own small businesses."

He cited the "gross failure" of the press to meaningfully interpret civil rights news, adding that "I would guess part of this failure has rested upon a dependence on conflict and pathology as constituting the nature of what news is.

"IT IS almost as if the good things do not constitute news," he added. "The total effect has been the resort to formula reporting which reflects the most superficial and transitory elements of a situation."

Long also criticized the press for "so-called Negro leader stories" which quote persons who may be unknown in the Negro community as "Negro leaders."

Earlier yesterday, Vernon E. Jordan, director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, told the institute that student civil rights activity from 1960 and 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, have been great forces in increasing Negro voter registration in the South.

ANOTHER CAUSE, he said, has been the Voter Education Project itself.

In the face of such progress, he predicted, white southern "racist" politicians will make "a determined effort to change the rules in the middle of the game."

"The Negro vote will be gerrymandered and offices likely to be won by Negro candidates will be abolished. There will be a shift away from district elections toward citywide and countywide elections in which Negro votes are diluted," he said.

It is the votes of Southern Negroes which will determine the future of Negroes in the North, Jordan declared.

"But," he said, "we can ill afford to harbor the romantic notion that today's more complicated and more demanding issues can be met by Negroes acting alone. Alliances and coalitions, perhaps more diverse and imaginative than any before, will be needed."

Herman Long
"I hit them back."

Schedule

Here is today's schedule for the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University:

8:30 a.m. "Prospects of the Traditional Negro College," Lionel H. Newsom, Southern Regional Education Board.

10:30 a.m. "Human Relations Education in Adjusting to Social Change," Andrew Torrence, Tuskegee Institute.

The institute is being held in Park-Johnson Hall on the Fisk campus.

Ast 7/9/67

NAACP Reports Membership Hike

MOVEMENT

BOSTON (UPI)—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reported Saturday a slight increase in membership and a "more substantial" gain in income despite "diversionary activity" by some civil rights groups including "black power" advocates.

The NAACP in its annual report issued on the eve of its 58th annual convention, said 1966 was a year of "creeping despair" in which "black power" evoked "widespread concern among both Negro and white citizens."

The report said Stokely Carmichael's "black power" concept was "alienating" the civil rights struggle because of its "separatist and sometimes violent connotations." The report frowned on "young black activists" who seek "refuge in racial isolation."

The NAACP, the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, opens its weeklong convention Monday with an anticipated 2,000 delegates in attendance.

Highlights include the keynote address Monday night by NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins and the awarding of the NAACP's 52nd Spingarn Medal to Sen. Erward W. Brooke, (R) Mass., the nation's first popularly elected Negro senator. The medal is awarded annually to "a man or woman of African descent and American citizenship who has made the highest achievement during the preceding year in any honorable field of endeavor."

THE NAACP report described its membership increase as "minor" but said it came in the face of "diversionary activity on the part of some forces which had formerly given support to the fight for freedom.

"Because all the hopes of 1963-65 had not been fully realized, there were those — particularly among the newcomers to the movement — whose chagrin nurtured frustration and defeatism and generated a hazy belief that the movement was headed toward disintegration," the report said.

While membership and financial support for some of the newer civil rights groups was on the decline, the NAACP said, the organization's membership as of Dec. 31, 1966 was 441,169 as compared to 440,538 in 1965. Total income for the year was $2,228,127 as compared to $1,957,321 in 1965.

The major source of income in 1966, "as in former years, was from the association's predominantly Negro membership," the report said.

"Although the membership increase was minor," the NAACP said, "it loomed large against the background of creeping despair."

WILKINS FOES ASK MORE MILITANCY

MOVEMENT

Seek N.A.A.C.P. Debate on Black Power and War

7/13/67

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, July 12—Opponents of Roy Wilkins are working the lobbies of the 58th annual N.A.A.C.P. convention in the hope of forcing a floor debate on black power and the war in Vietnam.

Their aim is to make the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People more militant and to curb Mr. Wilkins's power as executive director of the organization.

Resolutions to these effects have been circulated in the corridors of the Sheraton Boston Hotel, where the convention is being held, but unless the critics find a way of circumventing the regulations, there appears to be little hope that the resolutions will get to the floor.

The regulations require that resolutions must have the approval of at least 10 members of the 50-member resolution committee before the committee will consider them.

As of today the most optimistic estimate was that eight members of the resolutions committee were prepared to recommend that the committee reconsider them.

At past conventions, critics of Mr. Wilkins's authority would arrive confident of blocking the executive director only to be completely frustrated by the Wilkins organization.

Four groups were said to be trying to break through the barriers—the Greenwich Village-Chelsea branch in New York City; a branch of Witchita, Kan., a California branch and the Philadelphia branch.

A Greenwich Village-Chelsea resolution summarized the aspirations of Mr. Wilkins's critics.

One part denounced the Vietnam war, demanded the cessation of bombing, urged the withdrawal of United States forces and insisted on international supervision

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A Greenwich Village-Chelsea resolution summarized the aspirations of Mr. Wilkins's critics.

One part denounced the Vietnam war, demanded the cessation of bombing, urged the withdrawal of United States forces and insisted on international supervision of free elections.

Another section described black power ideology as respectable and while not endorsing it, insisted that the attacks on it cease. Finally, the resolution demanded that Mr. Wilkins be prevented from criticizing other civil rights leaders publicly without consulting the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors.

Mr. Wilkins has persistently opposed either involving the N.A.A.C.P. in controversies over United States foreign policies or in tying in the rights movement with foreign policy.

Last year at the Los Angeles convention, he bitterly denounced black power as an invitation to murder.

Mr. Wilkins has almost full powers and the confidence of the majority.

Since his election as executive director in 1955, he has built up a powerful bureaucracy that is loyal to him. The board of directors support him because it shares his view of the role of the organization. The regulations minimize the possibility of a successful challenge to the authority of the executive director.

In his keynote address last Monday, Mr. Wilkins appeared to have defeated his opponents when he praised the usefulness of militants in "shaking up" the Negro and white communities in the United States. He refrained from attacking black power advocates or even mentioning black power ideology by name.

Despite the criticism of Mr. Wilkins as being too moderate, the executive secretary appears to have become more militant and bitter by reports of delays or outright opposition to the implementation of the civil rights laws. In his address Mr. Wilkins warned that obstructionist tactics by rights opponents would result in more violence.

Last night Senator Edward W. Brooke, Republican of Massachusetts, the first Negro to win a popular election to the United States Senate, repeated this warning in his speech to 5,000 persons who filled the Great War Memorial Auditorium.

Senator Brooke, always considered a moderate, said that obstructionism was an invitation to violence. He placed the responsibility for the mounting tensions in the ghettos on the failures of the Federal, state and municipal governments to enforce the rights laws.

N.A.A.C.P. Enjoined

Justice Gerald P. Culkin of the New York State Supreme Court enjoined the N.A.A.C.P. yesterday from amending or revoking the charter of its Philadelphia branch pending a hearing by the group's national board of directors.

Justice Culkin issued the injunction on the application of Cecil B. Moore, the president of the Philadelphia branch, who is often at variance on policy matters with the national leadership of the civil rights group.

Several weeks ago, the N.A.A.C.P. announced that it was planning to establish other chapters in Philadelphia in what was viewed as an attempt to reduce Mr. Moore's powers. He had argued that the establishment of new chapters without first holding a hearing violated the group's Constitution.

Black Power Parley To Seek Negro Unity

7/13/67

MOVEMENT

By EARL CALDWELL

Plans were disclosed yesterday for a national conference on black power that promises to bring together for the first time the many diverse elements of the Negro community.

The four-day meeting is scheduled to convene on Thursday, July 20, in Newark.

The Rev. Dr. Nathan Wright Jr., chairman of the conference, called the forthcoming meetings "an assembly of black Americans" designed to "set our own house in order and to work for the unity of black people and the greatest good for all Americans."

Dr. Wright, who is director of urban work for the Epis-

Continued on Page 25, Column 4

GIVE SUMMER TO A CHILD
Give to The Fresh Air Fund, New York 10036. The New York Times Appeal for The Fresh Air Fund. ADVT.

TALKS NEXT WEEK SEEK NEGRO UNITY

7/13/67

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

copal Diocese of Newark, said that only Negroes would be admitted as delegates to the conference.

However, he pointed out that certain sessions would be "open to the public" and that no whites would be barred from these meetings.

According to Dr. Wright, the conference will bring together not only the so-called Negro moderates but also advocates of black nationalism and the militants in the civil rights movement.

In addition to civil rights groups, Dr. Wright said, Negro educators, politicians, students, clergymen, labor leaders and antipoverty staff workers will also attend the conference.

In discussing the significance of the conference, Dr. Wright pointed out that "one of the sources of powerlessness of the Negro community is the fact that it has been historically divided." He said that "this gathering represents unification of a magnitude never before encountered among black people in this country."

The idea of the meetings was developed last September at a meeting in Washington called by Representative Adam Clayton Powell.

Dr. Wright said that Mr. Powell was still an honorary co-chairman of the conference along with Representative Charles C. Diggs, Democrat of Michigan, and Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Dr. Wright said he had received word "within the last 10 days" that Mr. Powell would attend the conference and that he would speak during one of the scheduled open meetings.

Although a complete agenda for the conference sessions was not released, it was disclosed that workshops would deal with such topics as "The City and Black People," "Black Power Through Black Politics," "Black Power and American Religion," "New Roles for Black Youth" and "Black Power Through Economic Development."

Dr. Wright said that James Farmer, former national director of CORE, would act as honorary chairman of a three-day workshop exploring "new forms of cooperation and alliance."

Although many of the so-called "big names" in the civil rights movement were not listed as participants in the conference, Dr. Wright pointed out that staff personnel from both the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were expected to attend as delegates.

"There are advantages and disadvantages in not bringing in great personalities," he explained. "This is primarily a think session."

Latin-American Earthquake

BERKELEY, Calif., July 12 (AP)—An earthquake of 6 to 6.5 magnitude on the Richter scale, believed to have occurred in southern Panama or northern Colombia, was recorded at 2:09 P.M. today on the University of California seismograph. That severity could cause damage in a populated place.

CROSSROADS SEEN ON NEGRO RIGHTS

MOVEMENT

Riots Viewed as Leading to Repression or Massive Aid

NYT 8/6/67

By M. S. HANDLER

Some prominent liberals long identified with the civil rights struggle believe that the widespread Negro riots may drive white Americans into choosing between massive repression or the mobilization of national resources and skills to bring the Negro people into the mainstream of American life.

These men, each a recognized authority in his field, agree that the short-term outlook is gloomy. They differ about the long-term outcome.

The liberals also differ on the question of whether the established civil rights organizations still posses enough credibility in the urban ghettos to enable them to lead, or if a new type of "hard-nosed" leadership will have to come from the big business community before the march toward civil rights and equality can be resumed.

Their views were gathered through telephone interviews and, in the case of two men in Detroit, through conversations in person.

Genocide Is Feared

Prof. Philip M. Hauser, University of Chicago sociologist and director of the university's Population Research Center, said that nobody could predict today whether white America would choose repression or a march toward equality.

But, he added, if white America should choose repression there are "inherent" possibilities in such a choice of transforming the inner ghettos into concentration camps guarded by the police, the National Guard and Federal troops

"Repression by the whites could eventually lead to genocide," he said.

Harold C. Fleming, president of the Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C., a nonprofit research agency to promote equal opportunity, said that a spirit of defeatism was spreading among many of the more liberal people who have supported the civil rights movement.

He agreed with Professor Hauser that there had been no national commitment by the Government and white America to support moderate Negro leadership.

Professor Hauser charged that the Government had undermined the moderate leadership of the National Association of civil rights groups and liberals.

Prof. C. Vann Woodward, Sterling Professor of History at Yale University, said he believed the coalition had collapsed before this summer's riots.

Professor Woodward, a leading authority on the Compromise of 1876 and the long repression of the Negroes that followed the withdrawal of the Union forces of occupation from the Southern states in 1877, explained:

"The old coalition on which we depended for civil rights progress collapsed after the Civil Rights Bill was passed in 1965 and went to pieces in 1966. The movement was based on the fulfillment of old promises and when this came to pass the movement came to an end.

"It is difficult to answer about new leadership in the United States. I beleive the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Urban League still have enough credit to carry on. The impact of the extremists in Newark has been exaggerated."

Despite the probable unfavorable short-term reaction of white America, Professor Woodward believed that there was hope for the time when people have evaluated the impact of the upheaval on the social fabric of the country.

A more optimistic note was struck by Morris B. Abrams, president of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Abram, a lawyer who has been active in public service and the civil rights movement, said that one of the most hopeful aspects in the situation was capacity of Americans to forget their anger quickly.

He cited a saying attributed to the late Gov. Alfred E. Smith to the effect that the United States was a "10-day country"—that is to say, that everything can be forgotten in 10 days.

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Professor Hauser charged that the Government had undermined the moderate leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban league and was thereby turning over leadership to men such as Stokeley Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, the black power advocates.

Mr. Fleming went a step further than Professor Hauser. He said that the established civil rights organizations "are bankrupt so far as communicating with the people in the ghettos, where they have no credibility. We have pulled the rug from under them."

Warns of Warfare

He added that he believed there was still a chance of restoring the position of the moderate leaders, but he said:

"If we can't we will have to confine ourselves to sporadic guerrilla warfare. This is horrible to contemplate. It is most important we do what we can with the peaceful elements."

Nevertheless, Mr. Fleming expressed confidence. He said:

"There is some reason to hope that out of this crisis there may be the beginning of a new reaching out of people that will have an effect on the Government and Congress because there is a danger of this becoming a race war."

"I look for a new surge of leadership from the business and economic community, which is not known for its reforming zeal. But when it comes to tearing down the house — as happened in the South — they become a constructive element.

On the other hand, Joseph L. Block, chairman and chief executive officer of the Inland Steel Company, Chicago, saw in big business only one of the many elements that should participate in giving leadership.

Mr. Block, an influential man in the social reform movement, said he believed the main leadership must be taken by the Government and the civil rights organizations while big business should contribute its skills to specific areas such as job training, job opportunity, housing and related areas.

Future of Coalition

Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, an interracial, nonprofit agency devoted to the cause of equal opportunity, said that big business had "a tremendous self-interest" in providing leadership.

"In the last decade," Mr. Anthony said, "we have seen some of the most vigorous leadership come from business. Every business community in the South was shocked by the depression caused by the troubles in Little Rock."

There was a difference of opinion about whether the traditional coalition of civil rights organizations and liberals had survived the nationwide riots and if the civil rights organizations would continue as an effective force.

Mr. Fleming said he believed that there was no evidence visible as yet of a new coalition of forces to replace the old coalition of civil rights groups and liberals.

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Dr. King Planning Protests To 'Dislocate' Large Cities

MOVEMENT

Massive but Nonviolent Campaign Is Sought, Before Congress Adjourns, to Get Federal Aid for Negroes

8/16/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 15 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that he planned to "dislocate" Northern cities with massive but nonviolent demonstrations of civil disobedience before Congress adjourns its current session.

The civil rights leader told delegates to the annual convention of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference that he had decided on the step to provide an alternative to rioting and to gain large Federal spending programs for improverished Negroes.

"To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot because it can be longer-lasting, costly to the society but not wantonly destructive," Dr. King said. "Moreover, it is more difficult for Government to quell it by superior force."

"Mass civil disobedience," he added, "can use rage as a constructive and creative force."

Dr. King announced also that he would meet with his staff in about two weeks to discuss the "specifics" of the civil disobedience campaign and to consider such tactics as weekly school boycotts, blocking plant gates with unemployed Negroes and disrupting governmental operations with sit-in demonstrations in Federal buildings.

The ultimate objective of any demonstration, Dr. King made clear, will be to draw Congress and President John-

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

THE

Dr. King Plans Drive on Large Cities

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

son into responding to Negro demands for jobs, improved housing, better education and more intensive enforcement of existing civil rights legislation.

"Our real problem is that there is no disposition by the Administration nor Congress to seek fundamental remedies beyond police measures," he said. "The tragic truth is that Congress, more than the American people, is now running wild with racism."

The idea of massive civil disobedience in the North is not new with Dr. King, although he has never committed himself to it as firmly as he did today. A year ago, he briefly discussed jamming the freeways of Chicago and other Northern cities with Negro sit-in demonstrators, but abandoned the project after white mobs attacked his open-housing marches with rocks and bottles in Chicago.

Campaign Delayed

Some of his aides said then that in delaying his civil disobedience campaign, Dr. King was acting on the advice of people who felt that further demonstrations could touch off still more racial strife in the Chicago area.

Now, according to some of the same aides, he believes that Negroes will not stop rioting unless they are presented with alternative ways of militant protest.

"It is purposeless to tell Negroes they should not be enraged when they should be," Dr. King said today. "Indeed, they will be mentally healthier if they do not suppress rage but vent it constructively and use its energy peacefully but forcefully to cripple the operations of an oppressive society. Civil disobedience can utilize the militance wasted in riots to seize clothes or groceries many do not even want."

United Press International Telephoto

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addresses meeting.

However, Dr. King is almost certain to encounter major difficulties in carrying out "massive" civil disobedience campaigns, particularly if he should decide to center the assault on Washington.

No Grass-Roots Staff

One problem is that he has no grass-roots organizing staff working in Negro neighborhoods in Washington, and might be forced to transport demonstrators to the city from other areas. This could seriously tax his organization's financial resources, which have dropped considerably since the Selma-to-Montgomery protest march in 1965.

His staff is also scattered—in Chicago, Cleveland and the South—and probably would have to be regrouped before any massive campaign could be undertaken.

But for all the problems, Dr. King clearly wants to create what he terms a "nonviolent confrontation" between Negroes and the Johnson Administration and Congress. He said that in voting down a rat control bill and cutting back on several poverty programs, Congress had shown itself to be "more anti-Negro than anti-rat."

He also criticized President Johnson—although not by name—for escalating the war in Vietnam, rather than diverting defense money to a war on slums. And he said that he saw little to be gained from the President's investigation into riots when, he said, it is obvious that the "root causes" of rioting are unemployment, under employment, poor housing and discrimination.

S.N.C.C. CRITICIZED FOR ISRAEL STAND

MOVEMENT

Rights Leaders Score Attack on Jews as 'Anti-Semitism'

NYT 8/16/67

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Civil rights leaders reacted with angry statements yesterday to the attack on Zionism and Israel made by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

These leaders, in protesting the attack, all used the term "anti-Semitism". They also called the committee an extremist group that did not speak for the American Negro.

The protests were directed at a bimonthly newsletter of the student group, which accused Israelis of committing atrocities against the Arabs, and also charged that there was bias in Israel against dark-skinned Jews.

Spokesmen for leading Jewish and Zionist organizations pointed to the sacrifices made by Jews in working for civil rights causes.

Some mentioned the slaying in 1964 of Michael Schwerner, a 23-year-old Brooklyn social worker and Andrew Goodman, a 20-year-old New York college student.

Both were killed while doing field work in Mississippi on programs supported by the committee. Mr. Schwerner and Mr. Goodman were Jews.

Representation Denied

Rights leaders tended to emphasize that the militant Negro organization was not representative of all American Negro opinion.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said that the views in the Newsletter resembled those of the American Nazi party on Arab-Israel relations.

"Negro citizens are well aware of the contributions made to the drive for equal rights by Jewish citizens. Negroes have been the victims of racism for too long to indulge in group stereotypes and racial hate themselves," Mr. Young said.

Mr. Young also said that studies by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in big city ghettos had shown the Negro to be less anti-Semitic than other Americans.

Desperate for Attention

In a joint statement, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said they were "appalled and distressed by the anti-Semitic article." The two rights leaders said the statement reflected a "complete divorce from the opinions and aspirations of the mass of American Negroese."

Each time S.N.C.C. issues such statements, "the organization becomes less effective in the Negro community, grows smaller and becomes more desperate for attention," they declared.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was in Atlanta, declined to comment on S.N.C.C.'s position on the Arab-Israeli dispute because he had not read the newsletter. He said he was strongly opposed to anti-Semitism and "anything that does not signify my concern for humanity for the Jewish people."

Harry Belafonte, the singer, who has been a financial supporter of the committee, said through a spokesman in California that he knew nothing of the newsletter and was surprised at the reports of its contents. The spokesman said Mr. Belafonte had been a supporter of Israel and performed at fund-raising benefits.

A number of Jewish organizations, including labor and veterans' groups, joined those who criticized the newsletter on Monday.

Will Maslow, executive director of the American Jewish Congress said S.N.C.C. had "disqualified itself from any claim to be taken seriously in the struggle for human decency."

"There is no room for racists in the fight against racism," he said.

Rabbi Israel Miller, chairman of the American Zionist Council, called the views in the newsletter "crude and unadulterated anti-Semitism."

Malcolm A. Tarlov, national commander of the Jewish War Vetearns of the United States, deplored the statement as anti-Semitic, anti-Israel and pro-Communist and said the organization "no longer deserves either the financial or moral support of Americans, whatever their race or religion."

The Jewish Labor Committee charged that the student group, led by Stokey Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, has "now irrevocably joined the anti-Semitic American Nazi party and the Ku Klux Klan as an apostle of racism in the United States."

Bernard Katzen, vice chairman of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, called the charges "scurrilous" and said they represented a "desperation approach for sensationalism by a small discredited group," which was calculated to stir up domestic ethnic discord.

Dr. Martin Peretz, a director of the National Conference for New Politics, also attacked the statement as vicious anti- Semitism. The conference was set up 18 months ago as a coalition of peace and civil rights groups.

King Aide Seeks to Organize Negro Ministers in 15 Cities

MOVEMENT AC 1/22/68

By DIANE STEPP
Constitutional Religion Editor

An official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said Monday that he will organize Negro ministers in the Atlanta area and in 14 other major cities across the nation to "redefine the ministry of the Negro church and propose a role which is not so traditional."

The proposed role will include development of programs dealing with housing, job opportunities, education, police brutality and poverty programs.

The official, the Rev. T. Y. Rogers Jr., who was named director of a program to train Negro ministers in community leadership by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. last month, said invitations have been extended to selected Negro ministers in the Atlanta area for participation in the program.

"Some of those invited have been active in 'the movement' but many of them haven't," he explained.

Initially, only 10 ministers will participate in the program, but Dr. King has expressed hope that the program can be expanded to include additional Negro ministers and eventually be open to others who are interested.

The new project, funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation, will begin Feb. 19-24 with 150 ministers from 15 major cities attending an orientation workshop in Miami, Fla. Immediately following the program, ministers will meet in local workshops to develop leadership, planning and conduct of urban programs in such fields as employment, business development, housing and education.

"We will in fact be dealing with how to deal with recalcitrant police and bringing pressure on city governments to deal with problems in Atlanta housing urban renewal, the changing scene of the city. We will fortmulate programs and enlist support from the Negro community as well as other community organizations," said the Rev. Mr. Rogers.

The newly appointed program director said that ministers invited to participate have been chosen "across denominational lines" and involves "ministers of all sizes of churches."

"We hope to form a cohesive community," said the Rev. Mr. Rogers who, prior to his appointment to the SCLC staff, was a member of the organization's board of directors.

In the Urban Leadership Training Program, the Rev. Mr. Rogers will work in association with officers and staff members of SCLC.

Asked if any reluctance has been expressed toward the church becoming involved in these social issues, the director said, " I'm sure this will be discussed. There is a traditional role which the people expect, but we are proposing a role which is not so traditional. We are attempting to make the church more relevant. I see this as an expression of a witness of the church."

WILKINS CHASTISES NEGRO MILITANTS

NYT 3/18/68

Calls Them Obstructionists Who Work for Mischief

MOVEMENT

By EARL CALDWELL

Roy Wilkins, a target of much abuse from Negro militants, described his critics yesterday as a small minority that is "light on work unless that work is creating mischief and embarrassment for somebody."

Mr. Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, chastised the militants for their failure to help gain the passage of civil rights legislation.

Instead of builders, he pictured them as obstructionists: "They want to fight the white man if he does this" or they want to block him. They want to embarrass him or they want to make it impossible for him to attain some goal that he wants. But they don't turn that energy inward and talk about building themselves."

N.A.A.C.P. Is Defended

Mr. Wilkins voiced his criticism on the militants during an appearance on the WNBC-TV program "Speaking Freely." At the same time, he also defended the moderate approaches used by the N.A.A.C.P. in its efforts to solve racial problems.

In the past year, since he failed to embrace black power concepts, Mr. Wilkins has been subjected to heavy criticism from militant leaders.

A number of his critics have branded him as an "Uncle Tom" and called him a betrayer to his race.

Mr. Wilkins acknowledged that criticism and conceded that some of the militants had refused to talk to him.

Others, he said, use the words but "don't even know what they mean." He said that many of them were "youngsters who don't know much about their own race." He called it one of the great tragedies.

Ignorant of Own Race

Speaking of "Negro young people who know so little about their own race," he said.

"They don't even know what has happened before they came on the scene: what the conditions were, how wages were, what job opportunities there were, how people worked to get to school and get education, how they held a stable family, how they had to take low sometimes.

"Yes, they had to take low and how they kept on, kept

"They want to fight the white man if he does this" or they want to block him. They want to embarrass him or they want to make it impossible for him to attain some goal that he wants. But they don't turn that energy inward and talk about building themselves."

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"Yes, they had to take low and how they kept on, kept pressing on and pressing on. They don't know anything about that and don't care about it."

Mr. Wilkins also defended his organization's use of the words "colored people" and "Negro."

Many militant groups now demand to be called black instead of Negro. They maintain that the word Negro is a term applied to black people in America in an effort to cut them off from their African heritage.

Of the words "colored people," Mr. Wilkins said that "it's a good term and it's accurate."

Your name is that by which you're known," he added. "It doesn't make any difference whether you call yourself black, Afro-American or Negro. You're still the same person."

Presence 'Significant'

Mr. Wilkins conceded that the presence of the black militants was "significant," but he guessed that there were only about 5,000 in the country. "That is, those of the real black conviction," he said.

However, he agreed that "there are a lot of people who are emotionally committed to that sort of thing in one degree or another."

"They don't go as far as the black nationalists," he said, "but they subscribe to better racial image, pride in blackness and reviving the history and ego of the Negro in this country, which has been submerged so cruelly for so long.

But Mr. Wilkins added that the large majority of Negroes that he knows or hears from, "like millions and millions of white people in this country, aspire to the middle-class status."

He pictured the N.A.A.C.P.'s role as helping Negroes progress towards the middle-class civilization.

In answer to those critics who accuse him of embracing gradualism, he said that "human progress has never been made in leaps and bounds."

Mr. Wilkins added that "if you can give the black militants any marks at all," it would be for what they have done to arouse the Negro and white populations from apathy.

He said that they had stopped whites from believing that the Negro question was safe and Negroes from believing that they could not do anything about it.

MOVEMENT

Williams' Case Was Handled In Capital, U.S. Attorney Says

U.S. District Attorney Charles Goodson said Friday that Washington officials took over complete control of a stolen car case involving Atlanta civil rights leader Hosea Williams.

Goodson said "the whole thing" was handled by the Justice department in Washington.

Asked if he knew of any past instances in which Washington sent down special attorneys to handle car theft cases, he said, "Not since I've been here."

He said he had been instructed by the Justice department to refer to Washington all calls concerning the case.

The Justice department refused to comment. Joseph Ponder, special agent in charge of the Atlanta FBI office, also would have nothing to say.

No charges have been brought against Williams.

Williams is an official of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and has led racial demonstrations throughout the South.

It is reported that Williams had been in possession of keys to two stolen rental cars. One was recovered in Morgan County, the other at the Atlanta Airport.

Last September, Morgan County Sheriff W. H. Knight stopped a carload of civil rights demonstrators on their way to racial demonstrations in Crawfordville. The car had been reported stolen. According to officers, the driver of the car said he had been assigned to the vehicle and given its keys by Williams.

Later, Atlanta police recovered a stolen car at the Municipal Airport. It was traced back to the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. who told officers Williams had provided him with the car and had had the keys to it.

Georgia Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer charged that the Justice department's "handling of the Hosea Williams matter is

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Washington Took Over Car Case, Goodson Says

Continued From Page 1

demonstrative evidence of the fallacies, inconsistencies and glaring humbuggery of the so-called Great Society."

He charged that the department is fostering "disrespect for justice at the bar" by its handling of the Williams matter.—

BILL SHIPP.

MOVEMENT

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

A Conference Dealing With Unity and
Empowerment of Black Americans

24 Rector Street, Newark, New Jersey 07104

To: Civic Leaders
Re: Representation at the July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power
From: Nathan Wright, Jr., Ed.D., Conference Chairman
(Executive Director, Department of Urban Work, Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey)

The enclosed circulars on the July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power tell of what will be the most substantial symposium ever held in the nation's history on the empowerment of black Americans for the fulfillment of their destiny in American life.

We would like to have several able Negro representatives from your staff or agency and and from your community participating in this conference. Some municipal and religious agencies are providing expenses for delegates.

The enclosed flyer may be duplicated and facsimile registration forms may be used.

Immediate registration is important

Our appreciation to you for your cooperation. For further information, please call our office at 201-622-4306.

Tentative Conference Schedule

The Conference begins on Thursday, July 20, with 3:00 PM registration. Friday, Saturday, and Sunday programs begin with 8:00 AM breakfast and include, during the day, workshop and plenary sessions. Evening programs will be assemblies of the entire Conference. Several may be open to the general public. The concluding meeting will be on Sunday, July 23 at 5:30 PM.

* * * * * * * * * *

Workshop Sessions

The workshops will have a fixed membership of thirty-fifty each, with participants working together as a group throughout the Conference. Names of workshop coordinators are in brackets.

Workshop I - The City and Black People (M. Lee Montgomery, Philadelphia, Pa.)
II - Black Power Through Black Politics (Phaon Sundiata, Washington, DC)
III - Black Power in World Perspective. (Ron Karenga, Los Angeles, Calif.)
IV - Black Power Through Economic Development. (Robert Browne, Teaneck, N.J.)
V - The Black Home (Nathan Hare, Washington, DC)
VI - Black Power and American Religion (James Breeden, Boston, Mass.)
VII - New Roles for Black Youth (Byron Rushing, Boston, Mass.)
VIII - Black Artists, Craftsmen, and Communications Personnel (Carroll Greene, New York, N.Y.)
IX - Black Professionals and Black Power (Hoyt Fuller, Chicago, Illinois)
X - Developmental Implications of Black Power (James Comer, New Haven, Connecticut)
XI - Black Power and Social Change (John F. Davis, East Orange, N.J.)
XII - Fraternal, Civic, and Social Groups
XIII - Cooperation and Alliances
XIV - New Trends for Youth (Ezell Blair, New Bedford, Mass., and Phil Hutchings, Newark, N.J.)

* * * * * * * * * *

Other Leaders

Each workshop has an honorary chairman. Papers will be read by a different leader in each workshop session. Such leaders presently include James Farmer, Vera Gunn, Romare Bearden, Cyril Tyson, Charles Hamilton, Clarence Lee, Vincent Harding, Omar Ahmed, Adelaide Hill, Conrad Lynn, Ivory Lyons, Alvin Poussaint, and many others. Positions of leadership as presider at a workshop session and reactors to papers still need to be filled. Would you be willing to serve?

Among those from whom recorded messages and formal presentations are being sought are the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Stokeley Carmichael, Prime Minister L. Pindling of Nassau, and Adam Clayton Powell. It is anticipated that leaders of government of several black nations will be in attendance at the Conference.

Arrangements

Information regarding housing, background ready materials for the Conference - including a paperback copy of BLACK POWER AND URBAN UNREST: CREATIVE POSSIBILITIES - and a detailed list of Conference subjects and leaders will be sent to registrants.

Hotels are adjacent to the Episcopal Cathedral House, 24 Rector Street, Newark, New Jersey, which will serve as Conference Headquarters. Hotel rates are from $6.00 per day, the cost of which is not included in the Registration Fee.

Meals, coffee hours, and Conference costs are included in the registration fee of $25.00. The meals are an integral part of the Conference.

July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power
24 Rector Street, Newark, N.J. 07102
201-622-4306

Purpose of the Conference

The July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power is the first major symposium designed to explore the issue of power as it relates to specific problem areas in the life of black Americans. The Conference is to be an assembly of black Americans, as in an intimate family gathering to set our own house in order and to work for the unity of Black People and the greatest good for all.

Seminars on Empowerment

Fourteen parallel workshops, of six two-hour sessions each, will hear and react to the presentations by distinguished young activists and by notable practitioners and academicians. Papers will involve analysis of issues and suggest concrete program possibilities for our empowerment growing out of the analysis.

A listing of the workshops, together with some of their participants, is made on the reverse side of this sheet.

Who May Attend

The July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power seeks to bring together representative leadership from all segments of the black community. Registrations should be made immediately, and fees must be paid in full by June 30.

Costs

Because of the concentrated program of study, meals, and coffee hours are an integral part of the Conference and account for three-fourths of the registration fee of $25. The Conference must depend upon voluntary subsidies to cover its current and anticipated deficits. Such contributions are solicited.

- - - - - - - - - - - PLEASE CLIP ALONG DOTTED LINE AND DETACH - - - - - - - - - - -

REGISTRATION FORM FOR JULY 20-23 NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

To: Isaiah Robinson, Arrangements Chairman, 24 Rector Street, Newark, N.J. 07102

As a Black American, I would like to participate in the National Conference on Black Power.

Name_____ Phone_____

Address_____
(Zip Code)

Organization_____

Please list here by Roman Numeral your first five workshop topic preferences (as listed on the reverse side)

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____

Enclosed is ___ $25.00 for my Registration Fee, or

___ $10.00 deposit, the $15.00 balance to be paid by June 30.

Checks Or Money Orders Only Should Be Used, Payable To "Black Power Conference"

I would be willing to serve in the Conference as follows:

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Jan. 15 — Vernon Dahmer's widow and son leave cemetery near Hattiesburg after funeral service for the NAACP civil rights leader who died on January 10th after nightriders fire-bombed his home. Dahmer's son, Vernon Jr., is a Master Sgt. in the U. S. Army. His three brothers are also members of the armed forces.

Mourning a martyr

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1966

Crime Against Civilization

The slaying of Vernon Dahmer in Hattiesburg, Miss., has all the earmarks of an atrocity aimed at the suppression of civil rights. The 58-year-old Negro, a past president of the NAACP in the town, had announced a campaign to collect poll tax fees so that members of his race could qualify to vote. The response of Hattiesburg hoodlums was an attack on his home and his store, both of which were burned to the ground. Mr. Dahmer's injuries proved fatal; his wife and daughter were also injured.

The country must find ways of stopping this kind of terrorism. One method of dealing with it was demonstrated a few weeks ago at Bogalusa, La., where leaders of the Ku Klux Klan who had engaged in harassment and lawlessness were put under injunction. The Department of Justice ought to be prepared to move into every community where there is a systematic pattern of racial violence. In most instances, we surmise, these outrages may be laid directly at the door of the Klan, and there seems to be little hope for improvement until that conspiracy against law and order is restrained or destroyed.

But the problem cannot be safely left entirely to the Federal Government. It is time for decent citizens everywhere to express their indignation over the continued toll of violence and to demand action by their communities and local governments. The murder of people because they are seeking their rights is a crime against civilization and must be treated as such.

NIGHTRIDERS KILL MISSISSIPPI NEGRO

Fire-bomb Attack Destroys Both Home and Grocery

SCENE OF FATAL BOMBING IN MISSISSIPPI: Ruins of house and grocery store of Vernon Dahmer, civil rights leader, smolder in Hattiesburg after being destroyed in the night by firebombs. Mr. Dahmer later died of injuries suffered in the fire.

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Jan. 10 (UPI) — Vernon Dahmer, a 58-year-old Negro civil rights leader, died late today of burns suffered when nightriders unleashed a pre-dawn firebomb attack on his home and his grocery store.

Mr. Dahmer, who had announced on a local radio station yesterday that he would collect poll taxes and pay them for Negro voters, died about 5 P.M. Eastern standard time.

His wife and daughter were hospitalized with burns, but two sons and Mr. Dahmer's elderly aunt, who ran the small grocery store for him, escaped injury.

In Washington, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach issued a statement praising Mr. Dahmer as a man "engaged in the highest kind of citizenship —helping to secure basic rights for his fellow citizens."

Johnson Voices Concern

Mr. Katzenbach said President Johnson "has expressed to me his deep concern over the tragedy." Mr. Johnson wanted the full resources of the Justice Department made available until the persons responsible for Mr. Dahmer's death were caught, Mr. Katzenbach said.

Critically burned, Mr. Dahmer staggered out of his flaming home early today and loosed a shotgun blast at the nightriders' fleeing car.

A shot-battered car, believed to be the one used by the nightriders, was found three miles away in adjacent Jones County, headquarters of the secret White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The owner of the car, an Ellisville man, reported to the police this morning that the car had been stolen last night. Two tires were blown out by the shotgun blast and the rear was dented by the pellets.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has accused the White Knights of plotting and carrying out much of Mississippi's racial violence. A number of alleged officials and members of the group from Jones County were under subpoena to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington this week.

It was the White Knights, the FBI asserted, who plotted the killing of three young civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss., in 1964.

Hattiesburg's Mayor Paul Grady, and Selby C. Bowling, president of the County Board of Supervisors, issued a joint statement denouncing the "tragic and deplorable" event and calling for both whites and Negroes to join efforts against lawlessness.

The statement pledged city and county support to law enforcement agencies "that not only those now responsible shall be brought to justice but that further events of this nature shall not again occur."

Mr. Dahmer, former president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appeared on a Hattiesburg radio station yesterday and announced he would begin collecting the poll tax — a $2 fee required for voting in state and local elections—from the Negro community and would take the money to the Sheriff's office.

More than 300 angry Negroes marched on the courthouse tonight demanding action over the death.

Charles Evers, state field director for the N.A.A.C.P., led the march and urged an economic boycott of the city. It was the same tactic used at Natchez, Miss., last summer after a local civil rights leader was injured in a bombing.

"The only thing the white man understands is the ballot and the dollar," Mr. Evers shouted. "We're going to get both of them."

Authorities said at least four "Molotov cocktails" — bottles filled with kerosene and stuffed with a wick — were thrown into Mr. Dahmer's two-story house and adjacent store about 2:30 A.M.

The dying man told the police he first believed a tear gas bomb was tossed inside the house first.

Mrs. Luranie Heidelberg, 84, Mr. Dahmer's aunt, said she was asleep in her room at the back of the store when the attack occurred.

"I got up and lay down on the floor," she said. "I heard glass shatter, then the place blazed up."

The house was aroused, but Mr. Dahmer, his wife, Ellie, 41, and daughter, Betty, 10, were burned. Two sons escaped injury.

The house was leveled, except for the two-story chimney. The store was destroyed as well as the family's automobile.

A pick-up truck owned by Mr. Dahmer, parked away from the house, was fired into several times, smashing windows, and an unexploded "Molotov cocktail" was found in the rear of the truck.

Negro's Views Voiced

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Jan. 10 (AP)—Earlier in the day, Mr. Dahmer, talking to a newsman from his hospital bed after the attack, said:

"I've been active in trying to get people to register to vote. People who don't vote are deadbeats on the state. I figure a man needs to do his own thinking.

"What happened to us last night can happen to anybody, white or black. At one time I didn't think so, but I have changed my mind."

Mr. Dahmer said he was awakened by gunshots about 2:30 A.M. He said he had grabbed a shotgun and fired several blasts at a rapidly disappearing car before fleeing with his family from the house.

State and Federal officials quickly joined Forrest County authorities in an investigation of the attack.

This was the second attack on a Mississippi N.A.A.C.P. leader in recent months. George Metcalf, president of the Natchez N.A.A.C.P. Chapter, was injured seriously last September when his car was booby-trapped.

U.S. Intervention Asked

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., asked the Federal Government last night to "move with all its powers" to find the persons who attacked Vernon Dahmer and his family in Hattiesburg, Miss., Sunday night.

"This is precisely the kind of outrage which has produced the demand for new Federal legislation to correct flagrant abuses in the administration of justice in so-called racial cases," Mr. Wilkins said in a telegram to Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Mr. Wilkins said the case "seems to fall clearly under the prohibition of the new law designed to restrain those who would interfere with the right to register and vote."

New York Herald

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NEW YORK POST

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By BERNARD

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Tribune Tuesday, January 11, 1966

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nightriders' fleeing car with shotgun pellets. Shortly afterward, a car riddled with shot was found abandoned in adjacent Jones County, headquarters of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Authorities said at least four "Molotov cocktails" were thrown into Mr. Dahmer's home and the store.

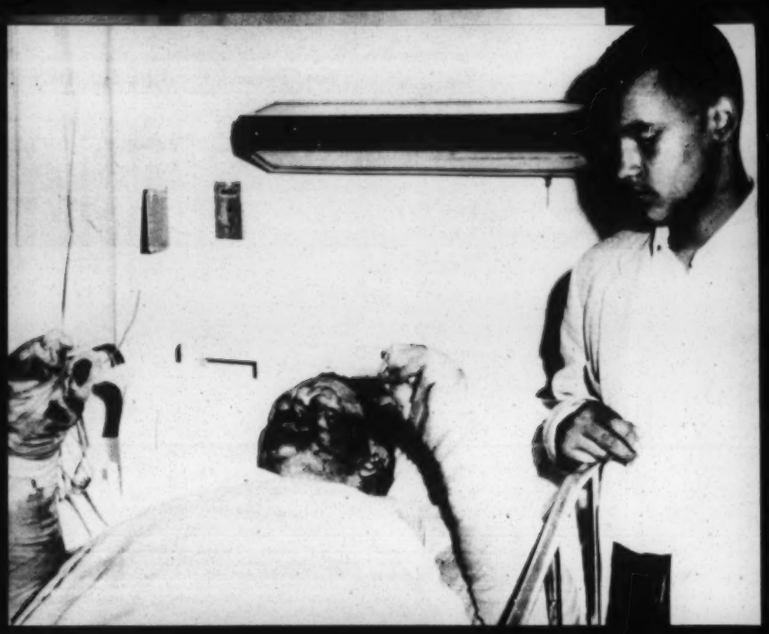
The victim was a past president of the local Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. An announcement had

Sunday that Mr. Dahmer would collect poll tax fees from Negroes for payment to the state in an effort to boost Negro voter registration.

Charles Evers, Mississippi NAACP chief, said, "That was the reason for the attack."

In Washington, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said in a statement that President Johnson had expressed to him "his deep concern over the grievous tragedy." Mr. Katzenbach said he advised the President the FBI has an intensive investi-

gation under way.



A SHORT VIGIL — Vernon Dahmer is visited by a son in the local hospital shortly before he died of burns suffered in the fire-bombing of his home.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN, TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1966

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Hattiesburg Slaying

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Although so badly burned that he died several hours later from the fire touched off by a volley of Molotov cocktails, Dahmer managed to fire a shotgun blast that struck his attackers' car.

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, TUESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1966

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Shortly before he died, Dahmer said from his hospital bed:

"I've been active in trying to get people to register to vote. People who don't vote are deadbeats. I figure a man needs to do his own thinking.

'Can Happen to Anybody'

"What happened to us last night can happen to anybody, white or black. At one time I didn't think so, but I have changed my mind."

Early yesterday, night-riders lobbed a tear gas bomb and four Molotov cocktails into the neat two-story house.

Critically wounded, Dahmer grabbed a shotgun, staggered out of the house and fired several rounds at the car.

The car, riddled with shotgun pellets, was later found three miles away, in adjacent Jones County, the headquarters of the secret White Knights, who are responsible for many outbursts of racial viole

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WHILE THEY WERE DEFENDING AMERICA'S FREEDOM . . .

Vernon Dahmer's four sons — all servicemen — inspect the bombed out ruins of their family home. The bombing which took the life of their father also caused injury to their young sister. At the time of the bombing all four men were on active duty.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1966.

Wilkins: What's Ahead on Rights

There have been stories in recent months that the civil-rights movement—many of its goals now fulfilled through Federal legislation and many of its activities preempted by the Federal Government—is in a period of crisis. The movement is said to be beset by factionalism and, while aware that change is necessary, uncertain about how and where to change. What follows is an interview by Martin Tolchin of The New York Times staff with Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on these problems.

Q. Is the civil rights movement in trouble?

WILKINS: I don't think it's in any greater trouble than it has been all along. It has alway had financial trouble and it's always had difficulty mobilizing an effective assault upon this or that segment of the problem.

Q. Yet you've noted that membership has fallen.

WILKINS: We think that a lot of people, seeing that civil rights laws have been passed, probably feel that the battle is over, or at least there's nothing left but to mop up and they'll let somebody else do that.

Q. Is the battle over?

WILKINS: No. As one of my colleagues has said, this is a more sophisticated era of civil rights. People can always be rallied to support, or renew their support, or enlarge their support when the battle involves personal persecution, like the case in Mississippi where a man's home was burned down, his grocery store burned down, his family sent to the hospital with burns and he himself died. The Negro public can transfer to that. But you say to them, "We want to study the curriculum of six junior high schools in Worcester, Mass." They say, "Oh." It's not dramatic.

Q. Well, are you satisfied with with the Federal efforts in civil rights?

WILKINS: Oh, we aren't, of course. Our present complaint with the Federal establishment is that we do not believe it has recruited an adequate staff for enforcement. And we also believe that the administration of non-discrimination in employment will require much more effort than the Government thus far is putting forward. The things that it did in 1950 simply won't go now.

Political Role

Q. Does the N.A.A.C.P. expect to get into politics?

WILKINS: If you mean by that are we going to sponsor candidates, endorse candidates, run candidates, the answer is no. We always say that we are a political organization, but we're non-partisan. We believe that the political weapon—the weapon of political influence can be used much more astutely and much more effectively by the Negro voter in the North and in the border states and now in the South. If he will study the ways of politics and eschew somewhat the ways of emotional fervor, the Negro voter can get results.

Q. With its middle class orientation, is the N.A.A.C.P. getting into the ghetto?

WILKINS: We do operate in the ghetto—we have chapters in 1,600 cities in all 50 states—but not as much as we would like to or as deeply as we intend to. We consider that we have tackled ghetto problems—housing, slumlords, bad schools, garbage removal, streets and lighting and sanitation and organizing tenant councils. It always amuses me to hear people talking about the N.A.A.C.P. being so legalistic and so respectable that it doesn't know anything about picketing and boycotts.

Well, we're the granddaddy of that sort of thing. We've forgotten more about it than these youngsters who walk around here carrying signs and chanting songs are likely ever to know. We ran picket lines back in 1915 when "Birth of a Nation" was first released by Hollywood. Picket lines are old stuff to us.

Q. What about this conflict with other civil rights groups?

WILKINS: Well, there is no conflict on basic programs—none whatsoever. I'm disturbed by the careless use of the term "civil rights movement" because this is an umbrella that takes in everybody. It takes in local groups that are headed by people you never heard of until last week. But it also takes in very small groups like Snick (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) which, I think, would not claim more than 200 so-called members or staff members in the United States, but which is very singular and devoted and dedicated in its purposes. It takes in Martin Luther King's organization, which is a group of affiliates, largely clerical, and behind that a loyal army of people who believe in Dr. King personally as a symbol, but do not constitute an organized body. It takes in CORE (Congress on Racial Equality), which is a very active group, but medium in size.

It takes in the Urban League, which is a specialized professional social work organization of highly-trained people in a limited number of cities—70 or 75 at the most—embarked on a program that envisages partnership and understanding and education and mutual help. And it takes in the N.A.A.C.P., which runs the spectrum. It takes in, for example, our friend Dick Gregory, who is a one-man army by himself, you know. He's part of the civil rights movement.

Q. What's ahead for N.A.A.C.P.?

WILKINS: Well, when I hear people talking about the civil rights movement changing and what are you going to do now, as far as we're concerned, we're going to intensify the same programs we have had, maybe with some modern touches and embellishments. But the basic problems of the American Negro remain unemployment due to racial discrimination; inferior and unequal education; lack of access to the ballot box, expecially in the South; slums and housing in the North; high prices and high interest rates and exploitation by local merchants and money lenders. These are the things we're going to tackle and we're going to continue to tackle.

Issues and Slogans

Now we have a better climate—a climate that we have helped to create. In fact, we think we have done more to create it than anyone else. I'm not throwing off on the other organizations, because they brought the very valuable involvement of great masses of people and they simplified the issues and made the people in the street understand them. They made them into slogans and they got people to work. I hail them. I welcome them. I think it has been a wonderful thing. But it has carried the seeds of its own delusions. People are buoyed up by slogans. But if people believe and if something doesn't happen next Thursday morning at 11 o'clock, then the whole movement is thought to be a failure.

Our big problem is a chronic one with all civil rights organizations—we need more money to carry out a good many of the plans that are here on paper and ready to be carried out. There are major problems, as I said, in northern urban centers. We think if they're not solved, if somebody doesn't do something about them, that we're going to have explosions in our cities that are going to be pretty terrible. I wish we had the money to do it.

I wish also we had the money to carry out the kind of registration campaign in the South that needs to be carried on. I don't mean the kind that picks a fight with the sheriff and gets somebody's head beaten and somebody thrown in jail and then you march down to the mayor's office in a protest demonstration. This is not registering voters. Registering voters requires year-round, day-to-day, neighborhood - to - neighborhood campaigns.

But the basic tactics will remain as they always have been. And I want to emphasize that the basic tactic for the N.A.A.C.P. has been flexible, has been fluid.

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December 14, 1965

Murder Unpunished

The name of the Rev. James J. Reeb can now be added to a sad, strange honor roll. Other names on that roll read: Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, Medgar Evers, Jimmy Lee Jackson and Jonathan Daniels. Negro and white, cleric and layman, man and woman, they share the common fate that they died in the South for their civil rights convictions—and that their murders go unpunished.

The trial of the three men accused of Mr. Reeb's murder that ended the other day in an acquittal in Selma, Ala., was not an isolated event. It featured testimony by two eyewitnesses positively identifying one of the defendants as the leader of the gang that attacked the dead man. But their words carried no weight with a local jury apparently determined not to convict. Two months ago another jury in Hayneville, Ala., ignored equally compelling evidence in the murder of Jonathan Daniels, a New Hampshire seminarian.

Such verdicts have to be "expected from time to time. They are the price you have to pay for the jury system." That was the comment of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach after the Hayneville fiasco. It seemed an inadequate response to the problem then; it is even more defective now.

The need is clear—as we have noted here before—for a law making it a Federal crime to commit an act of violence or to threaten violence with racial purpose or effect against any person. The United States Commission on Civil Rights recommended such a law last month; bills to this effect have been introduced in Congress by members of both parties but have not been acted upon because of Justice Department opposition.

One reason for that opposition is the reluctance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to become, in effect, a local police agency trying to solve local murders. The F.B.I.'s concern is understandable but exaggerated. The violence in the South is not likely to persist. It is the last spasm of a dying social order founded upon racial inequality and intimidation. If the Federal Government makes it plain that it will not permit violence to go unpunished, these murders will dwindle, for the men who commit them are as cowardly as they are despicable.

The fact that the three men who were accused of the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo and acquitted in a state court were subsequently convicted in a Federal court of conspiracy to deprive the dead woman of her civil rights is not a sufficient answer to the problem. A conspiracy statute is an awkward device with which to prosecute a capital offense, and the penalties possible under it are incommensurate with the gravity of the crime. A Federal law facing up to the full range and seriousness of these crimes is necessary. Murder can no longer go unpunished.

The Special Contribution Fund is the *only* tax-deductible channel for aiding the work of the NAACP, a nation-wide *membership* organization whose citizenship, youth, and legal programs are based on the activity of its branches in all fifty states.

NAACP SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION FUND
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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

NAIRO Newsletter

January-February 1966

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JOHN HOPE, II, President

FREDERICK B. ROUTH, Executive Director

Eleanor Roosevelt Interns Attend Mid-Term Seminar

NAIRO's third class of Eleanor Roosevelt Interns met at their mid-term seminar at Krisheim, conference center of the United Presbyterian Church—USA, near Philadelphia. March 6-8. Staff leaders of the seminar were Joe Allen, NAIRO Career Service Board Chairman; John Feild, CSB Vice Chairman; Nate Greene and Fred Routh. The Interns discussed case studies, which they had prepared in advance of the seminar. The staff was impressed with the high calibre of these case studies and with the high level of professional discussion which followed their presentation before the four discussion groups.

The Interns also heard four professionals discuss various aspects of the intergroup relations field. James Gibson, Poverty Specialist with the Potomac Institute, discussed local, neighborhood OEO centers; Walter Lewis, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' Federal Programs Division Director, discussed federal programs affecting civil rights; William Meek, Director of the Wharton Center, spoke on the role of Settlement Houses in the civil rights struggle; and Richard Taylor, Executive Director of the Fair Housing Council of Delaware Valley, presented a case study in community tension, dealing with housing integration in Folcroft, Pennsylvania. In each case, speakers complimented the Interns for asking the hard questions and for showing an unusual grasp of the field.

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U. S. Senate and House Told NAIRO Opposes CRS Transfer

NAIRO Executive Director, Fred Routh, appeared before the Sub-Committee on Executive Reorganization of the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations on March 3rd. Routh was invited by Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Sub-Committee Chairman, at the request of Senator Jacob Javits to present testimony based on NAIRO's Resolution protesting the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department. NAIRO President, John Hope regarded this as a further step in carrying out the mandate of the membership to make known NAIRO's position on this important matter. Routh also appeared before the hearings held by the counterpart in the House of Representatives.

Routh explained to the two Committees NAIRO's role as a professional association then, after reading the Resolution into the record, he said in part:

"The discussion which took place before the final adoption of this resolution unfolded the rationale behind the concern expressed in it. It was felt that the assignment of the community relations service to the Justice Department would create unneccessary problems. It was the professional opinion of those who spoke that among the problems such a move would create are:

"(a) A confusion of role. The Community Relations Service has assumed the role not only of assisting in the desegregation of public accommodations and public facilities, but also the even more crucial role of assisting communities, through persuasion and conciliation to provide equality of opportunity and treatment for all their citizens. Their representatives have also been useful in crisis situations and, on the basis of their efforts of last summer, in preventing crisis situations. The important phrase in what I have just said, is 'through persuasion and conciliation.'

"The Justice Department is the legal branch, the enforcement agency, the prosecutor. These are undertakings that it performs well, but they are undertakings different from persuasion and conciliation. Certainly, in the past, members of the Justice Department have been effective at conciliatory and persuasive efforts. We are indebted to Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, to John Doar, currently the Assistant Attorney General for

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1966 CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 15-18, LOS ANGELES

BEYOND DESEGREGATION

The question of next steps after school desegregation is of increasing concern to educators and to intergroup relations professionals. Most recognize that desegregation is not enough; that integregation is a must on democracy's agenda. The Community Relations Conference of Southern California has adopted an Educational Policy Statement which shows advanced thinking on this matter. NAIRO members might find it useful to share this policy statement in their respective communities.

Educational Policy Statement—Community Relations Conference of Southern California

The Community Relations Conference of Southern California believes that education is a basic human right and an important instrument of individual and social change.

We believe that the goals of education apply equally to all human beings. We believe, however, that many of these goals often are neglected and that among these neglected goals are:

Helping every person realize his full potential and develop into the best that is he capable of becoming;

Recognizing persons as unique individuals characterized by individual and cultural differences with a variety of needs and interests;

Developing in each person the ability to perceive accurately the world in which he lives; and

Creating an environment for sensitive, human relationships among people of various races, religions, backgrounds, and social classes.

We believe that these goals cannot be pursued fully in segregated schools, even de facto segregated schools. This is equally applicable for students in all-majority group schools and all-minority group schools. Both groups are, in a very vital sense, disadvantaged. While the definition of "racial balance" must be based on different problems in different situations, we believe that a positive commitment to quality, integrated education—as opposed to desegregation—must be clearly defined by every school district. Such integration should not mean physical proximity alone, although that is necessary, but rather a continually growing condition of mutual esteem and social interaction. Integrated teaching staffs, of course, are essential to this entire process.

As these goals are achieved and as integration takes place, there will continue to be large numbers of students who are educationally disadvantaged because of prior experience, cultural differences, factors of class and caste, and or discrimination. We believe, therefore, that throughout every school district programs of integration must be accompanied by massive programs of "differential education" or what has been known as compensatory education. (We do not believe that integration and differential education within individual schools or individual classes are mutually exclusive or even can take place effectively one without the other.) These programs of differential education must use all possible resources, funds, agencies and techniques to overcome blocks to learning and encourage aspiration and motivation. This should not be limited to curriculum offerings and sensitive, individualized teaching and counseling, but should include physical facilities and equipment (libraries, cafeterias, etc.) There must be no "superior" and "inferior" schools.

We believe that public schools have the obligation to lead students toward ways of thinking and feeling about people that will make it natural for each to regard the other as an individual, to be evaluated as an individual without regard to racial or other characteristics irrelevant to his individual worth. To this end the public schools must pursue programs of instruction and attitude formation that will lead students to accept their differences and to develop emotionally secure attitudes toward themselves and their fellows. Most important to the successful pursuit of such a program of intergroup education is the maintenance of democratic relationships within the school among pupils, teachers and administrators. Essential to it is an emphasis, pervading the atmosphere of the school, expressed in curriculum and classroom, and reflected in the genuine commitment of the entire system and its personnel.

Teacher training, both pre-service and in-service, designed to develop and intensify sensitivity and skills in dealing with individual and group differences in the classroom is therefore vital to the quality, integrated education that we seek. This means, primarily, developing in all teachers the ability to see and respond to human beings as human beings, deal constructively with prejudices in themselves and their students, and erase the myths and stereotypes of racial and religious superiority or inferiority that lead to fears and tensions in the classroom and the community. This means attention not only to specific preparation of the teacher, but also to the need for accurate and adequate teaching materials particularly designed to strengthen the concept of self of all students and present to all students the too-frequently overlooked contributions of minority groups to the American heritage and mankind generally.

We believe that these goals and the educational programs necessary to achieve them not only will benefit all members of our society but also are the responsibility of all members of our society. We believe, therefore, that there is an urgent need for broad community understanding and support in order to bring about the gigantic and costly coordinated effort by all agencies of the community that will be required to make this vision a reality. We believe, however, that no effort and expense can be deemed too great to assure the future of our greatest resource—The American people. We believe, further, that educators must take primary responsibility for leadership in this endeavor, not only within the schools but also in the development of a school-community partnership to overcome the conditions that presently represent obstacles to such an educational achievement.

We realize, of course, that there are many informal educational problems that are beyond the scope of this statement and whose solution is the responsibility of the total community and the educator as citizen.

Finally, while we believe that educators must thus commit themselves to the achievement of quality, integrated education, we also pledge that the Community Relations Conference of Southern California, through its Education Committee and individual members, will devote the fullest measure of its resources and energies to:

Interpretation of the need for quality, integrated education;
Continued advocacy and support of efforts to achieve quality, integrated education; and finally,
Serve as a catalyst and the conscience of the community in seeking to make this kind of education a basic human right.

ANNA HOLDEN FILES CLAIM Miss Anna Holden, recently discharged employee of the Equal Opportunities Program of the U.S. Office of Education, has filed a claim with NAIRO's Grievance Committee, alleging unfair personnel practices. Chairman of the Committee is Walter Green; heading the investigating committee is John Feild who promised a prompt, thorough, and objective investigation. Procedures call for the investigating committee, upon completion of its investigation, to report to the Grievance Committee which, in turn, reports to NAIRO's Board with recommendations for disposition; final determination is in the hands of the Board. Quite a number of NAIRO members have written the national office asking about this particular situation. When the Board has made its final determination, all members will be notified of it. Miss Holden filed her complaint on March 17.

PRESIDENT'S CORNER

In the last issue of the NAIRO Newsletter, in the President's Corner, I raised five questions which might help clarify the similarities and differences between the roles of the intergroup relations practitioner, the civil rights worker, and those engated in the War on Poverty. I suggested that these questions might be examined at Chapter meetings. I would like to take the concept behind that suggestion a little further.

NAIRO Chapters can perform a very important service to our members and to other staff members, particularly those who only recently have come to our field. A number of our members have expressed some alarm at the lack of background in intergroup relations and civil rights evidenced among some new staff members with various governmental agencies. We should keep in mind that these are persons who voluntarily chose to come to this field and they they need help in understanding the principles, techniques, and nuances which are old-hat to many of us. There is a great reservoir of knowledge in each NAIRO Chapter which might be tapped by newcomers to our field.

We in NAIRO have often said that the difference between a NAIRO Chapter and a local coalition of agencies is in the professional focus on issues—including theory—found in the Chapter. Fred Routh has often said the most important purpose of NAIRO, itself, is to raise the perception and practice of those in the field. Chapters can contribute significantly to this, in a way that national NAIRO cannot. The Chapters are where the people are—members and non-members who have recently entered our field.

Lloyd Davis' Committee on Chapter Development is working manfully to give the Chapters an increasing role in the Association and an increased usefulness to the field. Art Levin's Committee on Program Development is contributing substantive ideas for improving program at both the national and Chapter levels. It is not enough that their good work reach only our members; it must also reach those who only recently have come to our field and many of whom have not yet joined NAIRO.

Chapters could—indeed, **should** provide opportunities for raising perception and practice among newcomers, NAIRO members and non-members alike. This would suggest a series of special meetings which would constitute an informal course in intergroup relations. Individual sessions should cover a number of substantive areas—perhaps, one area of study per session: employment, education, housing, police-community relations, etc. However, before getting into substantive questions it would seem wise to start with a session on some of the over-all issues in our field. I would suggest that we should start with a look at some of the advanced thinking in our field. I have always been impressed with the special issue of the JOURNAL OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS entitled, "Goals, Directions and Priorities in Intergroup Relations in the Decade Ahead." issued in the Spring of 1960. We will make this available, as a discussion guide, to newcomers who participate in the courses you set up for one dollar (rather than the regular price of $1.75).

You who serve as Chapter Chairmen, may expect to hear from Art Levin's Committee, suggesting a format for a series of meetings aimed at meeting the needs of newcomers to our field. Lloyd Davis' Committee will also be in touch with you regarding the involvement of newcomers in such a series and how, hopefully, this

(Continued on page 4)

DIRECTOR'S BOX

During the last few days of January and the early part of February, I made a swing about the country to visit selected Chapters and also certain cities in which NAIRO members had indicated an interest in developing NAIRO Chapters. The trip again demonstrated the desirability of having the Director and/or the President visit Chapters for there is no substitute for face-to-face exchanges of information, ideas, problems, and gripes. Personally, it also provided an opportunity to renew old friendships and to make new ones.

During the trip, I visited with leaders and members in the following Chapters: Mid-Central, in Kansas City; Northern California, in San Francisco; and Southern California, in Los Angeles. Cities in which NAIRO members had shown an interest in developing a Chapter, which I visited were: Dallas, Denver, Indianapolis, Phoenix, and Seattle. NAIRO is indebted to the many loyal members who came to these meetings and, even more, to those who called them; especially Maceo Smith and Gus Falk in Dallas, Helen Peterson and Sheldon Steinhauser in Denver, Grif Crump and Harold Hatcher in Indianapolis, Henry Cabirac in Phoenix, and Phil Hyasaka and Al Cowles in Seattle.

During my stay in Los Angeles, I met with the 1966 Annual Conference Planning Committee and found they are moving along nicely in developing a meaningful, professional program outline. Committee Chairman John Lyons indicated that a progress report would be ready for the April NAIRO Board Meeting. In San Francisco, Ed Howden had called the faithful together and the thirty-five, or so, present agreed to reorganize the Chapter and see that it met on a more regular basis. In Kansas City, Todd Pavela held an informal Chapter meeting and arranged for me to speak to the Mayors and Commission Board Members of both Kansas Cities in a joint-session.

During the period since I have been back, results have begun to flow in. Grif Crump, Executive Director of the Indianapolis Commission on Human Rights, has sent in a petition for Chapter status, complete with By-Laws, Officers, and a list of Charter Chapter Members. Bob Greenwald has written, indicating that Dallas is moving ahead to form a Chapter. Henry Cabirac has done the same for Phoenix, as has Phil Hyasaka for Seattle. Denver has indicated that it may "act as a Chapter for six months" before petitioning for full Chapter status. Bill Gremley informs us that the Northern California Chapter is off and running again. In other words, NAIRO is on the move. We should have between twenty-two and twenty-five Chapters by the end of this year.

During my four years as Director, I have never before seen such a high degree of interest and activity in NAIRO. And you must feel that this issue of the Director's Box is en-during, if not endearing.

Three New Books from the Indiana University Press

Poems From Black Africa Edited by Langston Hughes. "The first major collection of its kind, represents 38 African poets from 11 countries, ranging in attitude and poetic form from personal lyricism to nationalistic protest, from the Petrarchan sonnet to . . . modern verse . . . will stimulate in readers new feelings about an increasingly vital continent...This collection, through the sure intimacy peculiar to poetry, adds modernity, delicacy, and beauty to our shifting image of Africa."—James A. Emanuel, The New York Times Book Review.

"An overdue contribution (beyond many current histories and reports) to our awareness of the complex truth presented in Nicol's 'The Meaning of Africa': 'You are not a Country, Africa, You are a Concept...'" —Ray Smith, Library Journal, 158 pages, $4.95.

The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afroamerican Studies By Melville J. Herskovits• Edited by Frances S. Herskovits. Bringing together for the first time selected articles by the distinguished anthropologist, this volume presents a comprehensive survey of Herskovit's exhaustive study of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere. The author came to perceive the Afro-american field as a laboratory in which hypotheses of the widest scope in the study of acculturation could be tested, with ethnohistory as the control factor. Moreover, he regarded acculturation as a process of mutual exchange rather than a matter of members of minority groups taking over the cultural elements of a dominant majority. Herskovits also insisted that the study of a culture be holistic, and that the arts and values of a people be given full weight.

The volume is divided into eight major sections entitled The Afroamerican Field—A Laboratory for the Study of Man; Theory and Method; Ethnohistory—The Laboratory Control in Studies of Acculturation; Ethnopsychology; The Arts; Cult Life in Brazil; The World View of an Urban Community—Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana; and Reinterpretations. 480 pages, $10.00.

Three Years in Mississippi By James Meredith. This is James Meredith's own account of his experiences as the first Negro to enter the University of Mississippi. It contains not only the details of his fight to enroll and of the years he spent at "Ole Miss" but also his personal assessment of the racial struggle in the South, and his proposals for the future course of the civil rights movement, which often differ markedly from those advocated by Martin Luther King and other Negro leaders. 384 pages, $5.95.

INTERNS—Cont. from page 1

Cheerful and tearful goodbyes were said at the end of what one Intern identified as "Three exhausting but invaluable days."

NAIRO has a request pending before the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation to carry on the Intern Training Project.

BOOK FOR CHILDREN For those who have young children, for those who teach them, or for those who love them, there is a splendid new book on the market. Published by Piper Books and written by Sheldon N. Ripley, it is entitled: **Matthew Henson—Arctic Hero.** It is the story, told for ten to twelve year-olds, of the Co-Discoverer of the North Pole with Admiral Perry. The author in a closing note writes, "In trying to write about Matt Henson, I have tried to pick out the events in and around his boyhood that shaped his life and led him to become the man he was. For example, there were the people he met who saw only the color of his skin. They filled him with determination to prove that a Negro deserved the same rights as any man....But is was his meeting with Perry that was the turning point in his life...They found in each other the qualities they admired most—courage, loyalty, and determination." 188 pages.

PROJECT EQUALITY EXPANDS STAFF The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice recently announced the expansion of its staff to service the rapidly growing PROJECT EQUALITY equal employment opportunity program. Curtis Heaston of Chicago has joined the National interracial agency as Associate Director of the Department of Employment Sercices and Assistant National Program Director of Project Equality.

Conference executive director Mathew Ahmann stated that the appointment was required by the growing number of requests for the PROJECT EQUALITY program by Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish jurisdictions in all parts of the United States. PROJECT EQUALITY is a program using an educative approach by engaging the economic resources of religious institutions to overcome discrimination in employment practices.

The program was initiated in the Roman Catholic Archdioceses of St. Louis and Detroit in May 1965 and is now also operating in the Roman Catholic Archdioceses of San Antonio and Hartford, the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, the Presbytery of Detroit, the Methodist Church of Detroit, the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Detroit, and Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches.

According to Mr. Ahmann, the program should be established in about forty different religious jurisdictions by 1968. "Over 6,000 business firms have announced participation in PROJECT EQUALITY to date," Mr. Ahmann said, "and the list is growing by about 500 companies per month."

President's Corner—Cont. from page 3

may lead to increased membership. What I hope to do now is to introduce this thinking to you—not to Chapter Chairmen, alone, but to the general membership; it is my firm conviction that such activities will enable NAIRO to assume the proper role, even more fully of the professional association in the field of intergroup relations. It is my belief that this will contribute to the maturation of our field and that it will bring it closer to being a profession, with all the ramifications involved.

ADL RESEARCH ANNUAL ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS '65 The Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has again issued the valuable Research Annual on Intergroup Relations. It is edited by Melvin M. Tumin, Professor of Sociology at Princeton University. It is available at $1.95 in soft cover and $6.00 in hard cover from your local ADL office or from ADL, 315 Lexington Ave. New York, N.Y. 10016.

"Continuing an annual enterprise begun in 1958, this bulletin is designed to provide digests of research in the field of intergroup relations for the period September, 1964, to April, 1965...The information on which the digests are based was secured from responses to questionnaires sent out to persons identified as possibly active in the field of intergroup relations."

Encompassing completed, continuing, and contemplated projects, Professor Tumin provides an authoritative, cross referenced guide to current investigations of prejudice and social and behavioral problems among ethnic, racial, religious, and national groups. Reports are categorized according to principal focus of interest and listed alphabetically by author. The RESEARCH ANNUAL makes readily available the latest findings about patterns of discrimination in northern cities—in housing, education, and job opportunities—the attitude of the "radical right" toward Negroes and Jews, the reactions of Negroes to Puerto Ricans, of Mexicans to American Indians, of Hindus to Moslems, and of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews to each other. Other studies explore the problems of interracial marriage, the responses to the civil rights movement, the new approaches to crime and delinquency, and the development of attitudes both within minority groups and within the larger community.

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A NOTE OF APOLOGY In the last issue of the NAIRO Newsletter it was announced that flyers were being enclosed from the Encampment For Citizenship and from the magazine **Community**. These had been sent to the NAIRO office for distribution to our members. We dutifully stuffed them in with the Newsletter and hauled them to the Post Office. Two days later a call from the Post Office indicated that our mailing permit did not include the right to circulate solicitations bearing postal permits from other cities as these did. Sorry we couldn't send you these materials. The two groups in question will be in touch with you themselves.

NAIRO Opposes CRS Transfer
(Continued from page 1)

Civil Rights and to others who have performed this role, but these have been occasional affairs and have not constituted the main activities of the Justice Department.

"(b) A confusion of image. What people believe is often as important and often more important than what is. If, as I have indicated, there would be role confusion by assigning the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department, it was the professional opinion of those at the conference who discussed this resolution that there would be even more serious confusion regarding the image of the Community Relations Service as a part of the Justice Department. Out in the communities of the nation, the Justice Department is thought of as a combination of the FBI, the Federal District Attorney and Justice Department Attorneys enforcing the laws; the image of the Community Relations Service is that of an agency offering to assist, through professional services, communities in difficult situations or facing hard decisions. The image of the Community Relations Service attached to the Justice Department might best be described by a combination of the thinking of the Prophet Micah and Teddy Roosevelt: 'What is asked of the Community Relations Service but that it love mercy, do justly, walk humbly with its God and carry a big stick."

Routh summarized his experience as Executive Director of the Michigan FEPC and their practice of keeping distinct the roles of professionals as investigators and as staff directors of local Employment Advisory Committees in any one community. He explained that Field Representatives who served a local Employment Advisory Committee in a secretariat capacity did not investigate claims in the same community.

Routh also pointed out that a concern with the function of a Community Relations Service was not new with NAIRO. He read into the record the section of **Executive Responsibility in Intergroup Relations** entitled "Community Consultative Services in Intergroup Relations." This was the report presented to President Kennedy in 1961.

In conclusion, Routh said,

"One last word, Mr. Chairman: there are today in thirty-two of our States governmental intergroup relations agencies; only one is located in the Attorney-General's Office; there are today in some one hundred and seventy of our cities governmental intergroup relations agencies; not one is located in the Office of the City Attorney. Experience would seem to suggest that what has been organizationally valid for the States and the cities is also valid for the Federal Government. Mr. Chairman, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials stands opposed to the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice."

Congress Gets The Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966

A bipartisan group of 20 Senators headed by Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and Clifford Case (R., N.J.), on Thursday, February 10, introduced the bill under the title, "The Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966" (S.2923).

The bill is a response to the violence at Selma and Birmingham, the street corner and highway killings of men and women peacefully asserting their constitutional rights, and the kind of outrageous justice that has resulted in the acquittal of practically self-confessed murders.

What the Douglas-Case Bill Contains

Its six titles provide for: non-discriminatory selection of juries in federal and state courts; removal of state crimes to federal courts in order to assure equal protection of the law; injunctions against police and private violence; removal to federal courts of cases brought against Negroes and civil rights workers with the clear purpose of harassing them and subjecting them to discriminatory and segregated trial; compensation for persons killed or injured while exercising their lawful rights; and non-discrimination in the employment of persons in jails and courts and all facilities of justice.

The Senators omitted from their bill a provision in the draft prepared by a committee of well-known civil rights attorneys that would permit the Civil Service Commission to remove state and local police officials whose violation of their constitutional duty resulted in death or maiming.

Representatives Charles C.Diggs, Jr. (D., Mich) and Donald M.. Fraser (D., Minn.) have introduced substantially the same bill in the House (H.R. 12807 and H.R. 12818); but they included the provision for removing state and local police officials who fail in their duty.

The bills are being referred to the Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

From: the Washington Bureau, NAACP

National Civil Liberties Clearing House Annual Meeting Set

What can be done to end segregated justice in the South? Can our free society cope with its zooming crime rate without basic changes in our concepts of justice and due process of law? How can our expanding cities work to cure their spreading slums, increasing racial isolation, growing tensions, and other problems of the urban poor?

These are among the questions that will be discussed when the National Civil Liberties Clearing House holds its 18th annual conference in Washington, D.C., on April 21 and 22, at the new Washington-Hilton Hotel.

A major address on "The Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights over Fifty Years" by Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., will be the highlight of the conference banquet session.

Among other speakers listed for the national interorganizational convocation on civil rights and civil liberties issues are John Doar, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division; Roger Wilkins, director of the Community Relations Service; Mayor Arthur Holland of Trenton, N.J., who himself has spearheaded his city's drive to maintain balanced neighborhoods by moving with his family into a near-slum house; James Farmer, director-designate of the new National Center for Community Action Education and past director of CORE; Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., counsel for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; and James Vorenberg, director of the President's National Crime Commission and of the Justice Department's Office of Criminal Justice.

More than 170 agencies—governmental as well as private—were represented at the 1965 Clearing House conference, and this year an even larger attendance is anticipated.

Lawrence Speiser, director of the Washington Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, is chairman of the Clearing House and of the conference. Co-chairmen of the conference program committee are Harold C. Fleming, executive vice president of the Potomac Institute, and Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Additional information about the Clearing House, which is an association of national organizations concerned with civil rights and liberties problems, or about its conference may be obtained by writing to Mary Alice Baldinger, executive director, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 1637 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.-20036, or phone DuPont 7-6300 (area code 202)

SEPTEMBER COLLOQUIUM

Four distinguished speakers, each an outstanding authority in social theory and social action, will lead a two-day Colloquium, planned as one of the events marking the 50th Anniversary of Western Reserve University's School of Applied Social Sciences. The Colloquium will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 29 and 30, 1966. Its theme will be "SOCIAL THEORY and SOCIAL INVENTION: The Translation of Ideas and Knowledge into Action for the Welfare of Society."

Robert K. Merton, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, **Charles Frankel,** currently Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs; **Michael Harrington,** author of the seminal volume, THE OTHER AMERICA, and **Gunnar Myrdal,** professor of International Economics, Stockholm University, and world-renowned author of THE AMERICAN DILEMMA and BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE, will be the keynote Colloquium speakers. Each will present his views on the possibility of harnessing the best of social theory and developing patterns of testing and application to push forward our capacity to deal effectively with our major problems, prevent new ones from arising, and enhance the well being of our people.

NAIRO members desiring further information on the 50th Anniversary Colloquium may write to-Office of the Anniversary Committee, 11125 Euclid Ave., Room 302, Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

CHEMUNG COUNTY, N.Y. Executive Director (1/2 time) Chemung County Commission on Human Relations **and** Assistant Director (1/2 time) of The Council of Community Services of Chemung County; this is a dual position. Salary: $9,800. Desirable preparation: graduation from accredited school of social work with specialization in community organization plus 3 or more years professional experience in community organization. Contact Mr. James S. Cary, Executive Director, The Council of Community Services Federation Bldg. Elmira, N.Y. 14901.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. Director of Field Operations. Salary: $13,000-$15,000. Responsibilities: supervision of field offices, development of programatic activities, membership, etc. For further information contact: Mr. Richard Cohen, American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th St. N.Y., N.Y. 10028.

CINCINNATI JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE. Executive Director. Salary: open —something like $13,000 plus or minus depending on qualifications. Qualifications: bright, competent, with integrity, knowledge of Jewish Community life; a civil libertarian with a capacity to work well with people. For further information contact: Mr. Harold K. Goldstein, % Harmon, Colston, Goldsmith, and Hoadly; 1700 First National Bank Building; Cincinnati, Ohio 45202.

STATE OF MAINE, DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. Indian Development Specialist. Salary: not listed. Qualifications: experience in social service field, social science, education and/or government. Education: graduation from four year college or university with major in sociology-anthropology, behavioral sciences, or education. Applicants with bi-cultural experiences are especially invited to apply. Applications may be obtained from: The Examination Division, Maine State Department of Personnel; State House; Augusta, Maine.

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y. City Human Relations Commission. Executive Director. Salary: not specified. This is a new city commission, located in a city which shares its name with the one across the Niagara River in Ontario. For further information write: Mr. Paul H. Reid, Jr. % Findlay, Hackett, Reid and Wattengel; United Office Building; Niagara Falls, N.Y. 14303. (Mr. Reid is Chairman of the Commission).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE is now recruiting a large staff for civil rights compliance programs. There will be about 200 permanent professional jobs at annual salaries ranging from $7,479 (GS-9) to $17,055 (GS-15). Jobs will be in Washington, D.C. and in HEW regional offices in Boston, Mass.; New York, N.Y.; Charlottesville, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; Chicago, Ill.; Kansas City, Mo.; Dallas Texas; Denver, Colo.; and San Francisco, Calif.

HEW also plans to hire 100 professionals and 200 graduate students for **temporary** work this summer on civil rights compliance projects (8-10 weeks, starting approximately June 20). These employees will be attached to a field office after preliminary training in Washington. Salaries for temporary professional positions will range from $2,400 to $3,200, depending upon qualifications, for 10 weeks employment; for graduate students, $1,000 to $1,200, for 10 weeks, depending upon education qualifications.

To apply: Send Standard Form 57 (Application for Federal Employment, available at local Post Office) to: Mr. Charles Dawson, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Room 5316, North Building, Washington, D.C. 20201.

POSITION DESIRED

Interested in Assistant Directorship working primarily in Youth and Education. Some Public Relations experience includes: B.S. Public Relations, some graduate work in Education, 3 years teaching experience. Currently with national organization engaged in field of intergroup work but seek change and greater specialization to fulfill talents.

Please address inquiries to Burton H. Boroff, 735 Sligo Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910.

DAMPENING THE FAR RIGHT'S RING A number of members have written indicating that their communities have been plagued with the "Let Freedom Ring" campaign wherein a phone number is listed in the paper or given on radio and people are urged to call for a "patriotic message." The message has consisted of attacks on such persons as President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Martin Luther King; such institutions as the United Nations, National Council of Churches, the PTAs' the Peace Corps and the ADL.

The Bell Telephone System, respecting freedom of speech, has refused to prohibit their being heard. But the parent company, its subsidiaries, and affiliates have done something about the situation. Hereafter, under new regulations, sponsors must include in the recorded message the name of the organization or individual sponsoring it and the address at which the "service" is provided. Failure to comply will result in termination. Exempted are such pre-recorded messages as time-of-day, weather, etc. etc. If this new regulation is not being followed in your community let us know here at the national office.

JOURNAL OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS INDEX AVAILABLE A complete index of the JOURNAL (published to date—Vol. I through Vol. IV is now available in mimeographed form. It may be obtained from the NAIRO office for $1.00.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO DELINQUENT MEMBERS

The NAIRO Board of Directors, at its January meeting, instructed the staff to review the status of membership dues delinquency and to report to the Board at its April meeting. Behind this action is a growing dissatisfaction with the discrepancy between the number of members carried on the rolls and the income from membership dues. This discrepancy can only be attributable to dues delinquency.

All delinquent members were billed in the two month period of December-January and all are being billed again at this time. Some of the delinquents read like a "Who's Who in NAIRO." All members are urged to renew promptly when billed; delinquent members are in jeopardy of being dropped after the April Board meeting. One member reported to the office that another member, when urged to renew, had said, "Why should I pay my dues when I get the services anyway?" This, we believe, is a rare exception. We regard delinquents not as free-loaders but as busy persons who have let their dues notice slip by their desk and from their memory. We hope that this special notice will, as the lawyers say, "refresh their recollection."

THIRTY-NINE NEW MEMBERS SINCE LAST NEWSLETTER

Mr. Lewis L. Akenhead, Jefferson City, Mo.
Mr. Kenneth J. Augustine, Saginaw, Mich
Mr. Fred I. Baker, Dallas, Texas
Beverly J. Bergman, St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. John Carstarphen, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Barton R. Clausen, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Eleanor G. Crow, Boulder, Colo.
Mr. Luis A. Delgado, Cleveland, Ohio
Mr. Eugene DuBow, Nyack, N.Y.
Mr. Walter. Ehrhardt, Los Angeles, Calif.
Miss Patricia A. Fitzgerald, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Mark J. Gallagher, Wyncote, Pa.
Mr. Price Hughes, Dallas, Texas
Mr. Jeffrey O. Jones, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Wellington D. Kohl, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Bernard W. Learman, New York, New York
Mr. Richard D. Letts, Lansing, Mich.
Mr. Henry W. McGee, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Edward J. McVeigh, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Stel B. Neumann, Bronx, N.Y.
Mrs. Beverly K. Oien, St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. Alphonso Patrick, Lancaster, Pa.
Mr. Joseph F. Payne, Los Angeles, Calif.
Mr. Brad Poston, Columbia, S.C.
Mr. Felix M. Putterman, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Morris L. Schneider, San Francisco, Calif.
Mrs. Eileen Schulman, New York, N.Y.
Mr. Albert Schwartz, New York, N.Y.
Mr. Monroe R. Sheinberg, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Alonzo Hilton Shockley, Jr., N. Babylon, N.Y.
Miss Doris Anne Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mr. Eugene Solon, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Irving Statman, Dallas, Texas
Brenda L. Strong, Washington, D.C.
Miss Jean M. Whittet, New York, N.Y.
Mr. Bert Wilson, Dallas, Texas
Miss Beatrice Young, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Thaddeus Zachery, Philadelphia, Pa.
Nan Zeller, Bethlehem, Pa.

MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES The long awaited NAIRO Membership Certificates are now available and will be distributed shortly to Members in good standing in 1966; others will receive their Certificates as they renew their dues or as they join NAIRO for the first time. The Certificate, itself, is a handsome thing—suitable for framing and hanging on a member's office wall. It is on "stock certificate" paper, carries the NAIRO Corporation Seal, and has the member's name hand-printed; medallions have been printed, carrying the year in which the membership is current...a new medallion will be added each year in which a member has renewed his or her dues. They are signed by the President and the Executive Director of NAIRO.

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • 387-7050
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Rec'd 4/25/66

IMPORTANT

TO: INTERNS AND SUPERVISORS, GROUP III

FROM: NATHAN GREENE, INTERN PROGRAM CONSULTANT

SUBJECT: IMPORTANT CORRECTION, RE: MEMO OF APRIL 18th, 1966

As was stated in the AMENDMENT TO THE LETTER OF AGREEMENT, signed by agency representatives some months ago, the AGENCIES will pay travel and maintenance for Interns for the Evaluation Seminar held May 21, 22, 23 at Airlie House.

It was incorrectly stated in the Memo of April 18 that NAIRO would be paying these expenses.

Sorry for this oversight; we hope it has not led to confusion.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

NAIRO Newsletter

March-April 1966

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • 387-7050

JOHN HOPE, II, President

FREDERICK B. ROUTH, Executive Director

HERBLOCK DESIGNS BILL OF RIGHTS STAMP

A United States postage stamp commemorating the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights has been designed by Herbert L. Block, whose cartoons signed Herblock appear in The Washington Post and are syndicated throughout the world.

In an announcement on the stamp which the cartoonist was commissioned to design earlier this year, Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien said, "We are naturally delighted that Mr. Block has joined the increasing number of topflight artists who are turning their talents to stamp designing."

Herblock, who has won all major journalism awards including two Pulitzer Prizes and four Sigma Delta Chi awards, has also won special recognition for his work on behalf of civil liberties and civil rights, for which he received Harvard University's Lauterbach Award and the Florina Lasker Award of the New York Civil Liberties Union. He expressed particular pleasure at having been asked to design the stamp on the freedoms guaranteed by the first ten amendments to the Constitution. His red-white-and-blue design shows the hand of freedom opposing the gauntleted fist of tyranny, and will be issued July 1st.

23rd ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The famous Fisk Institute on Race Relations will meet for the twenty-third time this summer. Dates of the Institute are June 27-July 9. A group of experienced and skilled practitioners and outstanding academicians will serve as lecturers and an able staff will give direction to the Institute.

Participants come from every part of the nation and represent a wide variety of voluntary and governmental organizations. Among their numbers are teachers and students, clergymen and laymen, social workers and group workers, labor leaders and businessmen, members of human relations committees and personnel from government agencies. The specific purpose of the two-week program is to orient these actual and potential community leaders to the problems, processes, and methods of implementing better human relations.

Seminar meetings are held each morning from 8 to 12, with a half-hour coffee break between. These involve systematic presentations by speakers on various aspects of inter-group relations, followed by questions and discussion from the floor. In the first week the seminars are devoted to the broader context of human relations issues, and in the second specific problems in such areas as housing, education, politics, and economics, are studied.

Informal clinics are held in the afternoon from 1:30 to 3:30, allowing Institute participants to share their specific concerns and experiences. These groups are centered around problems in the fields of employment, community action, and religion and race. In addition, there is a special clinic sponsored by the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches.

The center for all Institute activities is the campus of Fisk University. Seminar discussions and clinic meetings take place in Park-Johnson Hall, the social science building. Living facilities are provided in modern dormitories, and meals are served in the university cafeteria in the Student Union Building, where recreational facilities are also available. Guides to the campus and to the city of Nashville are sent out in advance.

Payment of a fee of $80 will cover all expenses for registration, tuition, room and board. A very limited number of full and partial scholarships are available.

Institute participants may earn three semester hours of academic credit in either sociology or education, on either the undergraduate or graduate level, by fulfilling certain academic requirements.

1966 CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 15-18, LOS ANGELES

The New Immigration Law (PL89236)*

by Vera Tate, Associate Secretary, Division of World Relief and Interchurch Aid

The new immigration law which came into effect on December 1, 1965, has been hailed by some as the long-awaited easing of United States discriminatory immigration practices. It abolishs the national quota system and widens the immigration regulations. Many critics, however, after studying the provisions in the law, feel that contrary to the expressed hopes of the late President Kennedy, Congress has opened one door and closed another, and that its provisions cannot be called "liberal."

The law is the result of lengthy congressional hearings and reflects adjustment to strong United States labor interests. It:

- eliminated immediately the Asia-Pacific Triangle provisions which made it impossible for persons of Oriental origin to emigrate to the United States.
- abolished the national origins quota system which will be fully effective on July 1, 1968, but, in the meantime, provides that any country may use the unused quotas.
- will operate in 1968 on a first-come, first-served basis within the annual 170,000 over-all limitation and the 20,000 limit per foreign state.
- established an over-all limitation of 120,000 persons annually, exclusive of "immediate relatives," from the independent countries of the western hemisphere.

This last provision providing a fixed ceiling of western hemisphere immigration is one of the most controversial features of the statute and was opposed by the Department of State as well as by many of the congressmen sponsoring the bill. Whether legislation changing the presently planned ceiling will be enacted will depend on the Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration. This commission of fifteen, appointed by the President, Senate, and House, will study the law and recommend to Congress any amendments that may lift or eliminate the ceiling.

TYPES OF IMMIGRATION VISAS

There are two groups of visas for persons who plan to immigrate. The first include immediate relatives of natives of the western hemisphere, and some situations based on a logical interpretation of citizenship rights. Spouses, minor children, and parents of United States citizens are also considered in this category.

The second group of immigrants and their spouses and children are under a numerical limitation. These include in order:

1. Unmarried sons and daughters of American citizens.
2. Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanently admitted aliens.
3. Members of academic professional groups or persons of eminent skills in the fields of science and arts.
4. Married sons and daughters of United States citizens.
5. Brothers and sisters of United States citizens.
6. Skilled and unskilled workers for occupations with a shortage in the United States.
7. Refugees from communist countries or the Middle East will receive 6 per cent of the total. However, refugees are distinguished from other immigrants by receiving permission for "conditional entry" which, although not called "parole", is a similar status. It can be changed to "permanent residence" two years after the conditional entry, at which time such conditional entrants will be inspected like new immigrants.

In order to prove the claim as "immediate relative" or as beneficiary of a preference category based on a relationship to a United States citizen, or to a legally admitted alien, the United States citizen or legally admitted alien has to submit a petition to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

OUTSIDE THE PREFERENCE CATEGORIES

The law says that an immigrant visa would be available for persons who do not qualify within the preference categories, i.e., do not have either relatives or special profession or skills. The State Department will keep a special list of those persons awaiting their turn for obtaining visa issuance, not used in the preference categories. The distribution of visa issuance among these kinds of persons will depend entirely on the earliest registration date of the applicant -- first-come, first-served.

Visa issuance depends not only on the qualification introduced within the preference categories, but also on moral conduct and political security. All restrictions of moral conduct and political character remain.

* *Reprinted from the CSR BULLETIN, Publication of the Department of Christian Social Relations, National Council of the Episcopal Church.*

PRESIDENT'S CORNER I think by now my views as to the crucial importance of chapter development to the life and effectiveness of NAIRO (as a professional association and to the day-to-day professional growth of each individual member as a professional intergroup relations practitioner) are well known to the membership. Lloyd Davis' Ad Hoc Committee on Chapter Development has and is rendering yeoman service to the Association in motivating effective chapter activity and in trying to ferret out the causes of less than exemplary performances from a few chapters whose past contributions have been numerous and continuous. This has been discussed by the Board and some recommendations will be presented to the membership for dealing with this problem.

I have felt, also, that because of the rapid expansion of the field of Intergroup Relations in recent years, particularly in the South and Southwest, new chapters were needed in locations of expanding activity so that present members (and others who should be) could enjoy the regular association of "kindred spirits" and deal more effectively with the problems of mutual importance in their immediate areas of activity. Thus, at some cost, no doubt, in the form of other matters that might have appropriately required his attention, I asked Fred Routh, our Executive Director, to visit several areas where members had expressed an interest in establishing new chapters. He reported this activity in some detail in the last Newsletter. It is sufficient to say this effort is contributing substantially to the out reach of NAIRO and to the professional growth of many who have felt themselves more or less isolated.

I am deeply apologetic that I have not been able to accept many invitations to visit chapters because of the pressure of work in a new job. However, I hope to do better in the coming months.

Good chapters are those that develop and carry out programs of interest to their membership. There is no substitute for this. My plans for assistance in this regard from the national office have not developed as rapidly as I had hoped, but they are definitely in the works. I am expecting a substantive report from Art Levin's Ad Hoc Committee on Program Development as of the July 23rd, Board Meeting and this will be passed on to you.

The NAIRO Commissions provide an appropriate resource for the development of chapter program. Each should keep abreast of the Intergroup Relations trends, critical issues, new problems and developments, etc., in its subject matter field and should impart this periodically to the membership in various ways.

I am asking each Commission Chairman to prepare for the July Board Meeting a brief statement indicating the present status of Intergroup Relations; major current issues, developments, innovations, problems; outlook for immediate future in his subject area. These will be submitted to the Ad Hoc Chapter and Program Development Committees for study and I hope they will represent the first step in development of guidelines for Chapter programs during the coming year. In addition, I am hoping that each Commission will want to participate significantly and programatically in the Annual Conference. Consequently, I am asking each Chairman to indicate to me before the July Board Meeting what his Commission's plans are so that they can be referred to the Conference Program Committee for integration into the total program.

It would be particularly meaningful at this time of rapid influx of new practitioners in the field, if our Commission Chairmen could coordinate their Annual Conference plans and their chapter program development contributions for 1966-67 in such a way that they would be mutually supportive and could, thus, render maximum service in professional growth to our membership.

At the April Board Meeting I was authorized to reactivate the County and City Public Agency Department because of the specialized needs this group has in its expansion in dealing with intergroup and poverty problems of the urban community. I have appointed Mr. Edward Marciniak to head this Department.

The Board also established a new Department to probe more deeply NAIRO's role in the broad new area of anti-poverty activity: The Department on Economic Opportunity and Development; and reactivated, with full appreciation of its new and expanded responsibilities, the Education Commission (which may be re-named if its new form and scope warrant it).

DIRECTOR'S BOX In the corridors or in after-hour bull sessions but not in the scheduled sessions of conferences on intergroup relations much is being said about growing anti-Semitism among Negroes and increasing racism among Jews. No statistics are available to show the extent of these two developments if, indeed, either exists; competent observers, however, have said that they sense both trends, particularly in communities in crisis situations. The question of what is happening to Negro-Jewish relations ought to be taken out of the corridors and put on the agenda.

The dimensions and facets of these two developments need examination. I would submit, for instance, that any increase which may exist in anti-Semitism among Negroes is not theologically based; this is not the anti-Semitism of fundamentalist Protestantism. In regard to any increase of racism which may exist among Jews, I would hold that this is not an acceptance of white supremacy; the KKK ideology is too close to the Nazi herrenvolk concept to be acceptable. Further, a caveat must be added to any discussion of this subject: what ever trends do exist, they exist among **some** Jews and among **some** Negroes and, without question, differ from community to community as well as from individual to individual.

The question of who—or what group—shall lead the civil rights movement and/or the liberal cause may well have contributed to both developments. Many Jews have long been prominent in most of the civil rights agencies; they have contributed leadership and funds; they have focused their sense of social justice on inequities based on race. Many Negroes, over the years, have done the same in cooperation with Jews and other whites. More recently, a segment of the Negro community and a part of the Negro leadership have held that Negroes, and in some instances

(Continued on page 4)

ACTIONS AND EVENTS AT THE APRIL 23rd

ACTION ON PETITIONS FROM NEW CHAPTERS. Fred Routh reviewed petitions from three groups to be chartered as NAIRO Chapters. He pointed out that each had taken the proper steps and met the requirements of NAIRO's ByLaws.

The Board took the following action:

Central Indiana Chapter—Approved

North Texas Chapter—Approved

Pacific Northwest Chapter—Approved but with the instruction to the Executive Director to advise the group the geographical area was too large to be practical; Chapter area should be smaller, though persons from the large area specified may be invited to all meetings. The Executive Director will negotiate area with Chapter leaders and report to the next Board meeting.

The Board voted to authorize the Executive Committee to act on receipt of proper petitions from the groups in Phoenix or Denver.

ACTION ON THE JOURNAL. The Board voted that an issue of the Journal should be produced; papers from the Chicago Conference were deemed suitable for the main content; the Editorial Board will decide which ones are to be used.

REACTIVATION OF NAIRO DEPARTMENTS. At the request of the Executive Director the Board considered the re-establishment of Departments. The Board voted to re-establish a Department of City and County Public Agencies and to establish a Department on Economic Opportunity and Development.

EXPANSION OF TRAINING CAPACITY. The Executive Director reported that an increasing number of federal and state agencies have asked about sending new, junior professional staff members to the Ten Day Introductory Institute for Interns. He said that there seemed sufficient interest among them and among private agencies that NAIRO should undertake a series of five day or one week Institutes for such personnel separate from the Intern Program. The Board agreed by consensus that this would be a proper function for NAIRO. The Board moved to refer the matter for further development to the Career Service Board.

AUTHORIZATION FOR SPECIAL COMMITTEES. The board voted authorization for a committee to be appointed by the President to explore: 1. What programatic activities are appropriate for NAIRO; 2. Which should be given priority; 3. How may they be carried out, and 4. They should report to the Board hopefully at its July Meeting. At the request of several Board Members the vote was recorded on this motion: 10 yeas, 7 nays, PASSED. The President said that he would appoint the committee called for in the resolution promptly and that its composition would reflect the division on the Board.

Fred Routh said that he would also welcome the appointment of a committee to review the matter of delinquency and the meaning of "in good standing" as well as to review how this might be handled in reporting. He suggested that perhaps the committee could consist of the Membership Chairman, the Treasurer and Vice President, Arthur Levin. The President said that he would appoint a committee but wasn't certain at this moment of who should serve on it.

REPORT OF AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT. Lloyd Davis, Chairman, presented the report. He said that a review of Chapter activities as reported to him by Chapter Chairmen indicated:

1. That Cleveland, Kentucky, Mid-Central, Minneapolis & St. Paul, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Southern California, Southwestern Ohio are active and have responded to inquiries.
2. That Atlanta, Chicago, Connecticut, Detroit and Michigan, Massachusetts Northern California, St. Louis and Washington, while not reporting, have had some activities.
3. That the New York Chapter had not reported and apparently was inactive since complaints about lack of meetings had been received.
4. That the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Chapters have been asked to develop a "primer" on how to organize and run a Chapter for guidelines for other Chapters.
5. That Fred Routh's recent trip will lead to the formation of Chapters in Dallas, Denver, Indianapolis, Phoenix and Seattle and to strengthened Chapters in San Francisco and Kansas City.
6. That most of the Regional Chairmen had not responded to inquiries.
7. That the need increases each day for membership promotional materials.
8. That the ByLaws should be amended, as he had previously suggested, to enable the Board to place in receivership any Chapter which was inactive for an extended period of time.
9. That a set of Model ByLaws would be helpful; and he has prepared same.

The Board voted to approve for submission to the membership at the Annual Conference an amendment to Article XVIII. (See page 8.)

Director's Box—Continued from page 3

Negroes alone, must assume the full leadership of the civil rights movement. Some of the cries that there is no longer room for "whitey" in a leadership position have been reminiscent of the TV advertisement "Mother, Pulease, I'd rather do it myself!" Some Jews (as well as other whites) have regarded this as a gross display of ingratitude. On the other hand, some Negroes have spoken harshly about Jews who have held on to leadership positions and "failed to make way" for Negroes. Undisciplined competition for leadership has, in the opinion of many observers, lead to increased hostility between Negroes and Jews.

Some observers feel that the role of the Jewish shopkeeper in the Negro ghetto has contributed to a deterioration of relations between Negroes and Jews. Charges of exploitation have been made and it is reliably reported that among the first items destroyed in the looting in Watts were credit records. It has also been reported that some of the Jewish shopkeepers in Watts felt that their stores were particularly targetted. Actually, I know of no statistics which show exploitation or gouging or, for that matter, how many

(Continued on page 6)

MEETING OF THE NAIRO BOARD IN ATLANTA

POLICE RECORDS CLARIFIED. Arthur Johnson, Chairman of NAIRO's Research Services Commission, asked for clarification of the request of the Board at its January Meeting that a report be made on the use and misuse of arrest records and police records which have a bearing on civil rights, civil liberties, and intergroup relations. The Discussion which ensued led to the consensus that, although the Resolution adopted at the Chicago Conference had specified only arrest and police records, the Research Services Commission was free to widen its inquiry to include conviction records, collection and use of crime statistics, FBI records and reports, and the use of arrest and conviction records and crime statistics by public agencies at the federal, state and city levels.

REPORT ON INTERN PROGRAM. John Feild reported that the third class of 25 Interns was completing the tenth month of their training. He said that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation should be proud that the program, which they funded, had thus brought 75 new professionals into the field. He reported that this third class had met recently in Philadelphia for a mid-year seminar and that he and other staff members were impressed with the degree of development evident among the Interns since coming to the program. He added that no program now undertaken by NAIRO, or for that matter in the field, was more essential to its future.

Routh reported on a request NAIRO now has pending before the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. He said that it presented two alternatives: 1. for two more classes and supporting funds; 2. for one more class with supporting funds. He explained that this had been done at the request of the Foundation staff. He also noted that NAIRO had requested the entire grant be made to NAIRO.

Mrs. Viola Kanatz said that the Career Service Board needs to get before the entire membership the good work that is being done in the Intern Program; not only about the good Interns but what we have learned about professional training in this field. She said a report, imaginatively done, could serve as a training handbook for agencies' new staff at the entry level.

1966 CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE REPORT. John Lyons, Chairman of the Committee presented the report after the President had expressed the appreciation of the Board for his coming from Los Angeles. Mr. Lyons reported that his Committee had suggested as the theme of the Conference: "Human Rights in the Great Society." He then itemized some of the areas the Committee proposed to cover:

1. It being the 20th Annual Conference, some appraisal would be in order, for the field and for NAIRO.
2. The closing general session of the NAIRO Conference will again, as at Chicago, be the opening session of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing Conference.
3. There will be a major session devoted to "The Neglected Minorities," particularly Latinos: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Refugees; also American Indians; chief emphasis to be Mexican-Americans.

The Board made the following suggestions:

1. That a major session be devoted to the problems of creating quality, integrated education in the cities.
2. That any review of the last twenty years should not be focused so much on "how well we've done" as a critical review of where we have been and what remains to be done—a critical review that could serve as a spring-board for further action.
3. That Negro-white relations be examined in terms of the roles of professionals and leadership; that Negro-Jewish relations be included with focus on tension resulting from (a) feelings of some Negro leaders and professionals that Jewish Professionals are blocking progress; (b) from ghettoized Negro perception in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles of roles of Jewish credit merchants and Jewish landlords and (c) Jewish fears, racism, "Backlash."
4. That time be provided to discuss methods and techniques, examine cases, inform and instruct newcomers to the field.
5. That a progress report on Watts be included in the program; it should include what has and hasn't been done to assist the area; it should be professionally focused.

The Board commended Mr. Lyons and his Committee for their work and asked that he carry this message of commendation back to his Committee.

MEMBERSHIP STATUS. The executive Director reported that a complete examination of membership cards indicated that NAIRO has 1083 members in good standing; that we have 289 who are in arrears. He commended Penny Wright for the diligent manner in which she had pulled this information together; he also explained that it had taken a goodly number of hours for Mrs. Wright and Miss Brenda Strong (a part-time staff member) to do so.

NCCIJ UNDERTAKES MEDICAL EQUALITY Education and action to secure equality in all phases of medical care and public health will be the purpose of a new project of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Raymond M. Hilliard, chairman, announced the appointment of Sister Maureen Mulcahy, O.S.B., to the staff to organize the projected medical service programs. Sister Maureen, a specialist in the field of medicine, has been temporarily released from her hospital assignments by the Benedictine motherhouse at St. Benedict's, Minnesota.

In announcing the medical project, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice cited problems of social justice to be met: a severe shortage of Negro nurses and physicians and ramaining problems of segregation in administering corporal work of mercy.

In releasing Sister Maureen for this service work, Mother Prioress M. Henrita of the community of Benedictine nuns stated that her community was glad for an opportunity to work to secure human rights. In her capacity with the National Conference for Interracial Justice, Sister Maureen will work out of the Conference's Chicago headquarters and also its Southern Field Service office in New Orleans.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. The AFSC has three openings in the Community Relations Division:

—**Community Development Field Worker in West Oakland, California,** working with the AFSC Regional Office in San Francisco.

—**Associate Director, Community Relations, Program based in Jackson, Mississippi**—school desegregation, rural community development and merit employment.

—**Housing Associate in Atlanta, Georgia Community Relations Program.** Qualifications in all cases include sympathy with AFSC philosophy, considerable community relations experience, maturity and flexibility.

For further information contact: Doris Darnel, Recruitment Office, American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th St. Philadelphia, Penna. 19102.

KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. Executive Director. Salary: $7,800-9,500 (with Commission willing to "attempt extraordinary means" to increase it). Qualifications: a degree from an accredited university or college, preferably with a major in human relations, sociology, industrial relations, education or related disciplines. Experience: at least 4 years in intergroup relations with administrative background; preference to those having experience in civil rights complaint investigation and conciliation, preparation of reports, community organization, personnel or labor-management relations. For further information contact: Mr. Robert D. Watson, Chmn., Kansas Commission on Civil Rights; Rm. 1155W, State Office Building; Topeka, Kansas 66612.

MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. Assistant Director of Investigations. Salary: $12,000-13,000. Lawyer or person with investigative and/or supervisory experience will receive preference. Duties: to assist in direction of Commission investigations and compliance programs.

—Assistant Director of Education, Research and Community Relations. Salary: $9,000-9,500. To assist in Commission liaison program with local, official, municipal human rights commissions and citizens' groups.

—For further information contact: Mr. Peter C. Robertson, Box 1129N, Jefferson City, Missouri 65102 or call 635-7223 (area code 314.)

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS. The Race Relations Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Executive Director. Salary: $6,000-8,000. Qualifications: in sympathy with the Quaker approach to human relations (Quakers given preference); experience in community action, civil rights, and other human relations work; spirit and ability to reconcile in conflict situations; establish rapport with people in depressed areas and persons with social agencies and positions of community leadership; ability and desire to work with a variety of volunteers. For further information contact: Personnel, Committee on Race Relations, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19102

PHOENIX, ARIZONA. "LEAP" (local anti-poverty program) seeking three professional staff members:

—Program Development Coordinator. Salary $816-1,026 monthly. Qualifications: US Citizen; considerable experience in program development with a community organization or agency, including in an administrative capacity; graduation from a 4 year college or university with specialization in psychology, sociology, education, business or public administration or related field. Examination required.

—Manpower Services Specialist. Salary: $676-856 monthly. Qualifications: US Citizen; Considerable experience in public or private personnel work, including job-evaluation, position classification, recruiting and placement work; graduation from a four year college or university with specialization in sociology, psychology, business administration or related field. Examination required.

—Research Assistant. Salary: $588-744 per month. Qualifications: US Citizen; experience in social research, or experience aiding an administrative officer in technical and administrative problems and affairs; graduation from a 4 year college or university with a major in sociology, business administration, economics, or closely related field. Examination required.

For further information on each position, contact: Personnel Department, City Hall, 251 West Washington St., Phoenix, Arizona.

US CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION. Federal Housing Administration, HUD. Rent Supplement Specialist. Salary (GS-11, GS-12) GS-11: $8,961; GS-12: $10,-619. Closing date: July 6, 1966. Locations in FHA offices in 13 states and DC (from Virginia to Maine). For further information obtain Announcement No. NY-81-1-(1966) and a Form 57 and Application Card Form 5001-ABC from: Executive Secretary, Board of US Civil Service Examiners, Federal Housing Administration, 2 Park Ave., N.Y. 16, N.Y. or FHA offices in Hartford, Wilmington, Washington, Bangor, Baltimore, Boston, Manchester, Camden, Newark, Albany, Hempstead LI, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, Burlington, or Charleston.

WEST VIRGINIA HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. Field Representative. Salary: $7,000. Qualifications: Graduation from recognized college or university with degree in social sciences or closely related field; preference for graduate work. Three to five years successful employment in a field demonstrating ability to work with people, maturity and sound judgment. Some knowledge of mechanics of discrimination and recent developments in civil rights. Requires fair amount of travel. For additional information contact: West Virginia Civil Rights Commission, 202 W State Capitol Building, Charleston, West Virginia 25305.

YWCA. The YW has many openings throughout the United States, they range from Executive Directors to Administrative Assistants on the professional level, including salary ranging from $5,500 to $18,000; most openings are for September, 1966, a few are currently available. For further information contact: Bureau of Personnel & Training, National Board YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

LATE FLASH, Employment Opportunity

The Providence Human Relations Commission is seeking an Executive Director. Salary: $10,500. Qualifications: a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university **or** three years of experience in administrative, professional, technical, or other responsible work providing a general background in management, education, training, personnel, social welfare, vocational guidance; **or** as a substitute for three years of experience, successfully completed study at an accredited college or university, at the rate of one year of academic study for nine months experience. Applicants must have two years of specialized experience in an administrative, consultative, or supervisory position in public or voluntary agencies, including planning and developing policies, advising on problems relating to program planning and administration; demonstrated ability to develop effective working relationships with other agencies, organizations and groups of people. For further information, contact: Mr. John V. Romano, Personnel Director, City of Providence, City Hall, Providence, Rhode Island.

LATE FLASH, Employment Opportunity

The National Education Association's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities and its Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators is seeking an Assistant Secretary for Field Studies. Salary: $9,535-11,650 (eight steps) or $11,090-13,935 (nine steps). Qualifications: age range, 25-50; male or female; professional education—preferably with at least a Master's degree, teaching, school administration or supervisory experience; experience in intergroup relations agencies may be substituted for teaching experience. Special requirements: recognition of role of professional association in American education; ability to work as a member of a team; follow-through on field and office assignments; skill in securing adjustments; willingness to travel. For further information, contact: Dr. Richard B. Kennan, Executive Secretary, Commission on Professional Rights & Responsibilities, NEA, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

DR. NABRIT PROMOTED Dr. James M. Nabrit, President of Howard University and noted attorney in civil rights cases, was appointed on April 26 as Deputy Chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador. He is on leave from his post as President of Howard; Dr. Nabrit has represented the United States at numerous international affairs. He was appointed to the U.S. Mission last September.

RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM UNDERWAY Secretary Robert C. Weaver recently announced that the Department of Housing and Urban Development is prepared to accept formal applications for rent supplement projects.

Assistant Secretary P.N. Brownstein, the Federal Housing Administration Commissioner, said forms, regulations and manual instructions had been sent to each FHA insuring and multifamily office. The FHA will issue mortgage insurance under the rent supplement program.

The FHA also has published a handbook which serves as a guide to prospective sponsors, lenders and others who will participate in the rent supplement housing program.

Funds for the program were made available after President Johnson signed into law the supplemental appropriation bill on May 13. The measure included $12 million for rent supplements.

Mr. Brownstein said there had been expressions of interest in the development of about 100,000 units of rent supplement housing. "A vast demand has been shown and we expect a large number of applications," he said.

The housing will be provided by new construction or major rehabilitation of existing housing. It will be sponsored and owned by private non-profit, limited dividend or cooperative organizations.

Mortgages made by private lenders will be insured by FHA at the market rate of interest.

Rent supplement tenants, whose income will be in the range of public housing requirements, will pay one-fourth of family income for rent. Any difference between their payment and the market rate of rent will be paid as a rent supplement by the Government to the owner of the property. As family income rises, the rent supplement decreases.

Director's Box—Continued from page 4

of the shops in America's Negro ghettos are Jewish owned or managed; the assumption of a great many Negroes, Jews, and other whites seems to be that **most** merchants in the ghetto are Jewish. What people think is true is often as important and sometimes even more important than what is actually true.

In many cities, Negroes moving out of the ghetto have moved into Jewish neighborhoods. Some Jews have fled, some have reacted with the same hostility that other whites often have, some have been accepting. I have had Negroes say to me "How come Jews run when we move into their neighborhoods? They used to live in ghettos; don't they know what we are trying to escape from?" And I have had Jewish persons ask, "How come Negroes seem to choose Jewish neighborhoods to move into? Why pick on us?"

In the Jewish tradition, education has long held an esteemed position. Some Jewish parents have voiced fears that desegregation will lead to a lowering of educational standards. To what extent this may have led to Negro resentment is unclear. What is clear is that there are a lot of questions to which we have no answers, only hunches. Is there increasing hostility between Negro and Jewish pupils? Between Negro and Jewish teachers? Parents?

Perhaps each of the NAIRO Chapters might examine in their own community what is happening to Jewish-Negro relations in general; in competition for leadership; in economic developments; in housing and move-ins; in the schools. We should not acquiesce with those who hold discussing it will make it worse; a professional examination may dispel misinformation and misconception and may show ways to combat this dual problem. Anti-Semitism and racism, like cancer, are seldom subject to cure by being ignored or neglected.

The NAIRO Board of Directors at its meeting of April 23, 1966, in Atlanta, Georgia, approved of the following amendment to the NAIRO By-Laws, to be submitted to the membership at the 1966 Annual Conference. The publication herein of this proposed amendment will serve as proper notice to the Membership that this proposed amendment will be acted upon at the Annual Conference.

Amendment to Article XVIII of the NAIRO By-Laws

"The NAIRO Board of Directors shall have the authority to place in receivership (into the hands of a receiver or others appointed to administer Chapter affairs during a period of reorganization) any chapter which has been inactive over such a period of time as to be detrimental to the best interests of its membership and the Association. The NAIRO Board of Directors shall also have the right to suspend or remove from office any Chapter officer whose conduct or inactivity is such as to do harm to his constituency and to the Association. The NAIRO Board of Directors will give consideration to a petition, signed by 20% (but not less than five members) of a Chapter's membership in good standing with NAIRO, for the removal of officers and the placing into receivership their Chapter."

FORTY-FIVE NEW MEMBERS SINCE LAST NEWSLETTER

Mr. Richard S. Baldau, Forestville, Md.
Mr. Hubert U. Barbour, Jr., Elizabeth, N.J.
Mrs. Ellen R. Bayer, New York, N.Y.
Mr. Calvin W. Beckett, Milwaukee, Wis.
Mr. Neal S. Bellos, Louisville, Ky.
Lawrence H. Borom, St. Paul, Minn.
Mr. Ernest L. Brown, Jr., Detroit, Mich.
Mr. Donald W. Burger, Des Moines, Iowa
Lt. Chester Coates, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Susan R. Campos, Berkeley, Calif.
Mr. Benjamin A. Collier, Paterson, N.J.
Mr. Frank B. Durand, Phoenix, Ariz.
Mr. Donald A. Eagle, Phoenix, Ariz.
Herbert O. Edwards, Baltimore, Md.
Mrs. Jean Gregg, Los Angeles, Calif.
Mr. William J. Holmes, Detroit, Mich.
Mr. Delbert Hunt, Detroit, Mich.
Major Reginald K. Ingram, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Roosevelt Johnson, Jr., Dallas, Texas
Mr. Jacob H. Kravitz, Dallas, Texas
Mr. Clarence A. Laws, Dallas, Texas
Mr. Bertram Levine, Washington, D.C.
Mr. William G. Lorenz, University City, Mo.
Mr. Eugene A. Luening, Gary, Ind.
Mr. Jack P. Marash, White Plains, N.Y.
Mr. Roger Miller, Jefferson City, Mo.
Mr. Warren N. Moore, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. Virgil Ian Pitstick, Miami, Florida
Mr. Harold G. Post, Dallas, Texas
Mr. R. Edward Quick, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Roger Ragan, Covina, Calif.
Mrs. Zoya Slive, Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. Oliver Smith, Dallas, Texas
Mr. Seymour Soroky, Reseda, Calif.
Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Rosalie S. Sullivan, Dearborn, Mich.
Mr. Jackson Leroy Thomas, Dallas, Texas
Mr. William C. Varnado, Detroit, Mich.
Mr. C.A. Walton, Dallas, Texas
Mr. J. Edward White, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mr. Robert L. Williamson, Seattle, Wash.
Mrs. Martha Wylie, Grosse Pointe, Mich.
Mr. Joseph I. Yanich, North Miami, Fla.
Mr. Samuel L. Younge, Tuskegee, Ala.
Rev. Layton P. Zimmer, Philadelphia, Pa.

NAIRO CERTIFICATES. We are happy to report that progress is being made in getting out the long-awaited NAIRO Certificates. The amount of work in doing so is considerable: each one must be hand-lettered, the appropriate year pasted on, the NAIRO seal stamped, and the signatures of the President and the Executive Director added. Please be patient if you haven't received your Certificate but your neighbor has his; you are not forgotten—he was just lucky that one of the gals doing the lettering chose his name first.

URGENT NOTICE TO MEMBERS The U.S. Post Office Department has notified all organizations holding bulk mailing permits that zip codes must be included in the addresses of all persons receiving bulk mailings. We have many of yours but will you please check the envelope in which this issue of the NAIRO Newsletter arrived and if it does not contain your zip code, please take five minutes and five cents and write your name, title, agency, address and zip code on a postal card and mail it to the national office. No fancy picture post card necessary.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

NAIRO Newsletter

July-September, 1966

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • 387-7050

JOHN HOPE, II, President

FREDERICK B. ROUTH, Executive Director

The Statler Hilton Hotel, Los Angeles, site of the 1966 Annual Conference

SPECIAL MEETING

A special one-day conference has been called for all staff and board members of city and county public intergroup relations agencies just prior to the NAIRO Annual Conference. The meeting will start at 8:00 P.M. on Monday, November 14th at the Statler-Hilton in Los Angeles. The meeting was called in response to many requests from staff directors of city and county agencies; it is being sponsored by the NAIRO Department on City and County Public Intergroup Relations Agencies. Edward Marciniak is Department chairman; K. C. Jones is serving as coordinator for the session. The meetings will focus on problems and programs unique to local public agencies. It is expected that the sessions will conclude the afternoon of the 15th so that participants may attend the opening session of the NAIRO Conference.

20th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

NAIRO's 20th Annual Conference, scheduled at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles, November 15-18, will focus on an appraisal of progress and goals for the profession. "This year's Conference, on our 20th Anniversary, will provide an opportunity for stock-taking," said John Lyons, Chairman of the Conference Planning Committee "but we see it more of an evaluation of 'where we are and where we should head' than a recounting of the past." The conference theme, **Human Rights in The Great Society,** embodies this philosophy.

Major presentations will include "The Legacy of Twenty Years," "Implications of the Cultural Deprivation Theory," "Urban Inter-Minority Group Relations," "New Goals for the Profession" and a final session which will serve as the opening session for the conference being scheduled by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Eight concurrent seminars will be held covering "New Challenges to the Intergroup Relations Profession." Topics to be covered are: 1. New Political Alignments; 2. Intergroup Relation Implications of the Anti-Poverty Programs; 3. The professional Operating in a Political Milieu; 4. New Challenges and New Roles for the Intergroup Relations Profession; 5. Cultural Implications of Employment Testing and Their Relationship to Job Criteria; 6. Title VI, Expectation vs Performance in Housing, Education, and Medical Services; 7. The Role and Function of Law Enforcement Agencies in a Democratic Society; and 8. Executive Leadership Training for Intergroup Relations Specialties—a Behavioral Science Perspective.

"Considerable emphasis will be given to the 'neglected' minorities: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians," according to the Conference Committee. There will also be an examination of inter-minority group problems and tensions.

Registration for the Conference is set from noon to 5 P.M. on Tuesday, November 15th. The NAIRO Board will meet from 1:30 to 6 P.M. that same day. At 6 P.M. there will be two receptions: one sponsored by the NAIRO Officers and Board for New Members; one sponsored by the Los Angeles Chapter for Old Members.

The NAIRO Department of City and County Inter-

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SELECTED U.S. PUBLICATIONS The National Office of NAIRO, along with 900,000 other subscribers, now receives the **free** biweekly list of "Selected U. S. Government Publications" which helps keep us informed about new and interesting government publications. Subject listings, similar to those cited below, are regularly distributed with the Selected List, which may be obtained by requesting it from: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402:

17T. MAJOR PROGRAMS PROVIDING FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING. This booklet is designed to help businessmen and community groups join in the effort to keep Americans working. It explains the nature and purpose of the programs, administered by five U. S. agencies, to supply funds and technical assistance to put idle or partially idle Americans to work; specifies major eligibility requirements; and tells where to apply. 1966. (10) p. Catalog No. C 41.2:Em 7 10¢

23T. PROGRESSING TOWARD A NEW DAY FOR THE OLDER AMERICAN. Reprinted from the May 1966 issue of Health, Education, and Welfare Indicators, this publication includes highlights of the progress toward a new day for the older American. 1966. 12 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 1.20/a:Ol 1/2 15¢

25T. GROWING UP POOR. An overview and analysis of research related to the child-rearing and family life patterns of the very poor together with research based implications for the emotional health, educational achievement, social adjustment, character development, and marital stability of low-income families. Suggestions for action programs for further basic and applied research are also included. 1966. 117 p.
Catalog No. FS 14.2:P 79 45¢

46T. MANPOWER REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, And a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training by the United States Department of Labor. The first section of this volume contains the text of President Johnson's report to the Congress, March 1966, in which he discusses the background for the Nation's manpower policy, the challenges to be met—employment; young workers; and changes in manpower sources and in requirements; and suggests actions which are necessary to meet our manpower needs. Following the President's report is the text of an extensive report by the U. S. Department of Labor on the manpower situation. A Statistical appendix is also included. 1966. 229 p. il.
Catalog No. L 1.42/2:966 $1.50

29V. HOW TO TURN TALK INTO ACTION. Published by the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, this booklet contains an outline for creating the type of Commission that can effectively cope with the problems and tensions that may arise among people of varying backgrounds in a community. 1966. (12) p.
Catalog No. J 23.8:H88/966 10¢

37V. THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, Their Economic and Social Situation. Brings up to date the study on the "Economic Status of the Negro," which was prepared at the request of the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," held November 17—18, 1965. Additional data, including findings from new studies, have been incorporated in this analysis. The appendix which has been updated, contains the sourcebook of tabulations used by working staff in advance of the Conference. 1966. 241 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1511 $1.25

53V. THE WAR ON POVERTY AS IT EFFECTS OLDER AMERICANS. This report, by the Senate Special Committee on Aging, 89th Cong., 2d sess., contains the findings and recommendations, based upon the hearings held on the **War on Poverty As It Affects Older Americans;** upon staff investigators; and upon other information reaching the Committee's attention in the course of its study of this subject. Two appendices and an index to the hearings and report, are also included in this publication. 1966 146 p.
Catalog No. 89—2.S.rp.1287 45¢

REPORT AVAILABLE ON WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE The Report on the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" is now available. It contains the original Report which was presented to each of the participants at the Conference, held June 1-2, 1966, plus a summary of the discussions and recommendations made by the participants. The 177 page document can become, as we said in the last issue of the NAIRO Newsletter, "an agenda for action" if its proposals receive the wide-based discussion, refinement and support to which they are entitled. It is particularly to be hoped that each NAIRO Chapter will secure a copy and make programmatic use of it during the forthcoming year. It may be purchased for $1.25 per copy from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402

NEWSWEEK SPECIAL SENT TO ALL NAIRO MEMBERS As a service to the membership, the National Office has arranged to have a pamphlet, consisting of reprints from the August 22 issue of NEWSWEEK, sent to all NAIRO members. The pamphlet, entitled "Crisis of Color'66," will receive wide distribution. NEWSWEEK generously offered to provide this special issue without cost. The pamphlet is an up-dating of the extensive surveys done by NEWSWEEK in 1963, in which rank and file Negroes and whites and a selected group of 100 Negro leaders were asked questions about their attitudes on progress or the lack of it in employment, housing, education, public accommodations, politics and voting police-community relations, the ghetto, violence, and the future. While there are obvious local variations, this report serves as an inventory of where many thought we were in the field of race relations in the summer of 1966; from a previous edition of the Director's Box, I repeat "What people think is true is often, and sometimes more important than what is true."

PRESIDENT'S CORNER During the past year, I have stressed the importance, among other things, of NAIRO affording increasing means of fostering the professional growth of its individual members, e.g., expanding the network of chapters and strengthening their programs, expanding training facilities etc. There is no place where, and no time of the year when an intergroup practitioner can do more (and enjoy doing it) for his own professional development, his spirit and morale than at the Annual NAIRO Conference. For many, it has in one way or another served as a vehicle for improved status in the same job or a better job.

This personal development can be achieved faster and more happily in this tightly packed three days than any other way that I know, if the participant will fully involve himself or herself in both the formal and the informal aspects of the conference. Among the major sources of growth are the following:

1. Attending and fully participating in the formal conference program.
2. Meeting other members and, thus, cultivating lasting contacts, relationships, and friendships with one's peers—with similar interests, problems, programs, etc.
3. Taking the time and making the effort to gain a broader perspective of ones own job, to see ones own program in its relationship to the broader field and the general goals of sound intergroup relations, to take stock of oneself, etc. Freedom from the telephone for a few days of time not only to think, but to exchange ideas and compare ones thoughts with persons of kindred interests, is a rare privilege to be fully exploited in this period when creativity and fresh techniques are so needed.
4. Making contacts with potential employers if one is interested in a change in job. The NAIRO Conference has increasingly become an important market place for professional intergroup relations skills and one should not underestimate this conference activity because it is generally informal, frequently indirect, and subtle. Maybe we should be formalizing and expanding this service??
5. Having some real fun (and perhaps even relaxation) despite the full schedule and rapid pace of the conference, through the various avenues of informal association with kindred souls among the members present. (Don't neglect the hospitality room, etc.).
6. Finally, if ones tastes run toward it, a little politicking (in the constructive sense) is a part of a self-development program as well as a positive service to NAIRO.

With regard to the formal program of the Annual Conference, there appears to be a growing need to supplement systematically its program aimed at the interests of the general membership with meetings, working meal sessions, seminars, and concurrent sessions directed more specifically at the specialized needs of particular groups.

This has been done intermittently on an **Ad Hoc** basis at various Annual Conferences. But, I have in mind a more permanent arrangement which would in

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DIRECTOR'S BOX When, on September tenth, the wheels of Pan Am flight 107 (non-stop London-Washington) touched down on the runway of Dulles Airport, my European trip ended. I had visited Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm, Amsterdam, London, Dublin and Edinburgh; I had talked with citizens of those cities and with Americans visiting them. We discussed race relations in the United States, Rhodesia, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom. And most of the Europeans, with whom I talked, discussed Vietnam. In learning how others see us, I believe I have put into better focus my own vision of our strengths and weaknesses.

Many of the American visitors with whom I talked, particularly in the United Kingdom and Ireland, assumed I was English (their benchmarks of identification were moustache, blazer and gray flannels, and my somewhat unorthodox accent). Americans, apparently, will say things about themselves and their country to non-Americans more readily than to other Americans, or so it seemed on this trip. An interesting difference appeared between the opinions held by most older Americans and those of most younger Americans—with the dividing line somewhere between thirty and thirty-five. The younger group, many of them students, saw our problems as "winning the civil rights struggle," "ending the war in Vietnam," and "eliminating poverty." The older group identified "The Negro," "winning the war in Vietnam," and "taxes."

There was also, though to a lesser degree, an identifiable difference among opinions held by Europeans based on age grouping. The younger Europeans felt quite free to criticize our policies and practices in race relations and in Vietnam. The older group criticized us or at least our policies on Vietnam but many said "Since we don't live with the problem, it isn't entirely fair to criticize your efforts or lack of efforts to solve your racial problems."

Many young Europeans, including a number of West German students I met in Stockholm, spoke of the high hopes they had had for American policy when John F. Kennedy was President and of their subsequent disillusionment. A number asked "What do you know about Robert Kennedy?" An equal number, surprisingly, asked "What do you know about John Lindsay?" The accent was on youth, vigor and purpose.

In spite of all that has been said, I did not run into anti-Americanism any place I went—a dislike for certain of our policies, yes; a dislike for us, no.

American influence was visible everywhere I went: a best-seller in Dublin is a medal with St. Christopher on one side, President Kennedy on the other; Levi's or bluejeans were the "uniform of the day" among high school and college age youth; Hush Puppies were featured in many shoe stores; American singers and swingers dominated the record shops; the Mustang is a status symbol; swim-trunks were identified as "American style boxers," and American slang expressions were commonplace. A Scottish lass with whom I attended the military tattoo at Edinburgh Castle turned to me, when a unit of the Royal Air Force with a Negro in it marched by, and said "We're doing as

(Continued on page 6)

ACTION AND EVENTS AT THE JULY 23rd NAIRO BOARD MEETING IN WASHINGTON

Marilyn and John Feild provided a "happening" at their home for the Board the evening prior to the meeting; entertainment was provided by the Harold Fleming Trio; Fleming, vocalist and guitar; John Grimes, banjo and John Sweeney guitar. The benefit netted $300.

The President, John Hope II, reported that three new Chapters had been formed since the Annual Conference: Central Indiana, North Texas, and Pacific Northwest. A petition for Chapter status was read from a group of NAIROites in Arizona and the Board voted to grant them Chapter status. (Henry Cabirac serves as Chairman). John Hope commended Lloyd Davis for his work as chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chapter Development.

The Treasurer, Paul Rilling, reported that all debts were paid, that there was money in the bank but that NAIRO needed to find nearly $10,000 in new funds to see it through the year. He also expressed alarm about 1967 for several of our multi-year grants terminate with the current year. The Board agreed that special efforts at fund raising were called for and asked the President and the Executive Director to seek new funds from foundations.

Alexander "Joe" Allen, Chairman of NAIRO's Career Service Board, reported that more than 75 Interns had now been trained; that a fourth and fifth class had been proposed to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation but the Foundation had not yet acted on the NAIRO proposal. In the discussion which followed it was agreed that if the Roosevelt Foundation did not make the grant, then the Career Service Board should go to another foundation with the proposal. The Board voted to use some funds-on-hand to publish a training manual for future Intern classes.

John Buggs, NAIRO President-Elect, reported for the Conference Planning Committee. (For details see front page story on Annual Conference).

The Board, after reviewing the period of extended inactivity of two Chapters, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Board of Directors regretfully revokes the Charters of the New York and St. Louis Chapters due to their extended inactivity, effective November 1, 1966 unless the following conditions are met prior to that time; 1. Two meetings of the membership be held, copies of the minutes, with a list of those attending be sent to the national office; 2. A program outline for 1966-67 be developed, copies sent to the national office; and 3. An election be held to select new officers, unless there has been an election within the last 12 months of this date. (Notice of this action was sent to all members of the two chapters).

K. C. Jones, Jr., read a proposal, which he had prepared, to secure funds to staff the NAIRO Department on City and County Intergroup Relations Public Agencies. The proposal was based on the increasingly recognized need of local public agency staff to have a clearing house for information; a training capacity; a regular bulletin; and consultative assistance. The Board voted approval and instructed the Department to move ahead in securing funds with the participation of the President and the Executive Director. The Board commended Mr. Jones for his proposal.

Reports were read from the Research Services Commission, Arthur Johnson, Chairman; the Commission on Housing and Urban Life, Edward Holmgren, Chairman; the Commission on Manpower Development, Edward Shelton, Chairman; and the Commission on Public Information, Joseph Manserrat, Chairman.

After full discussion, the Board adopted "Rules on Submission of Resolutions at NAIRO Conferences" as proposed by the Legal Counsel, Joseph Robison. (See box page 8).

LILLIAN SMITH DIES IN ATLANTA Miss Lillian Smith is dead; the small lady of great literary stature will no longer lift her pen and voice against bigotry. Her books **Strange Fruit, Killers of the Dream, The Journey,** and **Now Is The Time** were eloquent indictments of racism. Her speeches before many audiences called for equal treatment of all persons without regard to their race. She spent most of her life atop Old Screamer Mountain, near the town of Clayton in the northeastern corner of Georgia. Miss Smith was born in Florida, reared in Georgia, taught at a Methodist mission school in China, and published **Strange Fruit** in 1944. She received honorary degrees from Howard University and Oberlin College and was a Fellow of the Southern Regional Council.

ESCRU TO HOLD ANNUAL MEETING The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will hold their sixth Annual Meeting, November 10-13, at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. Among the speakers are: James Farmer, former national Director of CORE; Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard and author of **A Profile of the Negro American;** the Rev. John Harmon, author of several articles on "The Church, the City, and the Dispossessed"; The Rev. Gladstone Ntabati, Methodist clergyman from South Africa; and The Rt. Rev. Kilmer Myers, newly elected successor to The Rt. Rev. James Pike, as Bishop of California. For further information contact; ESCRU, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OLIVER E. HOLMES DIES IN GEORGIA The Rev. Oliver E. Holmes, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations has died in Atlanta after a long illness. Mr. Holmes was a member of NAIRO and was active with the Atlanta Chapter. Paul Anthony, Director of the Southern Regional Council, said "This is a sad loss for Oliver Holmes was not only a good professional, he was a truly fine person; we will miss his warmth as well as his wisdom."

NACD SEEKS CONSENSUS ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT The National Association for Community Development is seeking a broad national agreement on the principles, objectives, and procedures of community development. The NACD Board is establishing a broadly based committee which will include representatives of federal agencies, Congress, state and local government, business, labor and civil rights groups and universities, as well as their own membership.

A five man committee, of NACD leadership, was appointed to start the project. Named to the committee were: George H. Esser, Jr., executive director, the North Carolina Fund, Chairman; P. F. Ayer, executive director, the Council of Southern Mountains; John C. Bullitt, director, New Jersey State Office of Economic Opportunity; David G. Hill, executive director, Pittsburgh Mayor's Committee on Human Resources; and Philip J. Rutledge, director, Total War Against Poverty, Detroit.

NACD (often called "naked" by its members) is the association for agencies and their staff in the various anti-poverty programs around the country. NAIRO has had informal discussions with some of NACD's leadership about the possibilities of undertaking joint training efforts for "Urban Generalists," professionals who would be thoroughly knowledgeable about all the many problems confronting our cities.

PRESIDENT'S CORNER (Continued from page 3)

time draw together under the NAIRO Annual Conference "umbrella" various specialized sub-groups within the intergroup relations (and related) field for more intensive consideration of their respective programs, problems, methods, etc. At the same time, the individual members of these groups should participate fully in the plenary sessions of NAIRO and profit fully from the cross-fertilization of ideas gleaned from plenary session programs that are focused sharply on the general needs of all professionals in the field with those derived from intensive consideration of more specialized needs of the sub-groups. In my opinion, we have made a highly successful beginning in our arrangement with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to have their conference immediately follow ours with some slight overlap and some joint use of facilities, and personnel. This plan will be in its second year at Los Angeles. We also plan to hold a one-day pre-NAIRO conference meeting of our new Department of City and County Agencies. Maybe next year, our Department of Economic Opportunity and other groups might take this step.

In time it may be necessary for the Annual NAIRO Conference and related group sessions to run for a week rather than three days and many of the sessions will have to be held concurrently but closely coordinated so as to minimize the overlapping of programs and sessions whose respective interest groups are identical.

But that is in the future. This year's conference promises to be significant; the pressing issues of the day and the longer range needs of the future are both on the agenda. I hope every NAIRO Member will make every effort to attend.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE GAINS MOMENTUM The "Each One Get One" membership campaign is beginning to produce results. Quite a number of our members have used the membership promotional pamphlet, sent out in July, to recruit a colleague or friend. Now that Labor Day is past and most everyone is back from holidays, we hope that those members who have not yet done so will make a special effort to recruit at least one new professional to membership. The greater the outreach of your Association, the better are the chances for lifting practice and perception in the field; the larger the membership, the more influential its voice. As NAIRO President John Hope has previously said "Won't you please take the time and make the effort to help build our membership and increase the usefulness of your Association—NAIRO? We badly need your assistance; your reward will be a more effective professional association in the area of your chosen career." Additional membership brochures are available from the National Office.

NCDH CONFERENCE Against a background of turmoil and great social unrest in America's cities, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing will sponsor the first of five regional conferences on November 18-20 at the statler Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles, California.

As a follow-up to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," held earlier this year, these five regional workshops will focus on the findings and recommendations adopted by the participants at that noteworthy meeting. The NCDH West Coast conference theme will be "**Urban Crises and the Ghetto System: A Program for Grass-Roots Action.**" It will follow the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) convention, which will be concluding as NCDH opens its deliberations at a joint luncheon session with NAIRO Friday, November 18. The NCDH meeting will close Sunday afternoon, November 20.

The major emphasis at this two-day workshop will be geared to the local fair housing movement throughout the Western States and the need to face the challenge of developing realistic, hard-hitting equal housing opportunity programs. The sessions will concentrate on citizen action programs to affect the nature of the housing supply, such as urban planning, 221 (d) (3), rent supplement, leased housing, vest pocket low-rent housing, as well as action to stimulate support and funding of fair housing centers by local anti-poverty boards.

ROBERT JOHNSON DIES IN OHIO Dr. Robert B. Johnson, long time member of NAIRO, died on Monday, August 22nd, in Wilberforce, Ohio. Known as "Doctor Bob" to the NAIRO Interns of 1956-58, he was Co-Director of their introductory institute, along with John Lassoe. He was the son of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, former President of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. John Hope II, NAIRO President said, "I have known Bob since he was a little fellow, this is a personal loss as well as a loss to the field of civil rights and intergroup relations. On behalf of NAIRO I express the Association's sorrow at the passing of a colleague who was held in affection and respect by all who knew him."

OUR PEOPLE & THEIR CITIES Spokesmen for almost every facet of the whole "urban complex" spent two days in mid-September at a conference entitled "Our People and Their Cities," exploring the growing list of problems faced by the two-thirds of the nation's people who live in cities.

Sponsored by Urban America, Inc., a nonprofit organization which seeks to improve the quality of life in every sphere of the urban environment, the conference speeches and discussions revolved around four main topics. These were housing, the work environment, transportation, and leisure.

But the range of the sessions extended well beyond talk of how to increase the annual output of housing units or debates on the relative merits of modes of transportation.

The vocational and geographic mix of the more than 800 conference delegates provided the ingredients for a free exchange of stimulating ideas. Besides city planners, architects, municipal officials and other traditional urban practitioners, there were social scientists, labor-union leaders, civil-rights workers, and a host of representatives of the broad field of "social engineering."

If a single consensus emerged from the conference it was this:

Any approach to urban problems must be a combined one, including a strong and constant concern for the social and economic as well as for physical aspects of city planning and development.

Concern for both the physical and the social was voiced forcefully, eloquently, and frequently. In a keynote address Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith cautioned against leaving the planning of the environment to the market place. Hubert Humphrey, Robert C. Weaver and John Lindsay presented major addresses.

Here are some examples of the diverse views that emerged from conference speeches and discussions:

• There was spirited talk about developing American counterparts of Scandinavian or British new towns to divert migration taxing already overcrowded metropolitan areas.

• Frustrating discussions arose over how to—and whether to—rebuild central city-ghettos; how to remold their neighborhood characteristics. (One sug-

(Continued on page 7)

20th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

group Relations Public Agencies is sponsoring a preconference session for all local public agencies; plans call for a one day meeting, starting either the evening of Monday, November 14th or early Tuesday morning, the 15th. A special announcement will be sent to all such agencies in the country, whether or not the director is a member of NAIRO.

NAIRO President John Hope II said "This promises to be a very significant Conference—the pressing issues of today and the longer range needs of the future are both on the agenda. I think we will achieve at this conference an evaluation of the present situation, thoughtful planning for next steps, and a shared learning-experience for all who attend." He added, "I am pleased that the NAIRO Department of City and County Intergroup Relations Public Agencies and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing are holding sessions contiguous with the NAIRO Conference for it will widen the base for participation in each of the meetings."

NAIRO President-Elect John A. Buggs, Executive Director of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, said "I am delighted that this year's Conference is being held in Los Angeles; it will enable many west coast professionals, with limited budgets, to attend and it will provide an opportunity for those from other sections of the country to better acquaint themselves with our problems. We need both a national perspective and an awareness of local variations. I look forward to welcoming old friends and new members to California."

DIRECTOR'S BOX

(Continued from page 3)

well as you Yanks in integrating our Armed Forces!"

In Dublin's fair city (where, indeed, the girls are so pretty) I was attracted one evening as I strolled down O'Connell street, not far from where the IRA had blown-up the Nelson shaft, by the strains of "Blest Be The Tie That Binds." I discovered, at the corner of O'Connell and Abbey an evangelistic Protestant street service, complete with a P. A. system. The meeting ended with another Protestant hymn and an invitation to all to "come to the After-Meeting at the YMCA." I mentioned this to an Irish chap I later met and he said "Yours is not the only country which believes in religious freedom."

In Copenhagen I renewed a friendship with a young couple who had been stationed with the Danish Embassy, here in Washington. After nearly a year away from the United States they cited as what they found most unique about America was "the dynamic nature of your society, the diversity of your population, the physical vastness of your land, your ability to get things done, and your regard for individuality."

My last day in London a friend drove me to Grosvenor Square and said, "The two extremes of American taste are represented here; the gaucheness of that monstrous eagle atop your Embassy and the incredible generosity of Franklin Roosevelt."

Thus, I came home feeling that I knew myself, my fellow countrymen, and my country somewhat better because each had been exposed to me through the eyes of others. What we have here **is** something quite special; in spite of rough edges and rocky moments we are developing an identifiable American Character which applies to Negroes as well as whites; to Jews and Catholics as well as Protestants; to Southerners as well as Northerners or Westerners; to rural as well as urban dwellers; to the poor as well as the rich. Most Europeans I talked with saw this emerging phenomenon of a new nationality and believed in the gradual disappearance of hyphenated-Americans.

It seems rather proper to draw this particular piece to a close with a few lines from Scotland's beloved Robbie Burns:

O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
And foolish notion!

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

KANSAS STATE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. Executive Director. Also several Field Representatives. Salaries and qualifications not specified on announcement. Contact: Mr. Robert Watson, Chairman; Kansas Commission on Civil Rights; State Office Building; Topeka, Kansas.

KENTUCKY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

COMMUNITY SERVICE COORDINATOR. Beginning Salary: $8,940. Background: 4 years of experience which shows ability in intergroup relations. The Community Service Coordinator will head the unit which handles affirmative efforts and provides field services to local official and voluntary human rights groups.

RESEARCH SPECIALIST. Beginning Salary: $9,384-11,412. Preferred background: graduate degree in social science, with special training in research methods. The Research Specialist will conduct a continuing program of collecting, compiling, analyzing and interpreting facts on progress in race relations, desegregation and discrimination in Kentucky.

COMPLIANCE ASSISTANT. Beginning Salary: $6,996. Background: law degree and experience. Under the supervision of the Compliance Coordinator, the Compliance Assistant will help supervise the Field Investigators and the day-to-day processing of complaints under the Kentucky Civil Rights Act.

FIELD INVESTIGATORS. Beginning Salary: $6,672. Preferred background: legal or other specialized training or experience. Field Investigators will work in the Compliance Division to receive, investigate and conciliate complaints.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES. Beginning Salary: $5,484. Preferred background: degree in social sciences or related fields. Field Representatives will work in the Community Service Division and will provide assistance to local human rights groups.

Contact: Galen Martin, Executive Director; Kentucky Commission on Human Rights; Capitol Annex Building; Frankfort, Ky. Ph. 564-3550.

MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. Executive Director. Salary: $790-960 per month. Qualifications: strong conciliation orientation, fact-gathering ability; self-confidence; operational savvy; college or university graduate. Contact: Marin County Personnel Office; Administration Building; Civic Center; San Raphael, California.

MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. Field Representatives. Salary: $5,500-8,400 depending upon experience and background. Lawyer or person with investigative experience will receive preference. Duties: to investigate and conciliate public accommodations and employment complaints. Two vacancies as of Oct. 1, 1966. For further information contact: Mr. Peter C. Robertson, Box 1129N, Jefferson City, Missouri 65102, or call 635-7223 (Area Code 314).

CINCINNATI HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION. Executive Director needed to continue the development and implementation of programs and activities to alleviate intergroup problems in this metropolitan community. Salary: to $16,000. Director will supervise an excellent staff. Many imaginative programs presently under way. Accredited college degree and experience in field appropriate to human relations and experience in personnel supervision required. Additional academic training highly desirable. Salary commensurate with qualifications. Contact Mr. John A. Jackson, P. O. Box 15283; Cincinnati, Ohio 45215

DAYTON, OHIO HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION: Housing Specialist. The Human Relations Commission is seeking an Intergroup Relations Specialist who will devote full time to the area of housing. Salary: $8,808-10,524. Persons interested in this position should submit a resume—including the salary desired—to Mr. Edward A. King, Executive Director, Human Relations Commission, 11 West Monument Avenue, Room 212, Dayton, Ohio 45402.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION. Civil Rights Assistant. Salary $6,526-8,294 (after January 1, 1967 $6,864-8,684). Qualification: graduation from a four year college or university; prior experience in human relations work. Contact: Civil Service Board; Rm. 304 City Hall; Grand Rapids, Michigan.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS. Administrative Assistant I. Salary $559-713 per month. (qualifications not specified on announcement). Contact Personnel Office, City Hall, Kansas City, Missouri.

PEOPLE & CITIES (Continued from page 6)

gestion: "A wrenching, radical re-allocation of public resources," such as location of the proposed massive New York World Trade Center in Harlem.)

- The wry, oft-reprinted "Fable of How the Cities solved Their Transportation Problems" by Wilfred Owen of Brookings Institution was underlain with solid lessons on transit and traffic problems.
- Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, gave a moving description of the "colonial characteristics" of central-city ghettos.
- There was an open invitation to unlimited innovation in planning and operation of parks and public-recreation facilities offered by New York City Parks Commissioner Thomas P. F. Hoving. Mr. Hoving rejected the "triad of monotony—the swing, the slide and see saw," in favor of "fact and fancy playgrounds."

Summarizing the conference, Urban America President Stephen R. Currier promised a thorough sifting of the hundreds of ideas the meeting generated. These will be incorporated, he said, in a "search for solutions" to urban problems on a national scale.

That process is under way. The best of the ideas are being abstracted and will be circulated in a variety of publications. The first of these, a booklet containing the five major speeches of the conference, will be off the presses in a few days. These will be available from Urban America's offices, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Also available, in limited supply, are copies of a chart book used during the conference. This is a 96-page book containing graphically depicted statistical material about cities and metropolitan areas.

RULES ON SUBMISSION OF RESOLUTIONS AT NAIRO CONFERENCES

1. Resolutions will be considered at a business session near the end of the Conference, at a time specifically stated in the Conference program.

2. Resolutions will be submitted to the business session if: (a) they are received by the National Office at least one week before the beginning of the Conference or by the Resolutions Committee on the first full day of the Conference from any Chapter (majority vote of members or signed by any five members in good standing; or (b) they are adopted at a regularly scheduled session of the Conference by a majority vote of the members present and voting and submitted promptly to the Resolutions Committee.

3. A Resolutions Committee of five members, including the General Counsel of NAIRO if present at the Conference, shall be appointed by the President. It will be the function of the Resolutions Committee to place before the Conference at the appointed business session all Resolutions consistent with the By-laws and submitted in accordance with Paragraph 2, together with the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee. The Resolutions Committee may edit the Resolutions for clarity and may, in its judgment, combine Resolutions on the same or related subjects.

4. It is the opinion of the Board of Directors that Resolutions should be in the form of policy decisions of the Conference rather than public statements. This will save the time of the membership at the Conference by avoiding disputes over fine points of language. However, members retain the final decision, at the time of the Conference, as to the form Resolutions should take.

5. Members will be informed of the procedure governing the submission of Resolutions a reasonable time in advance of the Conference, but not less than 30 days before the Conference.

43 NEW MEMBERS SINCE LAST NEWSLETTER

Jose Castorena, Los Angeles, Calif.
Roland J. Davidson, Los Angeles, Calif.
John C. Hamby, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. Nancy Ward, Los Angeles, Calif.
Leroy Lucas, Palo Alto, Calif.
Charles E. Mays, San Francisco, Calif.
Louis J. Kaplan, New Haven, Conn.
Eric H. Biddle, Washington, D. C.
James O. Gibson, Washington, D. C.
Sully B. McGoodwin, Washington, D. C.
John F. Breshnahan, Miami, Florida
John J. Skelly, Miami, Florida
Robert A. Graney, Chicago, Ill.
Albert N. Logan, Chicago, Illinois
Gordon G. Alexander, Indianapolis, Ind.
Launcelot Jones, Indianapolis, Ind.
Norman L. Morford, Indianapolis, Ind.
John G. Bynoe, Boston, Mass.
Robert T. Horner, Detroit, Mich.
Dorothy M. Wade, Kansas City, Mo.
Raymond Ferland, St. Louis, Mo.
Theodore X. Berger, Jersey City, New Jersey
Ronald G. Cohn, Plainfield, N. J.
David W. Sullivan, Plainfield, N. J.
B. Robert Piller, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Louis H. Glickman, Buffalo, N. Y.
David E. Traub, New York, N. Y.
Vida H. Byas, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Eleanor W. Ashman, New York, N. Y.
L. Alexander Harper, New York, N. Y.
Gloria Metzger, New York, N. Y.
Donald Feldstein, New York, N. Y.
Orra G. Compton, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Jack D. Middleton, Norman, Okla.
Robert Johnson Smith, Harrisburg, Pa.
Thomas P. Hadfield, Philadelphia, Pa.
Arthur L. Hardge, Providence, R. I.
Clifton H. Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.
J. Andrew Lipscomb, Nashville, Tenn.
Roy E. Dulak, Dallas, Texas
Murray Shiff, Dallas, Texas
John G. Hays, Charlottesville, Va.
William E. Talbert, Seattle, Wash.

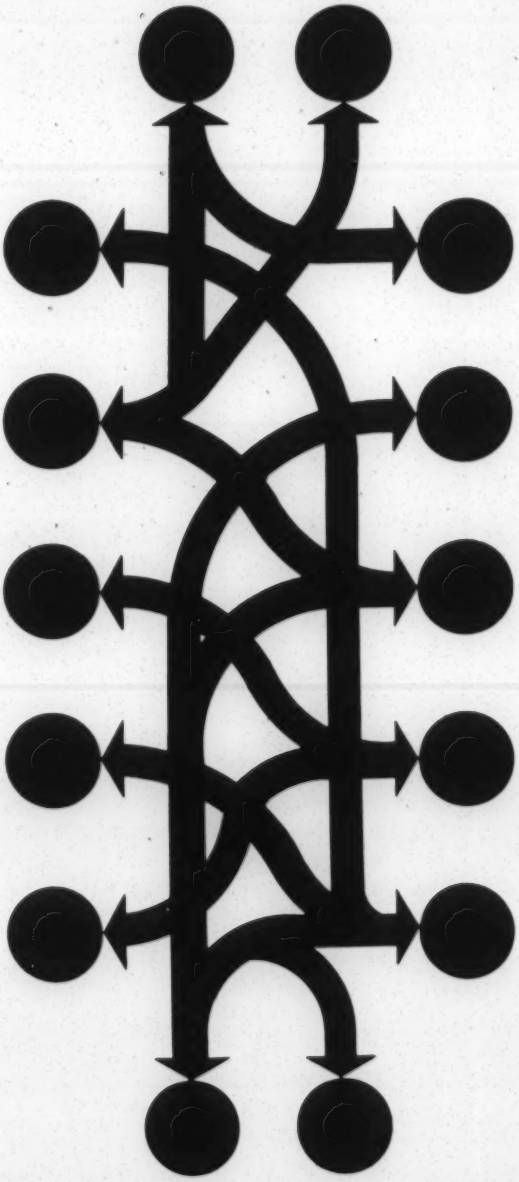
AILEEN HERNANDEZ LEAVES EEOC POST Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, former Chairman of the Northern California Chapter of NAIRO and currently national Membership Chairman, has resigned her post as Commissioner with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, effective November 10th. She responded with "no comment" when asked whether her resignation stemmed from published reports about her dissatisfaction with the EEOC's rate of progress in handling claims of discrimination.

Mrs. Hernandez received a five year appointment to the Commission in 1965; it was the longest of any of the five Commissioners' staggered terms. There are now two vacancies, out of five, on the Commission. In addition, four of the top staff posts remain unfilled. New Chairman of the Commission is Stephen Shulman, former Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. Civil rights leaders are concerned with the Administration's failure to fill vacancies with dispatch.

NAIRO

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

SUMMER 1966



The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio 44114
Telephone: (Area Code 216) 781-6630

PREFATORY NOTE

This brochure on Human Relations Workshops is the 5th or 1966 edition of an annual publication developed by The Council on Human Relations, Cleveland, Ohio. Miss Nell C. Henry of the Council's staff is responsible for its development.

Originally conceived as a handy reference list for intergroup relations practitioners, the brochure has become an important resource for educators, social workers and city officials. Its usefulness has grown as the human relations crisis has deepened and as the need for objective study and systematic training has become increasingly important.

Francis Keppel, U. S. Commissioner of Education, has been widely quoted for his terse "thank God for the Civil Rights Movement." Commissioner Keppel's comment indicated his satisfaction that, at last, the educational door was open and changes, needed changes, could be introduced.

Everyone of the approximately 75 workshops listed in this brochure is concerned directly or indirectly with these anticipated and necessary changes. Experience seems to suggest that these changes depend primarily on direct confrontation and continuing dialogue. And the workshop is, par excellence, the place or process where this kind of personal change most often and most readily takes place.

As a unique tool or instrumentality, the Human Relations Workshop, currently a modest and largely unadvertised development on the American educational scene, merits extended use. This brochure is published with this purpose in view.

. . . J. D. NOBEL
. . . The Council on Human Relations, Cleveland, Ohio

I WORKSHOPS AT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

ALABAMA

Mobile, Alabama 36608
"Human Relations Workshop"
Dates to be announced *(6)

ALASKA

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA 99735
"Community Development Workshop"
July 11-22

CALIFORNIA

CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGE AT
Los Angeles, California 90032
"Education in Intergroup Relations"
June 20 - July 28 (3)

CALIFORNIA WESTERN UNIVERSITY
San Diego, California 92106
"Intercultural Understanding"
June 27 - July 15 (5)

LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
Palo Alto, California
See statement on last page.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Los Angeles, California 90045
"Human Relations and Group Guidance"
June 22 - August 2 (6)

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead, Cal.

1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   July 17-29
2. "6th Annual Laboratory for Educational Leaders"
   July 17-29
3. "7th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
   August 7-19

(Conducted in cooperation with Western Training Laboratory, University Extension, University of California at Los Angeles: cosponsored by the School of Education, the Institute of Industrial Relations, and the Graduate School of Business Administration.)

For further information write to:
National Training Laboratories
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

(See statement under National Training Laboratories in Maine)

SACRAMENT STATE COLLEGE
Sacramento, California 95819
"Workshop in Human Relations and Communication"
June 20 - July 15 (4)

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
San Francisco, California 94132
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 (3)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California 94305
"Guidance Workshop", 332w
June 20 - July 1 *(4)
"Guidance Workshop", 339a
July 5-15 (4)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION
Los Angeles, California 90024
"9th Annual Leadership Laboratory in Human Relations and Supervisory Skills"
May 29 - June 4

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
Stockton, California 95204
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 27 - July 8 (2)

UNIVERSITY OF REDLANDS
Redlands, California 90723
"Minorities in Our Culture"
July 26 - August 6 (2)

COLORADO

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
Denver, Colorado 80210
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 20 - July 22 (7½)

CONNECTICUT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
Storrs, Connecticut 06602
"Workshop in Education: Communications as a Factor of Human Relations and Intergroup Process"
July 5-22 (3)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C. 20016
"17th Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding"
June 20 - July 8 (3)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
on University of Maryland campus
"American Politics in a Revolutionary World"
(for those 19-23 years of age)
June 19 - July 30
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

The Encampment is a six-week "living-in" educational program designed for junior citizens who are interested in first-hand acquaintance with basic social issues. Guided by informed and skilled adult leaders, the Encampment participants explore problems in human relations, labor and international relations and civil rights. The participants themselves represent a great variety of socio-economic, racial, religious and cultural groups, a fact which makes the Encampment interlude intensely personal and stimulating as well as profoundly educational.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C. 20007
"Institute on Human Relations"
July 5-9

LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
Washington, D.C. 20036
See statement on last page.

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

ILLINOIS

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
DeKalb, Illinois 60115
"Family Relationships"
June 13 - August 5 *(3)

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
See under
"BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS."

INDIANA

VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY
See under
"BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS."

KENTUCKY

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS
Berea, Kentucky 40403
"Workshop on Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants"
July 8-22

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Barbourville, Kentucky
"The Rural South and American Democracy"
(For those 15 through 18 years of age.)
July 3 - August 13
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Encampment for Citizenship in Washington, D.C.)

URSULINE COLLEGE
Louisville, Kentucky 40206
"Community Relations" (for sisters only)
July 6-8

MAINE

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine

1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   June 13-25, Judy 13-15, July 24 - Aug. 5
2. "6th Annual Laboratory for Educational Leaders"
   July 24 - August 5
3. "7th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
   July 3-15
4. "3rd Annual Laboratory in Conflict Management"
   July 24-August 5

Conducted by:
National Training Laboratories
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The work of the National Training Laboratories is part of a massive modern trend, falling under the head of behavioral science. It is at Bethel, Maine, that Kurt Lewin's pioneering idea for the analysis of face-to-face groups has been given a practical laboratory testing year after year since 1947. Beginning in mid-June, three sessions are held, each of two weeks' duration, for participants from all walks of life. It is the

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primary business of NTL to study group reactions, to alert members to what is wrong, and what they can do about it. The three main goals are to increase the sensitivity of the individual to his own role and his own responses and help him express complicated or even negative attitudes acceptably, to provide new skills for conducting and diagnosing group meetings, and to develop methods of participation and leadership. Additionally, the "Bethel pattern" has expanded into laboratory sessions running two weeks for professionals in various occupational fields. Planned in close co-operation with leaders in these fields, these laboratories are tailor-made programs for a particular occupational group, and are held annually in various locations throughout the country.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
Orono, Maine
"Education for Intercultural Understanding"
August 1-19 *(3)

MARYLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
College Park, Maryland 20742
"Human Relations in Educational Administration"
June 20 - July 29 (6)

See also ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP under Washington, D.C.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER
Boston, Massachusetts 02115

1. "13th Annual Summer Laboratory in the Improvement of Human Relations"
   June 24 - July 8 (3)
2. "Advanced Training in Methods of Human Relations Education"
   June 24 - July 8 (3)

MICHIGAN

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197
"Seminar in Inter Group Education"
August 8-19 (2)

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT
Detroit, Michigan 48221
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 27 - July 22 (6)

MISSOURI

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis, Missouri 63130
"Human Relations Commission Institute"
June 24-26

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH
See under "FOREIGN WORKSHOPS"

NEW JERSEY

RUTGERS—THE STATE UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Education
"Human Relations in Professional Education"
July 5-22 (6)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

NEW MEXICO

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106
"Intercultural Relations Workshop"
June 20 - July 15 *(4)

NEW YORK

ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
Garden City, New York 11530
"Police and Community Relations Workshop"
Dates to be announced (3)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Riverdale, Bronx, New York
"Urbanism and American Democracy"
July 3 - August 13
For those 15 through 18 years of age.)
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Encampment in Washington, D.C.)

THE NEW SCHOOL HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER
New York, N.Y. 10011
Six cources, each meeting one day each week:
"Absurdity and Humor: Four Novels of Our Day"
"Four Attitudes in Contemporary Drama"
"The Ideas of Americans: What We Believe and Why"
"Communication and Adjustment"
"Windows on Other Lands and Cultures"
"Sources of Political Power"
June 7-30

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY
Hempstead, New York 11550
"Workshop for Educators and Community Leaders"
July 5-22 (3)

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Washington Square, New York, N.Y. 10003

1. "Workshop in Group Dynamics"
   June 6 - July 1 (6)
2. "Institute on Problems of Desegregation and Integration"
   July 18 - August 5 (4)
3. "Workshop for Instructors of Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth"
   June 27 - July 1

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO
Buffalo, New York 14214
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 (3)

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
Syracuse, N.Y. 10010
"Institute on Human Relations for Law Enforcement Officers"
June 13-24

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
New York, N.Y. 10003
"Management of Troubled Youth"
July 5 - August 2 (3)
"Anti-Poverty and Desegregation"
July 5 - August 2 (6)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

OHIO

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
Cleveland, Ohio 44106
"Workshop on Intergroup Relations"
June 20 - July 29 *(6)

OKLAHOMA

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Norman, Oklahoma
"Justice in Community Relations"
8th Annual Human Relations Seminar
July 25-30 (2)

OREGON

PACIFIC UNIVERSITY
Forest Grove, Oregon 97116
"Workshop for Human Relations"
June 20 - July 5 (3)

PENNSYLVANIA

KUTZTOWN STATE COLLEGE
Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530
"The Improvement of Human Relations in School and Community"
July 18 - August 5 (6)

TENNESSEE

FISK UNIVERSITY RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
"23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations"
June 27 - July 9 (3)

TEXAS

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
Dallas, Texas 75222
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 6 - July 1 (3)

UTAH

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
College of Southern Utah
Cedar City, Utah

1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   August 7-19
2. "7th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
   August 7-19

   Conducted by:
   National Training Laboratories
   National Education Association
   1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20036

   (See statement under Maine National Training Laboratories)

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112
"Intermountain Group Development Laboratory"
August 7-19

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

WASHINGTON

PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY
Tacoma, Washington 98447
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 *(3)

WISCONSIN

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233
"Human Relations Institute"
June 20-21 (3)

II WORKSHOPS CONDUCTED BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

"Traveling Workshops"

College of St. Theresa
Winona, Minnesota
June 10-11

Mundelein College
Chicago, Illinois
June 20-24

Albertus Magnus College
New Haven, Connecticut
June 28-30

Four Motherhouses
Dubuque, Iowa
July 1-3

Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
July 5-8

St. Mary's
Notre Dame
July 8-10

**St. Catherine's
St. Paul, Minnesota
July 11-23

Xavier College
Kansas
July 13-17

Assisi Heights
Rochester
July 16-17

St. Thomas
Houston, Texas
July 18-29

**Our Lady of the Lake
San Antonio, Texas
July 25 - August 5

Good Counsel
Mankato, Minnesota
July 24-26

**St. Mary's Dominican
New Orleans, Louisiana
August 1-12

St. John College
Cleveland, Ohio
June 13-17

**Under Title IV of Civil Rights Act

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383
"17th Annual Institute on Human Relations"
July 22-24
"Workshop in Human Relations"
July 25-28

III WORKSHOPS ABROAD

PUERTO RICO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico
"Social Welfare Workshop"
June 12 - July 16

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Cayey, Puerto Rico

"Democracy and Social-Economic Development in the Western Hemisphere"
(For those 19-23 years of age.)
June 26 - August 6

Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Washington, D.C.)

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON ISRAEL

"5th Annual Summer Study Tour of Israel"
July 12 - August 10

For information write to:
Inter-University Committee on Israel
250 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

"13th Annual Foreign Workshop in Human Relations and Group Guidance" in Scandinavia
August 3 - September 2 (6)

Apply to: St. Louis University
21 North Grand
Saint Louis, Missouri 63103

IV RELATED PROGRAMS

THE LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Lisle Fellowship offers the opportunity for students and young adults to participate in international summer programs in intercultural relations. The purpose of Lisle is to give young adults the challenge to experience the development of relationships with peoples of other cultures and backgrounds and to learn through practical fieldwork experiences about the ways of living and thinking in another culture. The programs take place in California, Washington, D.C., Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Colombia, Republic of Congro and USSR.

V HUMAN RELATIONS CENTERS

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (Philadelphia)

Charged with a three-fold responsibility, the University of Pennsylvania's Center encourages and carries out both pure and applied research, offers courses of instruction with special emphasis on the graduate level, and engages in community service.

Fellowships are offered to doctoral students in allied areas on condition that they write their dissertations in the field of human relations. In addition to the staff's serving on advisory committees of intergroup agencies in housing, employment, public accommodations, and education, the Center also has an intern relationship with some of the city intergroup agencies. M. A. degree in Human Relations is granted.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY STUDIES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY (New York City)

At present, the program is entirely graduate in scope, with the exception of one course taught as an elective for persons specializing in the various helping professions.

The center is concerned with the integration and application of the behavioral disciplines for the purpose of furthering full human development. It seeks to make understood how the relations of people in schools and other institutions, in community organizations, in ethnic groups, and in regions and nations of the world may contribute to the maximum growth of all. It seeks also to teach the principles, arts, and techniques of successful performance in the many types of professional work in which its majors can apply the great concepts of the sciences of man.

COMMUNITY TENSIONS CENTER OF SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE (Springfield 9, Mass.)

The Community Tensions Center of Springfield College is an integral part of the institution with special responsibility in the area of intergroup relations. The center discharges this responsibility in three ways — at the graduate level through specialized instruction to students about to enter professional community service vocations — at the undergraduate level through general instruction to give students an understanding of community tensions and equip them with a minimum of skill to become responsible citizens in our multi-group society; and through basic and applied research in advancing knowledge in the broad field of intergroup relations.

In addition, the Center conducts workshops, institutes study programs and serves as a consultative service to community and professional groups.

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER OF BOSTON UNIVERSITY (Boston, Massachusetts)

Focused on that part of the spectrum of personal relations that extends from interpersonal relations through group, intraorganizational and intergroup relations, to community relations, Boston's areas of responsibility include instruction (seminars and field service projects), research (basic and applied), and community service (short-term and long-term training programs, and consultation to particular agencies involved with certain intergroup problems).

Annual faculty conferences on relationships between human relations studies and various problems of university instruction, research, and administration; the provision of voluntary "unstructured" groups designed to support self-examination; fellowships to outstanding graduate and professional students, and a "living-in" summer workshop round out the Boston program.

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA (Norman, Okla.)

The basic purpose of the Human Relations Center is to provide opportunities for the study of human conflict and its resolution. To accomplish its purpose, the Center has three types of subgoals:

EDUCATION — to develop educational opportunities and intergroup experiences at the adult and graduate levels for professional persons and lay leaders. This is done through institutes, conferences, workshops, seminars, and other educational programs throughout the regular school year, and in summer sessions.

CONSULTATION—to provide consultative services to organizations and committees on inter group problems.

RESEARCH—to initiate and stimulate research in the field of human relations, to collect and disseminate research findings.

IMPORTANT NOTE:

Colleges and Universities conducting workshops during the summer of 1967 are asked no notify The Council on Human Relations as soon as their plans are formulated. The deadline for inclusion in the 6th Annual Edition of **The Human Relations Workshops Brochure** is March 1, 1967.

(agency) NAIRO

Suite 1100
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

TO: Atlanta NAIRO Chapter Members

FROM: Ted Freedman, Chapter Chairman

DATE: December 30, 1966

Please note the attached copy of a memo from John Buggs. May I ask that you consider his proposals and convey your recommendations to me. I will then pull together your recommendations and respond to John in the form of a consensus of our Chapter.

Thanks for your cooperation and best wishes to you and yours for the coming year.

TF:ssl

DEC 27 1966

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • 387-7050
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 22, 1966

Dear Chapter Chairman:

For several years NAIRO has placed the responsibility for research, information, points of view, suggested courses of professional action, continuing problems, etc. of the substantative areas of our profession's concern in the hands of various "Commissions" of our Association. Some of the commissions have done outstanding jobs over the years. Others have, from time to time been dormant.

Presently there are commissions of NAIRO authorized to operate in the following areas:

A. Manpower Development
B. Housing and Urban Life
C. Public Information
D. International aspects of Intergroup Relations
E. Inter-professional Liaison
F. Professional Standards
G. Public Policy
H. Research Services

Other areas of importance and urgency might also be listed as substantative concerns of NAIRO that require study and the development of a point of view. Such areas as:

A. Relationships between minority groups.
B. The positive and productive use of tension.
C. The American Indian - the most forgotten minority.
D. Compensatory education vs. the integrated school.
E. Black nationalism and its meaning to the field of inter-group relations,

and many, many others that you may suggest call for a professional analysis.

Our NAIRO Chapters have for many years, sought a more meaningful relationship and a more dynamic role in the affairs of the association. At the meeting of the Board of Directors held at the close of the Los Angeles conference I suggested that the responsibility heretofore placed upon commissions for providing the services outlined in the first paragraph of this letter be shifted to local chapters - the chapters, of course, being willing.

At the January 20th meeting of the Board of Directors a decision will be made as to whether or not the commissions will be continued or chapters will be asked to assume the responsibility of doing an in-depth study of one of the substantiative areas of our mutual concern. If chapters are asked to provide this service, a written report to be made available to the entire membership would be required at the end of the year. (In this case, by September of 1967.)

Since this shifting of responsibility was my idea, I am naturally biased in favor of it. Chapters would be asked to select the area that they would be interested in exploring. Assignments would be made to conform as nearly as possible to the desire of the chapter membership.

I feel that such an arrangement has many advantages not the least of which is that of giving each chapter a real meaningful role in the affairs of the national body.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience - if at all possible prior to the January 20th Board meeting, your chapter's view of this suggestion. If you approve and give some indication of your chapter's choice of an area of concern, assignments will be made at the January meeting.

Cordially yours,

John A. Buggs

John A. Buggs, President

JAB:rc

file NAIRO

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES '66 CANDIDATES

FOR PRESIDENT ELECT

GALEN MARTIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, KENTUCKY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. FORMER NAIRO VICE PRESIDENT; CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE WHICH DEVELOPED NAIRO "GUIDELINES FOR MUNICIPAL HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES"; FORMER CHAIRMAN, MID-SOUTH REGION OF NAIRO; CURRENTLY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON NAIRO CODE OF ETHICS.

JOSEPH ROBISON, DIRECTOR OF COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. FORMER CHAIRMAN NAIRO COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS; FORMER CHAIRMAN NAIRO DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL PRIVATE AGENCIES; FORMER MEMBER NOMINATING COMMITTEE; CURRENTLY NAIRO GENERAL COUNSEL, MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT

HELEN AMERMAN, RECENTLY RESIGNED AS DIRECTOR OF RELOCATION, L.A. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AGENCY. CHARTER MEMBER OF NAIRO, FORMER CHAIRMAN NAIRO COMMISSION ON RESEARCH SERVICES; FORMER CHAIRMAN NO. CALIFORNIA NAIRO CHAPTER.

ARTHUR JOHNSON, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT, DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS; FORMER CHAIRMAN NAIRO COMMISSION ON NATURE, SCOPE, AND THEORY; BOARD MEMBER; CURRENTLY CHAIRMAN OF NAIRO COMMISSION ON RESEARCH AND CHAIRMAN-ELECT OF THE MICHIGAN NAIRO CHAPTER.

JOHN MCKNIGHT, MID WEST REGIONAL DIRECTOR, U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS; FORMER NAIRO NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN; FORMER CHAIRMAN CHICAGO NAIRO CHAPTER; PROGRAM CHAIRMAN, 1965 NAIRO CONFERENCE; CURRENTLY MEMBER NAIRO BOARD.

FOR SECRETARY

RAE KRUGLICK, CHICAGO COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE. TREASURER 1965 NAIRO CONFERENCE; FORMER SECRETARY-TREASURER CHICAGO NAIRO CHAPTER; CURRENTLY CHICAGO CHAPTER BOARD MEMBER.

JACK MIDDLETON, SOUTH WEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES; FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF ST. LOUIS NAIRO CHAPTER; HELPED ORGANIZE STUDENT CHAPTER AT ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY.

R. DEAN SHORT, PHILADELPHIA REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY; FORMER SECRETARY PHILADELPHIA NAIRO CHAPTER; CURRENTLY TWO-TERM CHAIRMAN PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER.

FOR TREASURER

HOLLIS BACH, U.S. POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT EEO PROGRAM. MEMBER NAIRO MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

PHILIP SADLER, HOUSING ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION (FORMERLY PHA) INTERGROUP RELATIONS SERVICE; TREASURER D.C. CHAPTER.

FOR THE BOARD

FRANK BALDAU, CIVIL RIGHTS OFFICE, H.E.W.; PAST NAIRO PRESIDENT; CHARTER MEMBER, FORMER CHAIRMAN RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE; FORMER CHAIRMAN NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

ALFRED E. COWLES, WASHINGTON STATE BOARD AGAINST DISCRIMINATION; PACIFIC N.W. REGIONAL CHAIRMAN; PRESIDENT-ELECT PACIFIC NW CHAPTER OF NAIRO.

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THEODORE FREEDMAN, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE; CHAIRMAN, ATLANTA CHAPTER OF NAIRO.

BURTON GORDIN, MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION; FORMER NAIRO TREASURER; FORMER PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER CHAIRMAN; FORMER N.E. REGIONAL CHAIRMAN

NATHAN GREENE, METROPOLITAN PHILADELPHIA FAIR HOUSING PROGRAM; FORMER NAIRO INTERN PROGRAM COORDINATOR.

LARY GROTH, PHILADELPHIA COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS; VICE PRESIDENT PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER.

EDWARD HOWDEN, CALIFORNIA FEPC; FORMER NAIRO VICE PRESIDENT; FORMER WESTERN REGIONAL CHAIRMAN; MEMBER SINCE 1948.

CERNORIA JOHNSON, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE; FORMER MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL DIRECTOR; 1962 CHAIRMAN HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE FOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON.

BENJAMIN LEVY, NEW HAVEN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; TWO TERM CHAIRMAN CONNECTICUT CHAPTER.

EDWARD MARCINIAK, CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS; NAIRO BOARD MEMBER (SERVING 1YR. TERM) CHAIRMAN 1965 ANNUAL CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE.

RICHARD MARKS, DETROIT COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS; CHAIRMAN DETROIT & MICHIGAN CHAPTER; FORMER NAIRO SECRETARY; FORMER CHAIRMAN MANPOWER UTILIZATION COMMISSION.

JAMES R. MOORE, INTERGROUP RELATIONS ASSISTANT, HOUSING ASSISTANCE ADMIN. HUD, PHILADELPHIA.

JOHN MORSELL, NAACP (NATIONAL OFFICE); FORMER NAIRO BOARD MEMBER, FORMER NAIRO VICE-PRES.

JOHN O'HARA, S.W. CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES (OKLA.), CHAIRMAN EDUCATION COMMITTEE NAIRO MID-CENTRAL CHAPTER.

JOEL OLLANDER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, OHIO REG.; CHAIRMAN NAIRO CLEVELAND CHAPTER.

PETER ROBERTSON, MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS; NAIRO MID-WESTERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR.

SEYMOUR SAMET, U.S. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE; FORMER NAIRO S.E. REGIONAL DIRECTOR

STUART SHANNONHOUSE, PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMIS.; TWO-TERM CHAIRMAN PITTSBURGH NAIRO CHAPTER.

SHELTON STEINHAUSER, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE-DENVER REG.; CHAIRMAN LOCAL INTERGROUP AGENCY ORG

DONALD WENDELL, UNITED COMMUNITY CORP. OF NEWARK; NAIRO MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL CHAIRMAN.

NAIRO

NAIRO-CAREER SERVICE BOARD

MEMORANDUM

TO: ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INTERN SUPERVISORS

FROM: NATHAN GREENE, INTERN PROGRAM CONSULTANT

SUBJECT: INTERNS' MID-TERM SEMINAR

The dates for the Mid-Term Seminar for Eleanor Roosevelt Interns have been set as March 6, 7, and 8. The Seminar will be held at Krisheim, a conference center in Philadelphia. The Interns will be asked to arrive on Saturday evening; the Seminar will close with a final session on Tuesday afternoon, March 8th.

The Seminar will be practice-oriented. The major portion of their discussions will center on actual case studies, which the Interns have been asked to prepare. Enclosed is an outline which is being sent to the Interns for their use in preparing the studies.

We are asking them to have the studies submitted by not later than Friday, February 25. In view of the timing of this Seminar, we are relieving the Interns of the obligation of submitting a six-month report. We have, however, suggested to them that we would welcome any comments they might wish to make, either on their own initiative or in response to reports made by their supervisors.

As you will recall, this Seminar is being paid for on the basis of agency contributions of $100 per Intern, the total sum of which will be matched by NAIRO. If you have not already done so, would you please sign and return the "Amendment to The Letter of Agreement" to me. We are now asking that you send in your agency's contribution. PLEASE MAKE OUT ALL CHECKS TO NAIRO AND FORWARD THEM TO:

Nate Greene
Intern Program Consultant
2006 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

NAIRO will assume responsibility for all attendant expenses including the Interns' travel and maintenance. Interns in Chicago, Atlanta, Louisville, Huntsville, and Columbia, will be reimbursed on the basis of Air Coach flight plus ground travel expenses. Interns in the D.C., New York and Connecticut areas will be paid for coach fares by train.

Thank you in advance for helping to make this Seminar possible.

CAREER SERVICE BOARD

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INTER-GROUP RELATIONS INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

MID-TERM SEMINAR, GROUP III

DUE BEFORE FEBRUARY 25TH

CASE STUDY OUTLINE
(to be submitted in 1 original and 6 copies)

Description:

A. What happened?
B. Who was involved? (Agencies and individuals.)
C. Historical background of situation

Diagnosis

A. Evaluation of why it happened
B. What agencies and individual actually did
C. Motivating factors of agency and individual behavior
D. Related factors

Prescription

A. What did you (your agency) try to do? Why?
B. Whom else did you (your agency) try to involve?
C. Methods and techniques used.

Evaluation

A. What were results?
B. What would you do differently next time? Why?
C. What do you expect situation to be one year from now? 5 years?

January 13, 1965

Mr. Jack Sisson, Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

The copy of your letter to the Civil Rights Commission regarding the inaccuracy of our reports confuses us. Our research department can find no properly dated reports in which the Escambia Coutny situation is not accurately stated. And, our last report on parochial school desegregation was issued in August, 1963, prior to action by the parochial schools of Pensacola.

Lord knows we make plenty of mistakes, confess to them, and do whatever possible to correct them. But we take the responsibility of accuracy very seriously.

Can you give us more specific information on the inaccuracies to which you refer?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

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Michael F. Quinn, *Indianapolis*
Miss Margaret C. Roach *Washington, D.C.*
Rev. James J. Sheehan, *Detroit*
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William H. Thompson *Little Rock*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

July 6, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A Southern Catholic Leadership Conference on Human Relations will be held in Atlanta at the Hilton Inn July 29-31,1965, co-sponsored by Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. A copy of the program is enclosed for your information.

The Ordinaries, officials and lay leaders from 25 dioceses in 25 states in the South and Southwest are being invited to attend the Conference. Participants will hear and discuss the economic and political changes in the South, the Negro movement, and kinds of policies and strucutres established or needed to meet current and future challenges.

We hope to provide participants with printed materials which will add to their knowledge and understanding and will provide information on programs in the area of human relations.

We would be pleased to include materials describing your organization and its programs and any interpretative materials which you can provide in quantity(200) for distribution to Conference participants.

Please forward materials to: Hilton Inn
Box 691
Atlanta, Goergia
Attn: NCCIJ Conference, July 29

Please advise us if you are sending materials for the Conference. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Peggy Roach

Peggy Roach
Conference Coordinator

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Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

July 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

My letter of July 6 got off to you without an additional note I meant to enclose.

Could you please send me sample copies of:

Toward Regional Realism Series
No. 1 The South and the Nation - Collins
No. 2 A Hundred Years Later — .20¢

also price list on these two pamphlets as well as No. 3 The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South, and Encounter with the Future.

We are seeking to provide participants at the Atlanta Conference with background materials to increase understanding. These would be included in the participants' packet for the Conference.

If you have other materials you think would be helpful, would you please send samples and the price list?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Peggy Roach

Peggy Roach
Conference Coordinator

.40¢ unless someone has set a higher price
1/2 of price on publications list

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

July 13, 1965

Miss Peggy Roach
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Roach:

The materials requested in your letter of July 6 have been forwarded to the Hilton Inn, as you asked.

A Hundred Years Later and Encounter with the Future are the only pamphlets mentioned in your letter of the 8th which remain in print. We can set a special price, for your conference needs, of 10¢ per copy on the former and .20¢ per copy of the latter.

Please let us know if you can use these or any other of our publications.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

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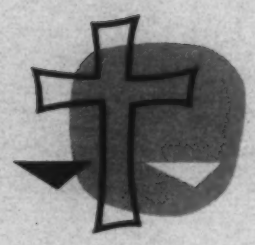

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Report of Executive Director, 8/65
and
Program Goals, 1965-1966

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Report of Executive Director, 8/65
and
Program Goals, 1965-1966

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Report of the Executive Director
August, 1965

A major effort of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is to search and program for ways to effectively relate the interest, energy and resources of the larger Roman Catholic community to improving race relations. Through service work to an expanding network of Catholic human relations organizations and the development of specialized programs for administration at the local diocesan level, the effectiveness of the work of the Conference has been significantly enhanced during the past year. While the Conference cooperates in a variety of programs with other civil rights organizations, a major concern is with the response of the local Catholic community to the crisis in human relations, whether this be in the North or South.

1965 has marked a significant step-up in the commitment of Catholic resources on behalf of interracial justice. The number of Catholic human relations organizations is now over 120; a growing number of local Catholic human relations organizations are developing staffed programs. There is increasing inter-diocesan sharing in crises as well as other program situations, expressing the best of collegiality stimulated by the second Vatican Council. While there are gaps in effectiveness, the commitment of the Catholic bishops, as pastoral leaders, has become more vigorous and is beginning to express itself in solid local level programs, many of them created in consultation with the Conference. National church structures are becoming increasingly involved in civil rights programs through their own constituencies.

Yet the Catholic community is so large, and its institutional complex so extensive, that there is a long way to go to adequately relate these resources to forging a just society, and to moving the conscience and deepening the commitment of Catholic laymen on civil rights issues. Catholic lay and clerical leadership is still too distant from leadership in the movement in the Negro community; there is a gap here which will pose major problems for the Church in gearing up to a more adequate response to the opportunities to work for racial justice in Northern communities especially. Overall the Catholic community seems far from the reality of the slum ghetto filled with frustration and despair. Some cities give evidence of a growing split in the Catholic community over the issue of a developing local civil rights movement. With the direction along which the Catholic Church was beginning to accelerate, should such a split occur, it would be tragic indeed.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice involved itself in a variety of issues this past year. Selma...the summer projects... the voting bill, reapportionment...a variety of emergency services... in all of these the Conference worked to relate local Catholic resources to national issues, and to quicken the response of the Church.

In a large number of situations and on a large number of programs,

the Conference continued its open work with both official and unofficial organizations of other religious denominations.

In 1963 the Conference began to program relative to the economic issues which so hindered the full participation of Negroes and certain other minorities in American life. These efforts were extended this year in a variety of ways, most notably by trying to give prominence to the creative programs underway on the grass roots level involving Catholic leadership, and by the 1965 Conference convention on "The Human Face of Poverty: Challenge to Interracial Action." In the educational field a pilot project was worked out with a religious order of women and the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago to provide sophisticated manpower for a summer free school, which next year may expand to a number of cities.

A major portion of the Conference program goals for 1965 have been achieved. Services to Catholic human relations organizations have been increased; the work of the Southern Field Service has been significantly strengthened; a Department of Educational Services has been organized and staffed; and a Department of Employment Services has been launched. Within the Department of Employment Services, "Project Equality," an effort to relate the purchasing resources of Catholic institutions to end discrimination in employment in the concerns dealing with those institutions, is successfully underway.

Council Services

Increased coordination of local Council work on selected national issues, and work done by specialized Conference departments highlight increased services to the growing number of Catholic human relations organizations serviced by the Conference. Routine servicing of this base of organizations has been stepped up, and beginning in the fall of 1965, full time staff attention will be given to this area.

One major effort relating Conference service to local Catholic human relations organizations and broader program interests involving the larger network of Catholic institutions focused on the 1965 convention, "The Human Face of Poverty: Challenge to Interracial Action," jointly sponsored with the National Catholic Social Action Conference. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice acted as staff for this meeting, designed to relate grass roots leaders in the War on Poverty and the local Catholic human relations organizations more effectively to the larger institutional resources which are gradually becoming more deeply involved in service to the poor.

The Conference served as the coordinator for local Catholic human relations organizations relative to the Selma crisis, the effort to educate on the issues involved in discrimination in voting, on summer projects, and in a myriad of other instances.

Increasing requests for a wide range of consultative and program services from local Councils will make adequate use of the new resources the Conference is making available in this area. In turn, the expansion and growing sophistication of local affiliates substantially strengthens the ability of the Conference to program more effectively.

Southern Field Service

Emergency services, the Selma and Bogalusa crises absorbed a portion of the energy of the Southern Field Service. Liaison with the "movement" in the South was quickened. But key emphasis was placed on two major conferences for Catholic leadership in 25 Southern dioceses.

Late in March the Conference met in Memphis with Catholic leaders voluntarily involved in civil rights work in the South. The meeting was called to break some of the isolation frequently felt by people working without much communication with each other, to share experiences and program ideas, and to broaden the Conference's organizational base in the South.

In July the Conference staged a meeting in Atlanta for about 200 lay, religious and clerical leaders, from 22 of 25 Southern dioceses served by the Southern Field Service. Co-sponsored with Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta this conference was designed to involve more deeply in race relations those laymen, religious and clerics most responsible for the development of policy and program in all areas of Church institutional life in the South.

Both the above programs seem to have accomplished their purpose, and the Atlanta conference will undoubtedly have important effects for the contribution of the Church to racial justice in Southern states, for it involved with the Conference many of the influential leaders in Church life in the area. Followup on both of these conferences continues.

A more detailed report on the work of the Southern Field Service, including its important service in Louisiana, a project with other religious denominations and development work in the "War on Poverty" is available under separate cover.

Department of Educational Services

Launched with a partial grant in September 1964, the Department of Educational Services accomplished most of its initial two year program goals in its first year, and has already expanded its concerns and staff.

The leadership of Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., on leave as Chairman of the Sociology Department, Alverno College, involved the Conference in a myriad of programs with diocesan educational systems, and in the human relations training of women religious staffing key positions in the extensive network of Catholic sponsored educational institutions.

Major accomplishments include the development of a "Nuns Newsletter" for a growing circle of women religious anxious to trade experience in race relations, service of the poor and related areas. The Department has published a variety of materials for interracial youth education, including a 15 day teaching unit for use on the secondary school level, as well as materials and kits for the pre-service and in-service training of teachers.

A traveling workshop of five women religious with Ph.D. degrees in a variety of fields, was funded and put on the road during the summer of 1965, giving week long and briefer courses in human relations in a number of parts

of the country. This training experience has become the core for expanded goals in the training field this coming year.

In cooperation with the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago and the Sisters of St. Francis of Rochester, Minnesota, the Conference secured an Office of Economic Opportunity grant to enable 15 highly trained nuns to experiment with a "free school curriculum" in a public housing project setting. The project proved exciting, and will be extended to additional cities and religious orders in 1966.

A more detailed summary of the programs of the Department of Educational Services is available under separate cover. Overall the efforts of Conference educational specialists have begun to meet a gap in the Catholic educational system, and to relate the Conference more deeply to the Catholic institutional structure in meaningful ways.

Department of Employment Services

The Department of Employment Services was launched with "Project Equality" as its initial focus, an effort to enable the Church institutional structure to use its economic involvement by purchasing responsibly in an affirmative way to root out patterns of discrimination in employment.

Considerable research in advance of the initial pilot project enabled staff to develop a program which would fit the institutional and administrative patterns of the Catholic Church. The program has been launched in three pilot areas -- the Archdioceses of St. Louis, Missouri. Detroit, Michigan and San Antonio, Texas. When fully implemented in any one geographic area, the project will harness the general purchasing, building, real estate, investments, insurance and banking of Roman Catholic jurisdictions to an effort to eradicate discrimination, and to make sizable job gains for members of minority groups who have been screened out of full participation in the economic life of the United States.

Experience to date indicates that "Project Equality" can realistically be expanded on an interreligious basis -- one of the goals of the program-- and that it will expand to additional areas of the country as staff time is available. Every initial evaluation indicates the carefully designed project will have significant impact, part of which will be measurable. It also seems likely that Conference organization and coordination of the project can be sustained beyond the two or three year pilot phase of the program by fees from jurisdictions launching the program.

A more detailed report on the Department of Employment Services and on "Project Equality" is available under separate cover.

Administration

It is impossible to detail all of the relationships of the Conference to developing program around the country and to the major civil rights issues in the United States. But during 1965 the Conference served with a greater measure of freedom and confidence, and at the same time was able to relate

its services more effectively to the larger institutional structure of the Catholic community. Expansion of the Conference program and a number of major new program interests required increments in staff and budget. Most of the Conference work to date has been adequately funded, but response to several problems -- especially in northern urban areas -- has been inadequate because of limited resources. A full time person is being added to the staff with responsibilities in fundraising and development, to make possible more adequate work in 1966. Finally, expansion of the Conference programs and staff have necessitated leasing of larger and more adequate office space, effective October 1, 1965.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Program Goals - 1966

The dimensions of the racial issue have become sharper in the few years of the life of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. This sharpness, as it is reflected in varying modes of action on racial issues in community life, is reflected in the diversity of the interracial movement within the Catholic community. On the one hand, episcopal leadership in teaching principle clearly and in organizing the use of institutional resources responsibly to work for an end to racial discrimination is far more advanced then when the Conference was founded in 1960. On the other hand, the same tensions over "the movement" in broader society are felt in a growing number of places in the Catholic Church.

In this mixed but encouraging setting, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice reaffirms its commitment to the creation of a vital and free society, its service to the civil rights movement and to the Catholic Church, that the Catholic community may better respond in creative fashion to the urgent needs of our time.

In broad perspective, the objectives of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and its affiliate groups have been to eliminate from within the Catholic community any remaining vestiges of racial discrimination and to encourage the flow of the resources of the Catholic community into efforts to secure interracial justice in the civic community. Particular programs and tactics vary widely on the local level among the Catholic human relations groups affiliated with the Conference. In addition to service of these groups, the Conference has worked with them in developing programs which will relate the structures of diocesan life more meaningfully to the struggle for racial justice. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is in this sense a service agency, working to stimulate and aid the response of the local church. In addition, the Conference represents its affiliate organizations on the national level and attempts to coordinate and give leadership relative to national civil rights issues. The services of the Conference are available to all, regardless of creed, color or national origin.

While the general direction of the Conference's program will continue, including its broader interest in other social and economic problems related to race relations in the United States, below are detailed specific program goals for 1966.

Council Services

The Conference will assign full time professional staff to a variety of services related to the development of local Catholic human relations organizations -- both Catholic Interracial Councils and official diocesan commissions on human relations. This assignment will make possible regularizing the newsletter and other mail services to the Councils. Relative to specific national civil rights issues, the Conference will continue to coordinate the

efforts of the Catholic interracial movement into an effective response in tandem with the efforts of other denominations and civil rights groups.

Conference staff will focus additional energy on field work with the Councils in efforts to increase local level strength and relevancy to local issues. Efforts will be focused especially on those communities where there is potential to develop staffed Councils: these areas frequently coincide with the larger urban areas of the country. In this development work, the appropriate Conference staff member will relate the specialized services and programs of the Conference to local leadership.

Finally, the Conference will focus on providing occasion for regional leadership training and planning as well as staff development.

Southern Field Service

The Conference Southern Field Service project will continue past program objectives to increase the number of Catholic human relations organizations in the Southern states and to quicken the response of the church to the racial crisis. When the Southern Field Service project was launched there were no Catholic human relations organizations left in the 15 state area the SFS serves: there are now 24 such organizations, demanding increased service and program consultation.

1965 SFS energies were heavily involved in two major conferences. In 1966 an expanded SFS program will rely more heavily on travel consultation in Southern dioceses, focused on response to local civil rights challenges and to extending the more specialized Conference services in employment and education in these areas.

Following up on two major regional conferences held in 1965, the SFS will work to organize leadership conferences in sub-regions of the South, to reach more deeply into local level Catholic leadership in sharing race relations program experience.

SFS and the Conference's Department of Educational Services will cooperate in staging a planning conference on hospital desegregation at the request of a group of Catholic hospital administrators in the South. This request grew out of the 1965 leadership conference co-sponsored with the Archdiocese of Atlanta. A variety of other opportunities for followup arose in that conference and will be pursued: specialized services for Catholic school superintendents, vocations directors, religious orders largely serving Negro Catholics. The focus of the followup will be on developing and implementing plans leading to desegregation in the life of the church and deeper involvement in civic desegregation.

One of the key requests made by Catholics at the Atlanta leadership conference was for the planned abolishment of the double parish system, whereby Negro and white Catholics are largely separated and which has inhibited meaningful and extensive racial integration. The SFS will devote its resources to change this system.

In Southern states, even though usually small in numbers, the Catholic community has an institutional network which lends to the development of area wide programs to combat poverty. The SFS will continue its efforts to seek

intensive support for Southern dioceses and religious orders in setting up area wide anti-poverty programs in relation to the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training in the U.S. Department of Labor. SFS efforts will attempt to involve the Catholic community along with other religious denominations in these programs.

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which uses the spending leverage of the federal government to eliminate discrimination in receiving bodies, offers the greatest potential for extensive increasing integration in a host of social institutions. Along with Conference general staff, the SFS will involve itself in training leadership of Catholic human relations organizations in techniques under Title VI and in organizing campaigns to make the use of Title VI increasingly effective in all federal departments and agencies.

The SFS has been involved with various Protestant denominations in a "Team Ministry" in various cities, an effort to build interreligious organizations able to give a new leadership to these cities in race relations. Based upon an evaluation of the effectiveness of the planned "Team Ministry" approach, the SFS may try a modified approach in other cities in the South.

SFS will continue to relate to crises situations and to the major civil rights organizations to evoke a greater response from the local church and to relate the voluntary resources of the wider Catholic community to well planned and expanding projects in the South.

Finally, the Southern Field Service, along with the rest of the Conference staff, especially the Department of Educational Services, plans to structure programs for volunteers which will enable Catholics and especially women of religious orders to perform specialized summer work in those dioceses suffering from a shortage of workers. This particular service will largely be geared to the educational and anti-poverty areas. The need for summertime and year round volunteer help in these areas is becoming increasingly great.

Department of Employment Services

"Project Equality," the initial program of the Department of Employment Services, is now in its pilot stages in three dioceses -- St. Louis, Detroit and San Antonio. A number of dioceses have requested organization of the program in their areas and will be launched in 1966. During the second year of its pilot phase, "Project Equality" will reach out to cover construction, real estate, insurance and banking, in addition to general purchasing, in winning merit employment gains both in church institutions and in private business concerns dealing with church institutions.

The Conference sees the need for an expansion of "Project Equality" staff and for an extension of the pilot project to cover a third year. A proposal to this effect will be developed in an effort to finance this extension of the program. It is the Conference's intention to have "Project Equality" operating in over 40 major areas by the end of this period.

In the city of Detroit in cooperation with the Archbishop's Commission on Human Relations, Convention staff has already taken steps to organize "Project Equality" on an interreligious basis. The Department of Employment Services also held an interreligious consultation on "Project Equality" with staff of major denominations. Following up on these developments, the Conference will

work to organize "Project Equality" nationally on an interreligious basis with the Secretariat remaining at the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

The Conference has also established the following 1966 goals for the Department of Employment Services:

1 A complete financial study of "Project Equality" pilot projects in order to know what it costs the Department to operate the program and to accurately forecast the overall three-year program cost for other dioceses and jurisdictions.

2 Opening two new pilot projects in religious communities of men and women.

3 Preparing or stimulating a study and report of findings of the relevancy of various types of employment tests to the applicant's ability to perform the job.

4 Engaging and training an assistant director of the Employment Services Department to carry out field supervision, administration and coordination of "Project Equality" programs.

5 Training diocesan merit employment directors who will be appointed in the fifth to sixth month of the local program.

6 Developing a new program to combat discrimination in state employment services.

The Department of Employment Services believes it can establish sound programs in Catholic institutions on a self-liquidating financial basis. In spring 1966, the Department plans to publish a manual on "Project Equality" so that it can be expanded much more rapidly throughout the Catholic and other denominational communities.

A more detailed description of the "Project Equality" program service is available under separate cover.

Department of Educational Services

The broad objectives of the Department of Educational Services organized one year ago will be continued and extended. It is the task of this Department to so organize and provide services which will make the Catholic educational system relevant to problems of race and poverty around the country. In addition the Department work expresses Conference interest in the manifold civil educational problems of the day. Two years of program goals were largely accomplished in the one year this Department has been operative. Its direction and program are well known, and the 1966 focus will be on the elaboration, organization and extension of services already begun. This will necessitate expansion of staff and resources, and particularly require Conference recruitment of a dedicated brother to join the Department staff.

A steering committee of experts in curriculum, intergroup relations, theology, etc., will be formed to assist the Department in the planning and

methods of carrying out its goals. It is hoped that the combined vision and insight of these counselors will give the broadened scope necessary for pursuit of the goals. This advisory council will be organized around sisters who have already been involved in the Conference program, especially the Traveling Workshop and other projects of the Department of Educational Services. With this guidance, it is hoped that the Department will continue to assume something of the role of a catalyst in ideas that move the religious sisterhoods forward in their work for all men.

"Operation Motherhouse" will be launched as a pilot project in selected religious communities. "Operation Motherhouse" is a plan for the self-study of religious communities as they are relevant to problems of poverty and race, the formation of religious order committees on human relations with concern and responsibility for the overall programming for growth in the sisters' awareness, commitment and involvement in social action. The Conference envisions these committees to have both advisory and administrative responsibility for religious order programming in these areas. A draft plan is already prepared and will be explored in coming months with leadership of religious orders of women.

"Project Cabrini" and other summer volunteer work, mainly for sisters, will be emphasized through a summer-work processing center in the Department. Two religious congregations have already volunteered to undertake "Project Cabrinis" and have requested consultative services from the Conference. An effort will be made to use the Cabrini war on poverty effort to involve additional groups of dedicated women in specialized summer service of the poor.

Program materials that would prepare others to extend the goals of the Department will be put in kits, discussions guides and tapes to be used by high school teachers of the social studies in order for them to go into elementary schools and lead day long or half day workshops. This will give high school teachers who are usually a bit more prepared in their area of concentration the opportunity to meet the youngster before he comes to high school in an area of grave concern. It can aid the Department in extending the kinds of services it would like to furnish but which is limited because of the scarcity of staff.

Experimentation and improvements will be made with the kits of materials presently available from the Conference for in and pre-service teacher training. Outlines with program aids and suggestions will be developed and will be available shortly for use in parent-faculty groups. Kits containing significant reprints and short bibliographies will be available for purchase through the Conference. A limited number of tapes and films will be available for rental, along with suggested programs built around these audio-visual aids.

A major Department interest lies in the complex of problems connected with issues of de-facto segregation in education. A Conference study document on the problem in both public and parochial school educational settings will soon be available, and this interest will be pursued through the year as program possibilities clarify.

The 15 day secondary school teaching manual, Study of Race Relations, already published by the Conference, will be ready in September for publication for public school use, and a revised edition, based on its use by teachers in 1964-65, will be ready for continued parochial school use.

An extensive bibliography on the socially disadvantaged child will be

ready for distribution by early fall, 1965, and a small bibliography of children's books in the area of intergroup relations will be published several months later.

Based on 1965 experience, the Department hopes to organize three summer-1966 Traveling Workshops in Human Relations, offering intensive in-service training to parochial and public school teachers and other personnel, such as police officers, in various parts of the country. Members of the 1965 Travel Workshop team will comprise teams or panels of lecturers to assume some of the speaking and training engagements for the Department in the coming year. Experimental efforts will be launched with more specific training objectives, as the opportunity arises and personnel and financing become available.

The Department of Educational Services has made some efforts to gather materials on curriculum studies as these studies affect the area of race relations. During the coming year a more intensive study of these efforts will be undertaken and a summary of findings will be prepared. The Department itself will continue its own evaluation of textbooks, particularly in the area of social studies, and the revised readers used throughout the United States in elementary schools. This service will be broadened in scope as publishers gain momentum in adapting to current racial realities.

Special attention to youth education for interracial living will also be given in the completion of a report on structures and programs for Junior Catholic Interracial Councils. The Conference is presently entertaining a request for a national meeting on this subject called by the existing Junior CICs.

Finally, the Department hopes to solidify explorations on interfaith programs in the youth education area. The Conference has received repeated invitations by a variety of groups interested in becoming associated in some aspect of the work of the Department. These groups include the Missouri Lutheran Synod (particularly its Committee on the Education of the Child in the Inner City), the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Interested in the aspect of "Christian-Jewish Relations" are the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion of Kansas City, Missouri, who have asked to become part of any programming or planning the Conference undertakes in this area.

Special Projects

Several program interests involve a combination of existing Conference services or fall outside present specialized services but will, nevertheless, be explored and undertaken if resources are available.

SAIL The Conference has already worked with seminarians in developing a plan for extended services and opportunities for training and experience in intergroup relations for students of seminaries. Every effort will be made to launch the Seminarian Alliance for Interracial Leadership in the coming year, as well as to explore additional services with seminarians and seminary educators.

Pastoral Services The Conference hopes to serve as secretariat to the Clergy Conference for the Interracial Apostolate and work in other ways to

enable Catholic clergy to be more adequately equipped to offer pastoral services in the area of racial justice. Under active consideration is a handbook for parish priests which would supply a variety of needed aids in this pastoral work. As additional staff becomes available, particularly staff with experience in the pastoral field, a more concerted effort will be made, and in cooperation with other organizations, to produce useful race relations program concepts and materials for use on the parish level.

Family Life Services The Conference will work to stimulate a planning meeting and followup activities among Catholic organizations in the family life education field to provide special services in inner city areas with high incidence of deterioration in the family structure. These program interests will be related to other concerns in the "war on poverty" and also to the race relations education and programming of existing Catholic family life organizations.

Legal Services The Conference plans organizing efforts to encourage more Catholic attorneys to offer their services in the area of civil rights and in meeting the needs of the poor in new and creative ways. An effort will be made to forge an informal association of Catholic attorneys, affiliated with existing Catholic human relations organizations, who could sustain staff counsel for the Conference to enhance cooperation with such groups as the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP and the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee.

Housing A major area for Conference development in 1966 will be the elaboration of a program scheme in the field of urban services, with a concentration on racial discrimination and resulting problems in housing. On the basis of this scheme, the Conference will undertake to raise funds outside of its budget for the launching of a Department of Urban Services and the implementation of this program on a pilot basis in local communities.

Title VI Already mentioned as a goal of the Southern Field Service of the National CAtholic Conference for Interracial Justice, is the training of local leadership in working tools for the implementation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In addition, the Conference will explore, with other organizations, methods of stepping up federal effectiveness in this area. The Conference believes that proper techniques under the authority of Title VI can have extensive and rapid effects on race relations in the United States, both in public life and, incidentally, in those private institutional complexes which get direct or indirect federal aid.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

~~1041 Burgundy Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70116 • 523-2901~~

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Director
John P. Sisson

Telephone 482-5792

February 14, 1966

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Would you send Dr. S. W. Boyd, 1700 North Davis, Pensacola, Florida, the name and address of your state director in Florida, so that Dr. Boyd can be put on the mail list for the newsletter. Your state director also ought to have Dr. Boyd's name and address as a contact; he is a member of a biracial group which is meeting regularly in Pensacola, and which at some time would like to have the state director come up and meet with them.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John A. Sisson, Director

cc: Dr. S. W. Boyd

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

~~1010 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 • 522-2081~~
8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Director
John P. Sisson
Telephone 482-5792

February 14, 1966

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Would you send me a list of your state council presidents and executive directors, with their addresses, so that these can be included in my next newsletter urging the people we contact to join and support the state councils.

Would you also send me a list of the SIC members and their addresses. I believe that STAR, Inc. in Mississippi has written to ask for this list, in order that they might send out a description of their program. I's also like to suggest that a representative of STAR be invited to one of the next SIC meetings.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

NCCIJ

Employment SERVICES DEPARTMENT bulletin

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

April 1966

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. / Director of Employment Services

"The heads of the various denominations involved in Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit are writing to the pastors of their respective churches asking that we give a concerted witness at this point.... Let us witness together our faith that God is involved in all of this. Let us stand with courage for the equality of opportunity and rights for every human being."

Dwight E. Loder, Resident Bishop
The Michigan Area of the Methodist Church

MICHIGAN METHODISTS IMPLEMENT PROJECT EQUALITY

On March 31st the Detroit Conference of the Methodist Church began implementation of PROJECT EQUALITY, the nationwide interreligious equal employment opportunity program. In a letter to all pastors and administrators of agencies in the Detroit Conference, headed "Dear Colleagues," Bishop Dwight E. Loder announced that the Detroit Conference action was in keeping with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and with the action of the (Methodist) General Conference of 1964. The Board of Christian Social Concerns was charged by the Detroit Annual Conference with the implementation of the program. The Rev. Mr. James W. Bristah is Executive Director of this Board. In a subsequent letter signed by Rev. Bristah and Mr. J. Russell Bright, Chairman of the Board of Christian Social Concerns, all pastors of the Detroit Conference were requested to read a statement to their congregations of the "moral evil of employment discrimination." The PROJECT EQUALITY program will be implemented through the offices of Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit, an interreligiously supported, non-profit corporation. Mr. Launbural Spriggs is Director of these offices and acts as merit employment director for the participating religious denominations.

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN EASTERN MICHIGAN LAUNCHES PROJECT EQUALITY

The Detroit Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ commenced implementation of the PROJECT EQUALITY program on April 7th. In a letter to all pastors and administrators of institutions in the Detroit Association the Rev. Mr. Arlie E. Porter noted the action of the Board of Trustees of the Association calling upon each congregation or institution "to take the steps necessary ... to authorize your direct involvement." The Association had previously decided to administer its PROJECT EQUALITY program in conjunction with other participating Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish and Roman Catholic denominations through the offices of Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit. Check-size commitment forms will be used by members of the association in paying by check for all goods and services purchased. These forms call on all suppliers to take affirmative actions "to support the Judeo-Christian tradition of human worth and the moral campaign of the church to establish equality of employment opportunity in our community."

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT INITIATES PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAM FOR 350 RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR AGENCIES

In a letter to Rabbis, Administrators and Presidents of Affiliated Organizations on March 31st, Dr. Samuel Krohn, President of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit proclaimed the start of the PROJECT EQUALITY program first announced last December. Indicating that the program would be coordinated for the Jewish community by Mr. Walter E. Klein, Director of the Jewish Community Council, Dr. Krohn stated that the program would be administered through the interfaith offices of Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit. Approximately 350 individual Jewish agencies, secular and religious, are represented by the Detroit Community Council. Detroit's Jewish community thus becomes the first in the country to adopt the PROJECT EQUALITY program service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

PROJECT EQUALITY GOES TO DATA PROCESSING TO SERVICE NATIONWIDE INTERRELIGIOUS NETWORK

Rev. Edward A. O'Donnell, Acting Merit Employment Director for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Louis, has announced that the forthcoming directory of participating PROJECT EQUALITY suppliers to be issued jointly in June by the Archdioceses of St. Louis and Detroit will be produced by automation. Utilizing the services of McDonnell Automation Center in St. Louis, a participating PROJECT EQUALITY supplier, the names and addresses of some 2,000 suppliers will be printed in a directory to be distributed as a "buyers guide" to all pastors and administrators of institutions in the two archdioceses. Subsequently, it will be possible to include the participating suppliers of other religious jurisdictions as they are compiled, and to issue both national and regional "buyers guides." The McDonnell equipment automatically prints an up-to-date directory of all participating suppliers, including any additions and deletions - "on request."

NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF FOR PROJECT EQUALITY IS INCREASED

Miss Consuelo Rodriguez has joined the staff of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Before coming to the Conference's Chicago offices, Miss Rodriguez was secretary to Rev. James J. Sheehan, Executive Secretary of the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of Detroit. In this capacity Miss Rodriguez was responsible for coordination of the PROJECT EQUALITY program initiated in the Detroit Archdiocese one year ago. In Chicago she will assist Miss LaVerne Hickey who is program coordinator in the national office. She will also be engaged in the work of the Conference's Department of Affiliate Services.

* * *

"Our commitment to PROJECT EQUALITY, essentially, is a reflection of the stated and demonstrated positions of Jewish religious and organizational leadership. Economic handicaps resulting from discrimination in employment based upon race, religion or color, must be eliminated; such discrimination is not only legally wrong under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but represents an intolerable moral injustice."

Dr. Samuel Krohn, President
Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit

PROJECT EQUALITY COORDINATOR APPOINTED FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF HARTFORD

Rev. Robert D. McGrath has been appointed Chairman of the Archbishop's Committee on Human Rights for the Archdiocese of Hartford. In this position Father McGrath will be responsible for coordination of the PROJECT EQUALITY program initiated in the East by Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien in November 1965. Previously the program has been coordinated from New Haven, Conn. under Bishop-Elect Peter L. Gerety. It is now expected that the PROJECT EQUALITY offices will be moved to Hartford, Conn. where Father McGrath is also pastor of St. Michael's parish.

MERIT EMPLOYMENT DIRECTORS SOUGHT FOR TWO ARCHDIOCESES ENGAGED IN PROJECT EQUALITY

The Roman Catholic Archdioceses of San Antonio and Hartford will interview qualified applicants for the position of Merit Employment Director during May and June. Referrals may be made to:

Rev. Sherrill Smith
Director, Social Action Department
Archdiocese of San Antonio
P. O. Box 13190
San Antonio, Texas 78213

(and to)

Rev. Robert D. McGrath, Chairman
Archbishop's Committee on Human Rights
Archdiocese of Hartford
134 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06104

* * *

"Project Equality is an Inter-Faith program providing the methods, tools, techniques and administrative procedures to churches so they may lend their moral suasion and economic power to achievement of equal employment opportunity for all citizens. It recognizes the obligation of the church to act in accord with its teachings..."

(The Reverend) Arlie E. Porter
Detroit Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ

"We live in a world of gross human inequalities. It is our reponsibility as a church to make clear our belief that all men are equal before God, wherever and whenever this witness is meaningful. We sacrifice our own dignity when we fail to recognize and fight for the dignity and worth of every human being."

Dwight E. Loder, Resident Bishop
The Michigan Area of The Methodist Church

(See Attached U. S. Department of Labor Reprint
April 4, 1966)

REPRINTED FROM U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST OF APRIL 4, 1966

UNEMPLOYMENT DEADLY

Prolonged unemployment destroys the fabric of a man's life. There is no regular activity to fill his waking hours, no routine to anchor his existence. Time becomes his worst enemy, and the monotony of long hours with nothing to do robs him of incentive to pursue constructive goals. Idleness is demoralizing; social contacts diminish, self-improvement often appears useless, and the confidence to carry on evaporates. Prolonged unemployment may also involve loss of skill and erode a man's motivation to become self-supporting again.

A job is a minimum requirement for meaningful participation in society for a man who is head of a household, at least until he reaches retirement age. A man who cannot lay claim to a job knows that he is considered useless -- a failure in a society that traditionally measures success in terms of occupational achievement.

The tendency of the unemployed man to withdraw from social life may affect his civic participation and result in a loosening of his community ties. People with erratic work histories have much lower social participation than those with orderly work histories, as reflected in family ties, friendships, and membership in formal and informal organizations. Even when families remain intact, lengthy unemployment cuts down their particpation in community life, if only because they lack the money needed to participate in activities outside the home. There is at least a suggestion in a recent Census study that, among comparable groups, the unemployed are less likely to go to the polls. Unemployment may, then, be related also to a lessening in civic participation.

NCCIJ

July 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is sample of a letter which we addressed individually to thirty-nine bishops in the South and Southwest last week, enclosing with each letter a copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Sisson

John P. Sisson RV

cc: Mr. Ed Stanfield
Mr. Mathew Ahmann

July 1, 1966

Most Reverend Coleman F. Carroll
Bishop of Miami
6301 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida, 33138

Your Excellency:

We are sending you the enclosed copy of THE CONTINUING CRISIS as an aid in understanding one changing aspect of race relations in the South.

There is a present possibility of racial violence in the South which should cause the greatest concern to all religious leaders. The frustration of Negroes in the South has been obvious since last year, long before the Mississippi March, and many human relations specialists feel that reaction may accelerate unless action is taken by concerned leaders in every locality and by federal officials.

In the short range, there will probably be the need for mediation, for trained and dedicated people to act as communications bridges.

In the long run, the involvement of all churchmen is essential in programs which aid Negroes to reach the goals outlined in the laws passed to aid their advancement and safety, but so broadly disregarded in practice by officials and citizens in Southern states.

The need for staffed and funded programs to assure equal rights and opportunities in all institutions in our society has never been greater. Too many have trusted that the national consensus represented in laws would automatically solve centuries of contrary practices.

Asking Your Excellency's blessing, I am

Respectfully yours,

John P. Sisson

NCCIJ

ES

Commitment

1307 S. Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

July 1966

REST IN PEACE

Raymond M. Hilliard

July 4, 1966

Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

THE EVOLVING SNCC POSITION

The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. Four groups that act as national sponsors are: The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, The Synagogue Council of America and The Unitarian - Universalist Association.

In a recent edition of their newsletter, edited by Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director of the Project an article appeared reviewing the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee position.

In the words of Rev. Walter.....The position of SNCC is far from apparent. But that is because it is alive and growing. White Alabamians, and white folks elsewhere, have been quick to read "racism" into the SNCC position and just as quick to denounce this horror. This sensitivity to racism has been an undiscovered talent for many up until the black Mr. Carmichael entered the evening news and the pages of Time. This seems to be a time to listen, especially for

Published January, March, May, July, September and November.....$2 per year.

white people. If one listens one is forced to rethink old standbys like "racism" "integration" and "power."

Now it is said SNCC is firing its white volunteers. It is said again that they are all going voluntarily to Appalachia to begin the Movement among poor whites something a lot of people, remembering the old days of Popularism, have been dreaming about. Depending on the motives, feelings, and prejudices of SNCC-dom this could be called racism. Sure. But then we listen:

Reporter: Is desegregation as a goal out...? Miss Ruby Robinson, Executive Secretary. ".....Any talk about integration has always been initiated by the black community. After we initiated that action, we were beaten and jailed, and we went through a period of suffering. After this period of suffering, we were redeemed. Redemption was being allowed to sit next to people like Jim Clark. If there is to be true integration...white people in this country have to initiate (it). That is not our problem to initiate it any more...and what we need is black power."

If SNCC could trigger a Movement among poor whites in the South it would be strange and wonderful, but would it be racism? And sure, some SNCC folk are black nationalists but then I still manage to belong to a church full of white nationalists.

The June 4 issue of "The New Republic" carried a review by Lewis Yablonsky of The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, by Kenneth Keniston. Keniston writes of 36 Harvard upperclass youth. The reviewer, out of his experience, sees similarities with lowerclass gang structured kids. But one also sees similarities with the SNCC posture. And I must honestly add that I see myself in these cases alienated, caught between the world and the Kingdom of God, a perfectly orthodox Christian way of "Telling it like it is."

We are told that among the alienated upperclass youth "the nonsense of the prevailing order" is a credo. "They are philosophers with hammers; their favorite theoretical occupation is destruction, reduction, pointing out inconsistencies, chicaneries, hypocrisies, and rationalizations whether in others or themselves." Keniston in attempting to explain that his 36 have no constructive program says, "(what unifies them is) rejection not only of selected visible aspects of American society, but of the basic assumption and values of traditional American culture as a whole." Well that's SNCC, but Christians and Jews can feel at home in that too.

It is said that alienation in part stems from the modern phenomena of "rapid social change, without any real control placed on its direction or intensity." Alienated folk are saying, we demand to know where we have been and where we are going. Yesterday's solutions are suspect. The present alone has meaning new wine and new skins only please.

So it makes sense to knock "integration" if one's approach to any concept of yesterday is in the form of an expose. "Integration" - buying off the black man like always. "Integration" - getting a little bread for a lot of sweat. "Integration" - the black man doing something for the white man like always. "Integration" - use of facilities one can't afford. These are things worth hearing. On the other hand, destructive analysis, and symptoms of withdrawing have their drawbacks and dangers in a movement effecting broad social change.

Bayard Rustin said, "The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a co-alition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States."

Parish Programs

Project Commitment is a program approved and conducted by Archbishop John F. Dearden in the Archdiocese of Detroit. Project Commitment is an eight-session program of parish education in grass roots level race relations.

15 to 25 Catholic laymen are selected from each parish to be trained by the planning committee. They are selected because as neighbor, parishioner and community leader they have a special ability to influence others. They are asked to decide whether their influence shall be used toward bringing together all the people of God, or not.

The meetings provide facts, analyses and interpretations of such topics as the history of race relations, Detroit today, employment, education and housing. They are followed by sessions on the role of government, neighborhood self-help and parish responsibility.

A handbook on "how-to-do-it" can be obtained from Mr. Joseph L. Hansknecht, Jr., Chairman of Project Commitment, c/o Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations, 305 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, 48226.

The Department of Affiliate Services of the National Catholic Conference was created the first of this year to provide, on a more intensive basis, the type of service that local affiliates have indicated are needed by them. For reasons of limited staff this year is the first time the Conference has been able to devote full-time staff to this important responsibility.

Department of Affiliate Services

Conference program in this area will take three basic forms: 1) Intensive Training Sessions for staffed Councils. Such meetings would provide for staffed organizations to meet for one or two days to think through current problems in the movement, changes in the church and the significance of both major areas for local program. 2) The development of additional staffed Councils; and 3) Regional Development and Training Sessions for growing Councils. This type of service would combine program development with a type of training experience to enable growing Councils to meet and overcome problems restricting their growth in areas such as membership, program development, fund raising and organization.

.....

Housing

The housing committee of the CIC of Pittsburgh who with the co-sponsorship of 14 community organizations conducted a Housing Opportunities Workshop will continue by providing a speakers' bureau information service, a neighborhood exchange and separate training sessions in each area of housing.....the CIC of Norwalk, Conn. is providing for its area a listing service on housing called Operation Open City.....the CIC of Montgomery County Maryland presented its views at a public hearing on possible fair housing legislation held by Montgomery County Human Relations Commission....A non-profit corporation of priests and laymen to build low-rent housing for the poor has been organized in the New Orleans Archdiocese. Christopher Homes Inc. will build low rent housing for the aged poor.....the Bishops of the Michigan Catholic Conference in a statement speaking to the moral position of home owners said: "The right to private property has been strenuously defended by the Church as a basic human right, but not as an absolute right without limitation. This qualification of the right to private property the Church has emphasized by teaching that ownership is a stewardship that involves social responsibility. The property owner who wishes to sell in the open market and yet wishes to exclude members of a certain race, religion or national origin from the opportunity to buy, is using his property to the detriment of society. Human dignity and equality demand the right to change of residence and opportunity to buy according to the same reasonable standards for all. Color or creed is not a reasonable stand-

Survey of the Catholic
Negro Apostolate

Remarks of Auxiliary Bishop Harold R. Perry, S.V.D. of New Orleans to the 24th annual Serra International Convention.

"From the days of Bishop James A. Healy, first U.S. bishop of Negro blood who was head of the Portland, Maine diocese from 1875 to 1900 there have been 165 Negro priests in the U.S. Our figures do not include those who came to this country to visit or for studies. The reason why there are not more than 165 is answered by the facts which seem to indicate that for many years there was a policy of non-encouragement of Negro vocations in general and for a long time the Divine Word Seminary was the only seminary which welcomed Negro vocations. Today virtually all Catholic seminaries of the U.S. admit Negro vocations.

55,000 priests have come from the 50 million Catholics of the country. The emergence of 165 Negro priests from ranks of 750,000 Negro Catholics is not abnormal, considering the few high school opportunities for the Negro youth in early decades.

If you consider the social and economic condition of our Negro Catholics, the number is indeed high...Victims of prejudice and discrimination, Negro Catholics of both rural and slum areas have had a much harder struggle than any other minority group. The fact that this number should arise from their midst is a tribute to their sterling faith and generous spirit of sacrifice.

Today there are 165 Negro priests of whom 119 belong to religious communities and 45 to the diocesan clergy.

The Divine Word Missionaries, Benedictines and Josephites lead with 56, 17, 10 respectively. The greatest number of vocations comes from Louisiana with 35 native Negro priests. New York follows with 18 while the District of Columbia, Mississippi and New Jersey have 9 each. There were only 3 Negro priests ordained in 1966.

ard for discrimination or exclusion.".....the
been conducting seminars on fair-housing and
inal Sheehan despite a threat prior to his ap
directly for enactment of
occupancy bill for Baltimore.....Archbishop F
that "blockbusting, panic selling and similar
Christians....."those who deny a neighbor, so
to buy a house and enjoy equal education and
that right to Christ Himself".....the CIC of A
Housing Contact Service which will locate own
provides escorts on initial visits and inform
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Education

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Negro faculty will be partner to a sister....
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commented on this, "We came like wise men thi
the shepherds coming from the stable 'praisin
The Urban Apostolate of the Sisters is a volu
Archdiocese committed to a program of: educat
many dimensions of the work of the Church and
whereby the Sisters learn from thinking the s
of action whereby the Sisters as a result of
to aid in the solution of problems of the peo
Mary Benet, O.S.B., c/o Office of Urban Affai
.....the education committee of the CIC of Pi
4th, 5th and 6th grade geography textbooks fo
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summer in the Boston community for 8 weeks...
School Office sponsored a five-week institute
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Solutions Offered by Neighborhood Community C
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school boards which refused or are unable to
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diocesan Coordinator of Interracial Justice F
group of sisters who will give six-weeks of t
in poverty-stricken ghettoized areas.....on t
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and 2,729 American Negro students.....a recen
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education, more than among any other geograph
country.

CIC of Prince Georges Co., Maryland has
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brini Type Schools are breaking out all
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sition paper on education (p.55) recom-
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ntary association of Sisters in the Chicago
ion whereby Sisters become aware of the
the needs of society; communications
uccesses and the failures of others; and
study and planning take appropriate steps
ple. For further information contact Sr.
rs, 200 E. Ontario, Chicago, Illinois 60611
ttsburgh prepared a preliminary report on
r the Pittsburgh diocese schools office
d among students.....the sisters committee
unity Service program to be conducted this
..the CIC of Cincinnati and the Archdiocese
attended by 200 Catholic school teachers
a. Topics included Problems of Prejudice
on Housing, Jobs and Education and the
ouncils.....the CIC of Long Island voiced
k legislature which would prevent the com-
ection of de facto segregation in those
draw up acceptable plans.....the chaplain
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professors at Catholic colleges in U. S.
t Newsweek report shows that 38% of Negro
"a lot of pressure" on youth for higher
ic, chronological or economic group in the

Catholic Bishops
on Race

Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archdiocese of New York

"Discrimination, racial or religious, can become the hangman of any free nation and it is monstrous and terrifying that men can mistakenly believe that they can villify other men's rights without victimizing themselves"...."Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began declaring that 'All men are created equal' We more practically read it, 'All men are created equal except Negroes.' If America continues to promote bigotry by protecting those who conspire to keep minorities from enjoying their civil rights guaranteed to them under the Consitution, then we must confess that Democracy has failed. It is my prayer today....that every American will...conquer prejudices by conscientiously obeying our God's institution and observing God's Commandment of love that,which above all,means justice toward all our fellowmen."

.....

Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archdiocese of Boston

"Those who work, those who pray,those who suffer for the elimination of prejudice and injustice are true followers of the crucified Christ."

.....

Archbishop John P. Cody Archdiocese of Chicago

- To Martin Luther King, Jr. "Your struggle and your sufferings will be mine until the last vestige of discrimination and injustice is blotted out here in Chicago and throughout America...I am not concerned merely with the renewal of a church I am concerned with the renewal of a world...The sale or rental of a home is not merely a financial transaction. It is a moral decision as well. There can be no justification for rejecting a prospective buyer or renter because of his religion or race."

Employment

At the recent White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" not only did Project Equality receive a prominent position in the program but it also was mentioned by the Vice President in a speech that he gave during the Conference.....on May 5th the Archdiocese of Seattle announced Project Equality to become the fifth Catholic diocese in the U.S. to implement the program.....on June 9th the four Catholic dioceses in the state of Michigan announced Project Equality bringing the total diocese up to nine diocese and archdiocese and seven other religious jurisdictions.....Fr. Eugene Boyle of the Archdiocesan CIC of San Francisco met with 20 other clergymen who form the Inter-faith Committee for Equal Opportunity in Church Construction to discuss the latest steps to be taken by all faiths and representatives of unions of means of insuring equal job opportunity in church and synagogue construction. The Committee will require evidence prior to commencement of any construction that non-whites are represented on the work force or a plan to achieve this goal has been initiated.....Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles in a letter read from the pulpit of 300 parishes appealed for more jobs for minority group workers and praised employers who have already offered jobs. The letter was a continuation of a job-finding program initiated by the Archdiocese and the Urban League of Los Angeles.

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

The CIC of Davenport, Iowa presented its Pacem in Terris peace and freedom award to the honorable R. Sargent Shriver.....the Boston CIC has undertaken a broad program to bring about the hiring of Negro teachers in Catholic schools and exchange visit among white and Negro families to promote racial integration on the parish level.....the Bronx CIC cooperating with a local parish has set up a legal program to render assistance two nights a week in a local store front.....Archbishop John P. Cody established a 33 member Archdiocesan Commission on Human Relations and Ecumenism and appointed Rev. Edward M. Egan, special secy. the Boston Archdiocesan Human Rights Commission sponsored a four part television educational series featuring community resource people who responded to phoned questions.... the CIC of Little Rock submitted by letter a request for diocesan action in: abolishing the national parishes, encouraging local Catholic groups to extend public invitations to Negroes, prayers and sermons in parishes, hiring of Negro teachers, a Negro member to diocesan school board and the implementation of a program for underprivileged children. .....the CIC of Davenport is conducting a six-week human relations course open to the citizens of Davenport. It was the hope that this program would cause people to "take a look at their own city before being critical of the South.....the PittsburghCIC voted to support a local civil rights selective buying campaign to bring about a change in J. Horne Co. and Gimbels hiring practices.....the interfaith-interracial committee of the CIC of Long Island sponsored a tour of the local BVM convent for Open Convent Day ...the CIC of Chicago during the recent Delano strike sent a doctor as a contribution to the struggle of the farm workers.....the CIC of Twin Cities, St. Paul, Minneapolis sponsored an Operation Goodwill interracial visits program for minority group youngsters to local rural families.....the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles awarded six scholarships to members of Religious to study in the Human Relations workshops of Loyola University of Los Angeles... the CIC of Hartford honored Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien for his work in promoting racial justice and his sponsorship of Project Equality.....a Council on Urban Life to encourage and coordinate Catholic participation in civil rights, poverty and other community problems was organized by a group of Milwaukee priests. The group is headed by Rev. Eugene F. Bleidorn.....the CIC of Cleveland held its fifth annual Award Dinner at which it honored coadjutor Bishop Clarence Issenman.....

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New Publications

News From The Hill A newsletter designed to update its readers on pending legislation is now published each month by the Legislation Committee of the National Council of Catholic Women, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.... 20005.....Interchange: A Bulletin of International Exchange....An attempt to keep the world human rights revolution before the eyes of those engaged in civil rights work in this country by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C., 20005.....Grass-Roots Ecumenism,..... A packet of materials to be used to translate the fervor of the ecumenical spirit into community action.... National Council of Catholic Men, 1312 Mass. Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20005.

AUDIO - VISUAL

Lessons in Race Relations by Sister Joann Carmen, O.S.F.....A revised edition of Study of Race Relations published by the National Catholic Conference last year. An attractive, compact teachers' manual with fifteen well planned lessons. Available from George Pflaum Co.,38 W. 5th St. Dayton, Ohio, 45402.....Price $2.50.

Organizing for Human Rights.....by George Thomas and Sister Mary Peter...A handbook for teachers and students who have a human rights club or a committee within an already existing school organization.Thirty project ideas, 25 launching pad questions, glossary, ten panel and discussion ideas and a bibliography of 500 tools for the human relations worker. Available in September, George Pflaum Co.,38 W. 5th St Dayton, Ohio, 45402.....Price $2.50.

Brotherhood Week Kit...A packet of ideas, plays, poster, bibliography, suggested movies, etc. Available from George Pflaum Co., 38 W. 5th St., Dayton, Ohio.Price $3

The New Negro...edited by Mathew H. Ahmann Paperback edition of a series of papers by outstanding authorities in their fields on the theme of the....1961 National Catholic Conference convention. Order from....Fides Publishers, Inc. Notre Dame, Ind.$1.50 ea.

The Negro in America.....by John J. Kane, Ph.D.; and The Race Question, by Dr. Gary MacEoin.....Two of a series of ten pamphlets which provide a frank, honest appraisal of the challenges and opportunities facing the American Catholic in this period of change. Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Ind..$1.25.

Children Without (Film).....A film dealing with the problems of disadvantaged youth and attempts being made by the schools of Detroit to meet the needs of children with difficult family backgrounds. Available on rental from.....the National Catholic Conference, 1307 S. Wabash,....Chicago, Ill., 60605.....Rental $5 plus handling.

A City Decides (Film)..On desegregation in St. Louis even before the Supreme Court decision on segregation.....The story of what a city can do to meet the greatest moral challenge of our day....Available on rental from the National Catholic Conference, 1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill., 60605 Rental $5 plus handling.

Nightwatch (Film) Examines the problem of communication between clergy and laity in the experience of a parish priest who attempts to awaken the social conscience of his affluent parishioners.....Available on rental from the National Catholic Conference, 1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill., 60605 Rental $5 plus handling.

Theology and Race Relations....by Reverend Joseph T. Leonard, S.S.J. Presents basic principles of Catholic moral theology involved and an application of these principles to areas of race relations.Order from National Catholic Conference.....1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill., 60605...Price $2.50

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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BOOK PAGE

THREE YEARS IN MISSISSIPPI, by James Meredith.....This is James Meredith's own account of his experiences as the first Negro to enter the University of Mississippi. It contains not only the details of his fight to enroll but also his personal assessment of the racial struggle in the South. (Indiana University Press Bloomington, Indiana - $5.95)

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, edited by Benjamin L. Masse, S.J....A timely, stimulating, and skillfully edited collection of essays taken from various periodicals and written by experts on political, social, and economic matters dealing with the social principles outlined by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical Mater et Magistra. (The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin - $5.50)

TORAH AND GOSPEL: JEWISH AND CATHOLIC THEOLOGY IN DIALOGUE, edited by Philip Scharper.....One of the first fruits of the growing awareness in America that the relation between Jew and Christian cannot remain on the level of the social and cultural but if each is to be fully true to itself, must meet on the all important plane of theological encounter. (Sheed and Ward, New York - $6.00)

DISINHERITED: THE LOST BIRTHRIGHT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, by Dale Van Every ...A work of history telling the powerful and moving story of the events preceding the Removal Act and its shattering effect on the eastern Indians, and what significance it has for all Americans. (William Morrow & Company, Inc. - $6.00)

THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN, edited by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.....A book of essays by nine Southerners, both Negro and white. It shows that the traditional emphasis on the South's differentness and on the conflict between Southernism and Americanism is wrong historically. (A Dutton Paperback, E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. New York - $1.45)

THE URBAN COMPLEX: HUMAN VALUES IN URBAN LIFE, by Robert C. Weaver.....In this book Mr. Weaver examines in depth all the major problems of our cities and analyzes such controversial aspects as the impact of urbanization on American society; the middle-class flight to the suburbs and what can be done to reverse it;the tragic failures of certain urban renewal projects and the acute shortage of low-income housing. (Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York - $4.95)

NCCIJ

Commitment

1307 S. Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605 • 312-341-1530

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

September 1966

METROPOLITAN

CHICAGO

OPEN

HOUSING

The Chicago Catholic Interracial Council has been working, as a member of the Coordinating Council for Community Organizations sponsors of Dr. Martin Luther King's work in Chicago, to bring open housing to the minority groups of Chicago.

In recent months the papers of the nation have carried numerous stories of neighborhood demonstrations conducted by the Chicago Freedom Movement. Bogan, Gage Park, and the Belmont-Cragin areas of Chicago, mostly white Catholic in composition, were the scene of these marches which, in most cases, were marked by violent reaction on the part of residents.

After flares of temper, charges and counter charges civic, business, labor, religious and civil rights leaders joined in a "summit conference" convened by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race. This conference of leaders has developed a far-reaching program toward the creation of a fair housing market in the entire Chicago metropolitan area.

The full text of the Report of the Subcommittee to the Conference on Fair Housing Convened by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race can be obtained from the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice for .50¢ per copy.

Published January, March, May, July, September and November.....$2 per year.

Here is a summary of the content of this report which constitutes the agreement.

The participants in the conference committed themselves to some action which would constitute a program aimed at the immediate, practical and effective creation of a fair housing market in Chicago.

To the commitment made by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, real estate brokers, the Chicago Real Estate Board, the Chicago Housing Authority, the Cook County Department of Public Aid, the Urban Renewal Program, the Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations, the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association and business leaders, the religious community, co-sponsors of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race reaffirmed their commitment. The text of their commitment is as follows:

"The leaders of the organized religious communities in the metropolitan area have already expressed their commitment to the principle of open housing.

The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, which is co-sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Board of Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, pledges its support to the program outlined and will enlist the full strength of its constituent bodies and their churches and synagogues in effecting equal access to housing in the metropolitan area of all people. They pledge to:

(1) Educate their membership on the moral necessity of an open and just community.

(2) Urge owners to sell or rent housing without racial restriction.

(3) Support local real estate offices and lending institutions in their cooperation with this program.

(4) Cooperate with and aid the establishment of responsible community organizations and support them in the implementation of these programs.

(5) Undertake to secure peaceful acceptance and welcome of Negro families prior to and at the time of their entrance into any community.

(6) Use their resources to help make housing available without racial discrimination.

(7) Establish, within 30 days, one or more housing centers, with the assistance of the real estate and housing industry and financial institutions, to provide information and help in finding suitable housing for minority families and to urge them to take advantage of new housing opportunities."

In addition to these pledges the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race was called upon, in the program submitted by the subcommittee, to initiate forthwith the formation of a separate, continuing body, sponsored by major leadership organizations in the Chicago area. This body would accept responsibility for the education and action programs necessary to achieve fair housing.

In keeping with this commission the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race has announced the formation of the Metropolitan Chicago Leadership Council for Open Housing. Its Chairman is Mr. James W. Cook, President of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company and among the representatives on its board is Mr. John McDermott, Executive Director of the Chicago CIC.

Housing

The Housing committee of the Human Rights Committee of the Diocese of Worcester, Mass. is working with an interfaith committee of the Greater Worcester Area in a followup campaign on a 1,200 signature "open letter" advertisement on fair-housing by requesting that persons who signed adopt members of a Negro family and actively assist them in procuring decent housing to fit their needs.....the housing committee of the CIC of Pittsburgh is conducting a revisit to homes in a housing code enforcement campaign. A new Pennsylvania law permits tenants to withhold rent until specific conditions are improved.

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Education

"Better than anything I could have dreamed", said Dr. John O'Hara, Director of the Human Relations Institute of the University of Oklahoma, about the Traveling Workshop, a program of the Department of Educational Services of the National Catholic Conference. This evaluation is typical of those who were host to the 1966 Traveling Workshop this summer. Statistics for those who are interested tally thus: In 45 Centers visited there were: 14,000 participants - - 1,100 minority-group citizens, 3,200 lay leaders and teachers, 100 clergymen of all faiths, 9,540 religious sisters, and 60 brothers. The staff of the Traveling Workshop covered 50,000 miles.....300 4th, 5th and 6th graders and 120 adults attended this summer's continuation of the Cabrini Project sponsored last summer by the National Catholic Conference and the Chicago CIC. Co-directed by Sr. M. Maigread OSF and seen by her as an experiment to be of service to large teaching orders looking for "new roles" the project offered drama, art, music, social living, math, english, typing, shorthand, child psychology, sewing, Red Cross, and tutoring.....To follow a slogan "People before buildings" Archbishop John P. Cody, Archdiocese of Chicago, will open no new Catholic school buildings this year. Instead 4,500 lay teachers will begin receiving salaries roughly equivalent to the public school systems.....16 sisters of various congregations in the Diocese of Camden, N. J. met in September to discuss wholesale participation of sisters outside the normal sphere of operations for religious. Their chief concern is in the Neighborhood Apostolate in culturally and economically deprived sections of Camden. The program of this group will concern itself with education, research and intercommunity activities.....Fr. Edward Flahavan of the CIC of the Twin Cities is continuing an interfaith Project Summer anti-poverty program in the St. Paul area. The program with 69 certified teachers and 125 volunteers is conducting compensatory education, recreational, vocational and cultural activities in six centers and a public school in St. Paul.....40 educators brought togehter at Alverno College, Milwaukee to study problems of the disadvantaged child in order to make their schools more effective, indicated 10 proposals that must be achieved if prospective teachers are to be successful in inner city schools - - 1) specific preparation of prospective teachers of the socially disadvantaged by those who have experience in such areas and more in-service training of teachers already in disadvantaged areas; 2) encourage by means of open-housing the integration of the disadvantaged into the school system in order that the child can be educated to live in a free society; 3) more cooperation between schools and community recreation departments in regard to adult education so that the facilities may be used more effectively; 4) more utilization of specialized personnel; 5) greater sharing of information between public and private schools; 6) fully staffed elementary school libraries; 7) school should work for more rapport between home and school; 8) implementation of kindergarden for the four year old; 9) additional funds to complete education of children; 10) a curriculum sufficiently flexible to be able to adapt to classroom situations.... Sister Maura Coughlan, CSJ of St. Paul, Minn. has been appointed to the staff of the National Catholic Conference as the Associate Director of Educational Services. Sister Maura will join Sister Mary Peter SSND, Director of the Department in planning of future educational programs.

What Your Dollars
Have Accomplished:

A Three-Year Report

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice owes a great deal of the credit for the success its programs have achieved to the annual dues paid by affiliated Councils and Commissions, and to the many individual donations over the years from persons around the country.

We recently discovered just how important these "Catholic Money" figures are in relation to our ability to secure foundation grants. The annual audits for 1963, 1964 and 1965 demonstrate that, over this three-year period, every $100.00 received in dues and donations has enabled the Conference to attract a further $189.00 from foundations.

This is a record to be proud of; but we still have a big job to do before the Conference can launch solid, realistic programs in new areas - - housing and urban affairs, medical care, pastoral services and build new dimensions into our current programs in education and employment.

When the Conference submits a proposal to any foundation for a project grant, this is the first question we're always asked: "What proportion of your income is provided by Catholics?" It's a basic and important standard, and it means what it appears to mean: the larger the percentage of Catholic dues and donations the greater are the Conference's chances of securing the foundation grants so necessary to full-scale projects.

Your dues and donations do a double job, really. First, the obvious one:they provide real aid in meeting current expenses (mounting all the time).Second, they help to boost that very important ratio of Catholic income to total income.

So we thank you, very sincerely, for the double-barreled support your dues and donations have provided. And we ask you to do everything you can to help us to inch that "Catholic Money" percentage steadily upward - - it's the vital index of the growth potential of the Conference.

Employment

1,500 participa
Louis and Detro
of the PROJECT
tributed to about 1,500 pastors and administrat
church administrators of the Jewish, Orthodox a
in Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit. Th
processing, the first time data processing has
religious institution. The national directory
suppliers with whom the participants prefer to
Executive Coordinator of the Committee for Raci
Christ has become Chairman of the Interfaith Ac
succeeds Rabbi Balfour Brickner. The Interfait
ditional staff, Protestant and Jewish, to the r
spread interreligiously in every area. By earl
tions will be participating in Project Equality
bishop's Committee on Human Rights of Hartford,
Jr. has been named Executive Secretary of the C
30th six religious denominations of Columbus ar
become the first city in the U.S. to announce t
its inception. Vice President Humphrey congrat
Equality stating, "...I have followed with grea
other areas of the country and I am pleased to
This interfaith endeavor is a most significant
which still erodes the brotherhood of man." Rev
fiaths as director of the program.....Unemployr
unskilled workers has been worsening for the pa
situations. Although the jobless rate remained
among Negro workers climbed from 7% in April to
had an unemployment rate of 12% compared to 27%
(Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of

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Medicine-Hospitals

Because of a he
erty, millions
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the field of medicine. These are problems of p
ional Catholic Conference for Interracial Just
explore program possibilities in the areas of

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to meet these needs,
- the remaining obstacles
ties and services, and
- the recruitment of mino
schools and the upgradi
positions in the expand
ward secretaries, diete

Seed money to begin these explorations h
with federal departments, Catholic association
field to determine areas of cooperative progra
hospital setting.....Dr. Jorge Prieto of Chica
ference of the Catholic Hospital Association i
administrators and hospital personnel from low
in the Medical Services Project. Dr. Prieto h
the past fifteen years and is acutely aware of
Catholic doctors associated with CIC's have be

ting suppliers to the Archdioceses of St. it have been listed in the first edition EQUALITY 'BUYERS GUIDE' which has been dis- ors of the two Archdioceses and 1,500 more nd Protestant denominations participating e directory is printed by automated data been used in the civil rights struggle by a will include names of an estimated 5,000 do business.....Larold K. Schulz, Associate al Justice Now of the United Church of visory Committee on Project Equality. He h Advisory Committee seeks to provide ad- ational office to enable the program to be y 1967 approximately 50 religious jurisdic- ....Fr. Robert McGrath, Chairman of the Arch- has announced that Mr. James S. Henderson, Committee for Project Equality.....September d Central Ohio joined Project Equality to he program on an interreligious basis from ulated the denominations sponsoring Project t interest the progress of this program in know that Project Equality continues to grow. aspect of our struggle to solve the problem . Richard F. Engle has been named by the six ent among Negroes, especially teenagers and st four months despite generally booming job unchanged at 3.9% in August, unemployment 8.2% last month. This summer the white teen for Negroes in the same age bracket. abor Statistics Report)

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ritage of discrimination and resultant pov- of Negroes, Spanish-speaking, Indians and r minority groups face severe problems in ublic health as well as employment. The Nat- ce in its new Medical Service Project will - nority groups and the availability of services

to complete integration of hospital facili-

rity students for medical and nursing g and training of personnel for technician ing paramedical field (lab technicians, tic technicians, licensed practical nurses)

as been procured and discussions are underway s, and other organizations in the medical mming, such as pilot training programs in the go will appear on the program of the Iowa Con- Des Moines, October 12th to discuss with a's 30 Catholic hospitals the ideas proposed as served the Spanish-speaking in Chicago for the problems faced by minority families in en asked to review the proposed project.

Bishop Peter L. Gerety
on
"Black Power"

"Black Power" slogan is a 'cry of despair' from Negroes in the face of white indifference and hostility.....We white people tremble when we hear the extremist cry - - "Black Power". And yet the Negro in this country is faced constantly and on every side with what he sees as the White Power which has lashed him, held him down, humiliated him for all these many years.....

White Americans are quick to criticize Negroes when outbreaks of racial violence occur - and such excesses cannot be condoned - but whites too are guilty of habitual evasion and disobedience of laws on fair-housing fair-employment and other issues. This is one of the facts of (the Negro's) life and yet very few of the mass of people in this country seem to him to be disturbed by this deeply entrenched lawlessness of which he is the victim - - except himself."

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The
John LaFarge Institute

The John LaFarge Institute is an interreligious conference center that continues the work of the late Jesuit priest and interracial pioneer for whom it is named.

In the words of James J. Gallagher, Executive Director, "It is not only possible but absolutely essential in this day and age to provide a place where Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, civil rights, business and other leaders of the country can get together to talk openly and frankly.

The institute's normal program calls for two major conferences a year. Typically, these are held for one or two days in a wood-paneled room on the second floor of the America magazine headquarters. While the main concern for its first year has been civil rights facilities are open to other groups related to inter-racial, religious affairs.
Fr. John LaFarge, who died November 1963, was editor of America and founder of the CIC movement.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice held its bi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors, August 28th at Georgetown University in Washington and elected the following Board personnel:

Chairman.....Mr. Rawson L. Wood, industrialist, former president of the Long Isl. CIC. Mr. Wood succeeds the late Raymond M. Hilliard who died July 4.

Three Vice Chairmen.....John P. Nelson, Jr. New Orleans attorney; R. Sargent Shriver, director of OEO; Walter Hubbard, Jr., director of Caritas, Seattle.

Secretary.....Mrs. James E. Brophy, Grosse Point, Michigan

Treasurer.....Cyril D. Tyson, recently named deputy administrator for community relations in New York's new Human Resources Administration.

Elected for three-year terms were.....Mr. Joseph Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO; Percy Williams, Spec. Asst. in Business Development Program of the Small Business Administration; Dr. Albert Steward of New York; and Fr. Henry J. Casso, Exec. Secy. of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking.....Sister Rose Maureen Kelly, MM of Maryknoll, N.Y. was elected to fulfill the term of Miss Margaret Roach who resigned to work on Conference staff.....The following human relations organizations were elected to affiliation with the Conference.....the Social Action Department of the Diocese of Bridgeport; the Commission on Social Justice, Archdiocese of San Francisco; the CIC of Waterbury, Conn.; the CIC of Fort Smith, Ark.; the Human Rights Commission of Archdiocese of Boston; the Bronx CIC. .....the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles has been holding a series of parties to raise money for the National Farm Workers Association..... the newly formed CIC of Tacoma, Wash. begun its work with renewed efforts to get an open housing ordinance passed in Tacoma and the creation of a human relations commission for the city.....the Human Rights Commission of Boston endorsed a ninepoint program proposed by Negro legislators calling for a clean-up of the Roxbury area of Boston and the installation of new recreational facilities.....the Davenport CIC informed U. S. Attorney General Katzenbach of two recent concerted efforts to create the impression that there was to be a race riot in Davenport. They asked the Attorney General to make a thorough investigation.....the CIC of Kansas City, Mo. began their major fund raising event of the year with a sales booth in a local shopping center.....Walter Hubbard, Jr. president of the CIC of Seattle was recently appointed executive director of Project Caritas, a remedial tutoring program with 465 teens and 80 adults and more than 500 tutors.....the CIC of Wilmington, Del. participated as hospitality committee for a program conducted by local priests aimed at making non-Catholic Negroes aware of the Catholic Church and to provide members of local parishes with a better knowledge of the Negro and his problems.

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Appointments

The National Catholic Conference in August announced the appointment of Miss Margaret C. Roach to its program staff. Expansion of Conference programs and services, especially over the past 18 months, has brought about a corresponding need for an enlarged program staff. Miss Roach will analyze and evaluate current programs and study human relations projects proposed for Conference adoption. Since 1962, Miss Roach has been social action secretary for the National Council of Catholic Women. Previously, she had been assistant to the Executive Director of the Chicago CIC.....The CIC of Davenport, Iowa announced that September 1st Sister Mary Germaine Dermody of the Community of the Humility of Mary would become the full-time, salaried executive assistant of the Council. Sister's work will enable the CIC to organize and program activities for its many volunteer workers.

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Geo. A. Pflaum, PUBLISHER, INC.
38 W. FIFTH ST. DAYTON, OHIO 45402

ORGANIZING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

A handbook for junior high students and teachers who want to organize effective human relations study and work groups in the schools.

Written by Howard E. Thomas and Sister M. Peter, SSND, both experts in interracial council programs, this informative book includes discussion and action guides, and a constitution and bylaws for group organizers.

Its extensive resource section lists helpful films, filmstrips, publications, songs, and a glossary. This unique manual is published by us for the NCCIJ. (10021) . . . $1.50 net, no discount. Ready

LESSONS IN RACE RELATIONS

A carefully planned 15-lesson teaching unit on race relations by Sister Joann Carmen, O.S.F. Its emphasis is on the Negro in America. The manual is published by us for the NCCIJ and is designed for junior high level, although it is adaptable for other levels.

Lesson topics include the concept of race, prejudice, the cost of prejudice, Negro history, race relations today, and how to help the present situation. It also contains test questions and a bibliography for students and teachers. (10014) . . . $2.50 net, no discount.

BROTHERHOOD PINS

Students of all ages will enjoy wearing these Brotherhood pins. They can start their own Brotherhood campaign. All three can be used effectively in conjunction with Brotherhood programs. They are available in boxes of twenty, A, B, C, or D. D contains a 6-7-7 assortment of each.

A (27035), B (27036), C (27037), D (27038) . . . Each box: $2.00 net, no discount.

THAT ALL MEN MAY BE UNITED . . . . . is the goal of brotherly love. The following materials will help promote this cause.

ANNOUNCING

the Brotherhood Week kit you won't want to be without!

There's enough material here to make Brotherhood Week (February 19 through 25, 1967) a real occasion—and a strong beginning for a human relations program in your school or classroom! This idea-packed kit, compiled by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ) contains:

- Posters for brotherhood
- Programs supporting human rights
- Bibliographies of films, human relations literature, and agencies that will help your program
- Songs for human brotherhood
- Human relations publications and education tools as provided by GEO. A. PFLAUM, Publisher, Inc.
- A Bible vigil with biblical background
- Statements of the American bishops on brotherhood
- A play for the junior high level on human rights
- "106 Ways To Stamp Out Brotherhood Week," an amusing, pointed article from "Ave Maria."

(11014) . . . $3.00 net, no discount. Available in December, 1966.

I CARE FILMSTRIP

This dramatic filmstrip projects in color, and black and white the poverty and prejudice that too many people endure in America. An exposition of the differences between the "haves" and "have-nots," the filmstrip seeks to stir a Christian response in students who otherwise may be unaware of, or indifferent to, these realities. It can be used effectively to enrich religion, civics, and social studies classes—grades four through eight. The Human Relations Library (illustrated on the back of this folder) is excellent reading material to reinforce the filmstrip.

I CARE is 16 mm and runs for 15 minutes. It is accompanied by a 33⅓ rpm unbreakable record narrated by Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F., former Director of Educational Services of the NCCIJ. A detailed classroom discussion guide is included. (17030) . . . $15.00 net, no discount.

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BOOK PAGE

AMERICAN CATHOLIC OPINION IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY by Madeleine Hooke Rice, Ph.D.....A sectional analysis of Catholic attitudes based upon representative opinion among church members that constitutes a fairly comprehensive view of the Catholic approach to the slavery question. (Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass.)

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY,... Compiled by Elizabeth W. Miller. A source book for information and references about the history of American thinking on the subject of the Negro. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. - $2.95)

THE BIBLE AND RACE,.....by T. B. Maston A careful examination of biblical teachings on human relations. (Broadman Press Nashville, Tenn. - $.85)

TO MEND THE BROKEN, by Karl E. Lutze,.The Christian response to the challenge of human relations problems. (Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. - $1.95)

PREJUDICE, A Church and World Pamphlets series selection written by James J. Young, C.S.P. deals broadly with the subject of prejudice against minorities. (Paulist Press, Glen Rock, N.J. - $.25)

JUDAISM, by Stuart E. Rosenberg...Surveys the growth of Judaism, the worship,Jewish life from birth to death and how Jews feel about sin, resurrection and immortality and the Messiah. (Paulist Press Deus Books, Glen Rock, N.J. - $.95)

EDUCATIONAL TECHNIQUES FOR COMBATING PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION AND PROMOTING BETTER INTERGROUP UNDERSTANDING..A report on an International Studies in Education meeting by Myer Domnitz (UNESCO Publications Center, New York - $2.00)

RESEARCH ON RACIAL RELATIONS,....A series reprinting articles drawn from the International Social Science Journal dealing with studies of race in various parts of the world. (UNESCO Publications Center New York - $5.00)

THE DE-ROMANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, by Edward Wakin and Father Joseph F. Scheuer. A collaboration between a priest-sociologist and a journalist-author trained in sociology that provides a natural history of the Roman Catholic Church in America. (The Macmillan Company, New York - $6.95)

file

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

March 17, 1967

Your Excellency:

Because of a number of requests we are planning to reprint the 24-page amicus curiae brief in the Loving miscegenation case now before the U.S. Supreme Court, filed by sixteen Catholic ordinaries, NCCIJ and NCSAC.

If enough are ordered it will reduce the cost per copy to 35¢ (the first printing cost $2.71 per copy exclusive of postage). At the present order level the price is 65¢ each, and orders for an additional 200 will reduce it to 45¢. Certainly there will be that many.

We already have bishops' orders for 50 and for 200. Some of these will be distributed to Catholic lawyers; others might be distributed to clergy, libraries, convents, heads of diocesan organizations, leaders of other denominations, and so on.

It is unlikely that this brief will be printed again, so please let us have your order (preferably in multiples of 25) by Easter Monday, March 27.

Asking Your Excellency's blessings, I am

Respectfully yours,

John P. Sisson

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

Ed:

DATE March 15, 1967

TO Key contacts in the South and Southwest (150)

FROM John P. Sisson

Enclosed for your interest and information are the following materials:

1. "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience," statement of November 14, 1958 by the Catholic Bishops of the United States. Folder.

2. "Statement of Catholic Bishops of the United States Concerning Racial Harmony," August 25, 1963. Folder.

3. "Discrimination Immoral," reprint of June 1964 sermon at Co-Cathedral in Jackson, Mississippi. One page folded.

   NOTE: Because of shortage of storage space we offer the above three pieces at no charge except postage and $1.00 handling charge; quantities 100 to 1,000.

4. "Jobs... Justice... Project Equality," one-page folder describing the NCCIJ program for equal employment opportunities. Available from NCCIJ, 1307 South Wabash Ave., Chicago 60605.

5. "Racial Discrimination and Unemployment," 4-page reprint from COLLEGIUM on Project Equality. Available: NCCIJ, 1307 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 60605.

6. "How to Turn Talk Into Action," 12-page booklet, tells how to set up a community relations commission. Available from Community Relations Service, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530.

7. "The Continuing Crisis," excellent 40-page booklet assessing new racial tensions in the South. Available from Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 30303. (We sent this booklet to the Bishops in the South and Southwest last fall.)

8. "Good Neighbor Card," a fair housing program in Northern Kentucky. Available from address on card.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

March 15, 1967

Jim McGuire, formerly with Southern Field Service, is now with Project Equality in Chicago. Please redirect your correspondence and phone calls to Jack Sisson in New Orleans.

* * * * * * *

The national convention of NCCIJ will be held August 17-20 at Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Missouri. Plan now to attend. The theme: The Church and the Urban Racial Crisis.

* * * * * * *

Fisk University will hold its 24th Annual Institute of Race Relations June 26-July 8. For details write: Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

* * * * * * *

SUMMER WORKSHOP ON URBAN PROBLEMS for Church leaders and policy-makers actively concerned with the Church's role in the city: CARA (Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate) has assisted Catholic University's City and Regional Planning Committee in developing a twelve-day workshop on planning dimensions for the Church in Metropolis, June 12-23. For details write: Director of Workshops, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. 20017.

* * * * * * *

Handbook on government and private housing programs: A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods. $1.00; 100 pp. The complete guide for every group. Order from: Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

* * * * * * *

agency NCCIJ

Commitment

1307 S. Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60605

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

JUNE 1967

KANSAS CITY CONVENTION TO DISCUSS CHURCH'S ROLE IN URBAN RACIAL CRISIS
August 17-20

The Church's role in the urban racial crisis will be examined by delegates to the August 1967 convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

"With its vast institutional complex and the clerical, religious and lay manpower involved, the Catholic Church represents a major force for social change in the city today," Mathew Ahmann, executive director said. "The CIC delegates will look at the Church's role and recommend priorities for action by the Church and her people."

The conference, scheduled for August 17-20, at Rockhurst College in Kansas City, Mo., will be co-hosted by the college, the Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph and the Catholic Interracial Council of Kansas City.

Conference speakers will include Archbishop John F. Dearden of Detroit and president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on "The Challenge to Change in the Urban Church;" Msgr. Daniel Cantwell, pastor of St. Clotilde Congregation, Chicago on "The City and the Mission of the Church;" Dr. George Wiley, Director of the Poverty/Rights Action Center, Washington, D. C. on "The Equal Rights of the Poor;" Rev. Henry Browne, president of the Stryckers Bay Community Council in New York on "Power and the Institutional Church." A fifth major presentation will be on the topic, "Crisis in Our Cities."

For maximum involvement of CIC delegates, background papers will be furnished all participants for their study prior to the opening of the convention and for their use in workgroup discussion and formulation of recommendations during the meeting. Background papers are being prepared in the areas of education, employment, housing, health, social welfare, legal services, and the special needs of the Spanish-speaking.

REGISTER NOW FOR THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE -- SEE PAGE 8 FOR DETAILS.

Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven of the Columbia University School of Social Work have been commissioned to prepare the paper on social welfare. Msgr. Thomas Reese, director of Catholic Social Services for the Diocese of Wilmington, Delaware will write a supplementary paper in this area for relation to the Catholic system of social service.

The editor of Integrated Education magazine, Meyer Weinberg, will prepare the background paper in the field of education. The housing paper will be written by Emil Seliga, director of the Department of Urban Services for the National Catholic Conference. The president of Clark University in Atlanta, Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, will write the employment background paper. Dr. Henderson was formerly professor of economics atFisk University.

Dr. Paul Cornely, head of the Public Health Department of Howard University's Medical School in Washington, D. C., is the author of the background paper on health. Mr. Joseph Rubio, editor of the Southwest Catholic Register, El Paso, Texas will detail the special needs of the Spanish-speaking in his background paper. Mr. Paul G. Chevigny, director of the Police Practices Project for the New York Civil Liberties Union, will prepare the paper on legal services.

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NCCIJ Creates Urban Services Department

In announcing the creation of a new department of Urban Services and the appointment of Emil J. Seliga, Los Angeles savings and loan executive, to head the department, Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the Conference said: "We propose to undertake a comprehensive inquiry into existing problems and programs of urban affairs. From this we expect to offer a workable program for use on the local level of the church. Such a program would serve to implement the recent American Catholic Bishops' policy statement urging full freedom of the housing market to all minority groups. It would be aimed particularly at mobilizing a response from the man in the pew and at helping to shape the city of the future."

Emil Seliga, who heads the new department, has been in the savings and loan business since 1935. He has been president of Talman Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago and executive vice president of Great Western Savings and Loan Association of Los Angeles, both insitutions among the ten largest in the nation.

In addition, Mr. Seliga has had extensive personal involvement with civic affairs, serving on the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council of Chicago, the Chicago Dwellings Association, Chicago's Community Conservation Board and the Community Relations Conference of Southern California. He is also founder and past president of the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles and serves on the Commission on the Church and Race of the Council of Churches of Southern California.

OEO Funds Alabama Co-Op

An Alabama farmers cooperative has received almost $400,000 in poverty funds against strong objections from the state's political powers. The Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association, operating in Dallas (Selma) Lowndes, Wilcox, Perry, Hale, Greene, Monroe Marengo, Choctaw and Sumter counties, proposed a demonstration project to develop the social and economic mechanism to provide the farmer with the option of remaining on the land.

(continued on page 8)

CRAFTS FOR FREEDOM --that's what they call the handcrafted dolls, dresses, handbags, candles and other items produced by former Mississippi maids and sharecroppers, now members of the Poor People's Corporation.

The Poor People's Corporation provides financial and technical assistance to the 15 producer-cooperatives in Mississippi. Each co-op is owned, managed and operated by its workers. Co-ops purchase supplies and market their goods together with the help of the PPC and Liberty House, the marketing cooperative.

Co-op workers are former farm laborers, sharecroppers and domestics previously earned an average of $10 per week. They now strive together toward their goal of earning the national minimum wage. The cooperatives are their opportunity to achieve this goal and remain economically independent.

The co-ops need financial contributions for expansion, sales promotion and other program needs (checks made out to the Poor People's Technical Assistance Corp. will be tax deductible; exemption applied for); designers and new product ideas; new customers both wholesale and retail; people with skills to help train new co-ops in sewing, leathercraft, woodwork, candle-making, quilting and other skills; fabrics and remnants; industrial sewing machines; and publicity --

SPREAD THE WORD ABOUT CRAFTS FOR FREEDOM

Girl's Calico Dress...gay calico smock dress with tie neck and elasticized 3/4 length sleeves. Completely washable and drip-dry. Calico on red, blue, brown or green background. Sizes 4-6X $3.95

For a free catalog of all available items, write:
Poor People's Corporation
Liberty House
P.O. Box 3193
Jackson, Miss.

The Freedom Quilting Bee of Auburn, Ala., is another handcraft cooperative begun with a loan from the Episcopal Society's Jonathan Daniels Memorial Fund. The formation of the Freedom Quilting Bee was initiated by the Selma Interreligious Project (NCCIJ is a sponsoring organization). Stock quilts are $20 and $25 depending on size and complexity of design. Baby quilts are $12. King-size quilts and requests for specific colors and designs may be specially ordered. The cooperative also makes sunbonnets which sell for $3 and pot holders at $1. Clothing scraps from both sewing baskets and textile or garment factories are needed. Tax deductible donations may be made to the co-op's technical assistance fund. Quilt orders and contributions should be sent to the Alabama Council of Human Relations, Inc., Freedom Quilting Bee Fund, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Ala. 36830.

Project Equality is Two Years Old

This spring Project Equality had its second birthday -- it was in May, 1965 that the Archdiocese of St. Louis became the first judicatory in the nation to adopt the Conference's program for equal employment opportunity. The Archdiocese of Detroit followed a week later; in August the Archdiocese of San Antonio became the third participant.

These pilot programs were the first to make use of Project Equality's affirmative action plan for merit employment. They assumed the responsibility of: (1) insuring equal employment in all their own hiring; (2) requiring equal employment as a condition of sale in all general and contract purchasing.

Metropolitan Detroit became the first interreligious program in December, 1965; today interreligious teamwork is the outstanding characteristic of Project Equality nationally. There are now 85 participating judicatories: 48 Protestant, 14 Jewish, 2 Eastern Orthodox, 3 Unitarian-Universalist and 18 Roman Catholic. The program operates through ten local offices in nine states.

Six local offices have professional directors; two of them are members of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Mr. James J. McGuire, formerly associate director of the Conference's Southern Field Service in New Orleans, became director of the Tennessee Project Equality program in May.

To date, about 15,000 firms have pledged their cooperation with the program -- these range from two-man shops to corporations hiring as many as 100,000 persons.

Some "firsts" for 1967...

*First program in a Southern state -- Project Equality of Tennessee, launched in March; it now has Protestant, Jewish and Catholic participation.

*Largest program yet -- Minnesota Project Equality, launched in April, counts 27 judicatories.

*Denominational "first" -- three new judicatories are the first in their denominations to join Project Equality -- in Minnesota, the National Baptist State Convention; in Tennessee, the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.; in Connecticut, the A.M.E. Zion Church.

*New structure for Project Equality Council -- Until March, 1967 an informal advisory group, the Council is now the program-planning body for Project Equality. Its members will largely be delegates from local programs.

*National office expansion -- to provide adequate servicing for this growing network, these positions will be filled for the Chicago office in 1967: deputy director, three regional field directors, assistant director for administration.

A look ahead... Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr., Conference director of employment services and national director for Project Equality, expects to see five new offices opened during the rest of 1967, and a total of 30 regional offices -- serving more than 300 judicatories -- in operation by the end of 1968.

Traveling Workshops Schedule Open for Fall and Winter of 1968

The Traveling Workshop on Intergroup Relations is hitting the road again. Now in its third year, the TW will conduct twenty institutes this summer from New York to California and from Minnesota to Texas. Two teams of five faculty members each hold doctorates in history, economics, psychology and sociology or anthropology and are on loan from their respective colleges. Faculty members include:

TEAM I

Sr. Mary Mangan SL, Webster Grove College
Sr. Catherine OP, Seattle University
Sr. Reginald SSF, Newton College
Sr. Margaret Rita CSC, St. Mary's College
Sr. Audrey SNJM, Marylhurst College
Mother Burke RSCJ, Barat College
Sr. Maureen O'Keefe SSND, Good Counsel Hill

TEAM II

Sr. Jean Vianney CSJ, Marymount College
Sr. Sheila CSA, Marian College
Sr. de la Salle RSM, St. Joseph College
Sr. Eric SSND, Notre Dame College
Sr. Francis Mary SBS, Xavier University
Sr. Loretta Anne SL, Loretto Heights College
Sr. Esther Heffernan OP, Edgewood College

LITURGICAL WEEK IN KANSAS CITY

Liturgical Week immediately follows the NCCIJ convention in Kansas City this year. "Experiments in Community" is the theme of this year's Week, August 21-24. For further program and registration information write The Liturgical Conference 2900 Newton St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20018. Plan now to attend both conferences.

Traveling Workshops will be held in the following locations:

Team I		Team II	
6/12-16	De Paul U. - Chicago	6/12-16	Xavier College - Chicago
19-23	De Paul U. - Chicago	19-23	Loyola U. - Chicago
27-30	Providence - Chicago	26-30	Schenectady, New York
7/2-3	Carmelite Convent - Pewaukee	7/7-9	Rochester, New York - Diocesan
7-9	St. Catherine College - St. Paul	12-15	Convent Station - New Jersey
11-13	Poor Clare Convent - Minneapolis	17-21	Mt. Aloysius College, Cresson,Pa.
17-22	Ext. Volunteers - U. of Chicago	28-29	Newburgh, New York
28-8/1	Dodge City, Kansas	8/14-16	Toledo - Diocesan
8/14-19	San Antonio, Texas	25-27	Baltimore-inner city workers
8/28-9/1	San Francisco - Diocesan		

By the fall of 1967, "the university on wheels" will have covered close to 200,000 miles, and 25,000 participants will have shared the expertise of the TW teams.

. . . . . .

We recommend ORGANIZING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, a handbook for junior high students and teachers who want to organize effective human relations study and work groups in the schools. Published by Pflaum, 38 W. 5th St., Dayton, Ohio for the NCCIJ...$1.50 net.

NCCIJ and Weston

In a resolution passed at its last meeting, the Board of Directors of NCCIJ urged Congress to withhold decision on location and funding of the proposed Atomic Energy Commission accelerator facility in Weston, Ill. until a fact-finding committee of the Congress holds public hearings in the Chicago metropolitan area.

"A grave doubt exists whether the metropolitan area of Chicago in which the Weston site is located and the State of Illinois have an effective affirmative action program for equality of housing, employment and education consistent with national policies," the Board declared. A fact-finding committee should "determine whether the State of Illinois and the metropolitan area of Chicago have in fact or will adopt an effective affirmative action program, including a strong State Fair Housing Law, to implement internal policy." Civil rights organizations in Chicago, including the Chicago CIC, have protested location of the facility in Illinois unless the state legislature provides a strong fair housing law. Richard J. Walsh, then president of the Chicago CIC, wired Democrats and Republicans in the State Legislature, asking them to join together in a bi-partisan commitment to pass effective state fair housing legislation. Walsh appealed to them to take the issue out of partisan politics not only because it is a matter of human justice but also because it is the only effective way to safeguard for Illinois the AEC proposed Weston reactor project.

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The Loving Case

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice joined by 16 Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops, at the invitation of Bishop Russell of Richmond, filed an amicus brief in the Loving miscegenation case. The case now pending originated in Virginia four years ago. The brief stressed especially that the Virginia anti-miscegenation law is a violation of free exercise of religion. The Conference also concurred in the major arguments of the Loving's own Counsel from the American Civil Liberties Union. Rev. William Lewers, Professor of Law, University of Notre Dame Law School, is serving as Counsel for the Conference in the Loving case. Father Lewers indicated that to his knowledge this was the first time any number of bishops joined in a social justice issue before the courts. The archbishops and bishops joining in the brief were: Bishop John J. Russell of Richmond; Lawrence Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore; Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta; Archbishop Philip M. Hannan of New Orleans; Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio; Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Apostolic Administrator of Natchez-Jackson; Bishop Lawrence M. DeFalco of Amarillo; Bishop Joseph A. Durick, Apostolic Administrator of Nashville; Bishop Thomas K. Gorman of Dallas-Fort Worth; Bishop Joseph H. Hodges of Wheeling; Bishop John L. Morkovsky, Apostolic Administrator of Galveston-Houston; Bishop Victor J. Reed of Oklahoma City-Tulsa; Bishop L. J. Reicher of Austin, Tex.; Bishop Thomas Tschoepe of San Angelo, Tex.; Bishop Ernest L. Unterkoefler of Charleston, and Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh.

The National Catholic Social Action Conference also joined in the filing of the brief. Tidewater CIC issued the following statement: "We want to extend our support and praise to the sixteen bishops who filed a "friend of the court" brief in support of the Lovings, challenging the Virginia (and in effect all other) anti-miscegenation laws. They stated: 'Since the statues make race the test of whether a man and woman may marry, they therefore bar those who cannot meet this racial test from one of the chief lawful rights in marriage -- the right of having children.'" Reprints of the brief are available from Southern Field Service, 8017 Palm St., New Orleans, La. 70125 (Cost - 50¢).

Housing

The Archdiocese of Detroit recently received a $203,000 demonstration grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to construct 17 low cost housing units which will be sold to residents of the neighborhood in which they will be built. The Positive Neighborhood Action Committee will act as sales agent for the experimental houses, apartments and townhouses. Construction will begin this summer. Phoenix Homes will offer units of three bedrooms-and-up for as little as $6800 plus land costs averaging about $1,000. If the experiment is successful, the Archdiocese is prepared to build 500 more units. Archbishop Dearden speaking at a press conference announcing the grant said: "Cooperation of many -- of those living in the project area, of the federal and city government, of private industry, of labor and of others -- has made this demonstration possible."

.....

Bishop Ackerman and the CIC of Covington joined other groups in support of the Good Neighbor-Card campaign in northern Kentucky. In a pastoral letter read on Fair Housing, Sunday the Bishop declared: "...The perpetuation of a practice which results in confining to ghettoes those whom some have decided are unworthy of a proper place in society, is evil and must be recognized and condemend as such by all who call themselves Christians..." Other CICs active in good neighbor pledge campaigns and other educational efforts to secure support for fair housing are the CIC of Hartford which cooperated with the Hartford Times and Hartford Human Relations Commission in their open occupancy coupon project (I Support Open Housing), the Diocese of Miami Human Relations Board in cooperation with the Community Relations Board of Dade County and the Inter-Faith Agency for Social Justice, the Tacoma CIC working with the Citizens of Pierce County and Tacoma Committee for Fair Housing, the CIC of Montgomery County, Md. which joined in sponsorship of Fair Housing Month, the CIC of Toledo which gathered thousands of signatures for open housing. CIC of Pittsburgh testified at hearings on a city ordinance to expand anti-discrimination laws to include full coverage of housing sales and rentals. The new law, passed unanimously, covers 100% of the residential sale and rental market. CIC of Davenport submitted an open housing ordinance to the Davenport Human Relations Council. The CIC was supported by the Davenport Ministerial Association andthe Commission on Religion and Race of the Council of Churches. Support for pending state legislation for fair housing was provided by the CIC of Chicago and the CIC of Davenport and the Catholic Council on Community Relations of Philadelphia...CIC of Waterbury successfuly sponsored a rent receivership ordinance throughthe Board of Alderman.CIC of Prince George County,Md. supported efforts of ACCESS (Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs) to open up apartment rentals in the suburbs, particularly by pressing the Pentagon to instruct base commanders inthe Washington, D. C. area to declare segregated apartmenthouses off limits to military personnel.John XXIII Council on Human Relations of Portland, Oregon took a public stand in support of a proposed public housing project for low income families in testimony before the City Council..SanFrancisco Archdiocesan Social Justice Commission supported the brief filed by the California attorney general asking the U.S. Supreme Court to rule infavorof California fairhousing laws...A Pittsburgh CIC member of the Greater Pittsburgh Fair Housing Movement(CIC of Pittsburgh is a participating organization) met with officials of one ofthe major gas companies concerning their policies on gas deposits.

The Cooperative Association will provide for cooperative purchase of seed and fertilizer, gas and oil, insecticides and tractor parts and for farm loans at low interest rates, as well as economic development through credit unions, insurance programs and farm equipment sales. The cooperative will also move into social services for the 800 farmer families, such as self-help housing and cooperative day care. Opposition to the SWAFCA grant is reminiscent of the Child Development Group of Mississippi situation. In the cases of both SWAFCA and CDGM, NCCIJ joined with other organizations in the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, to urge funding by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

TEAR OFF THIS PRE-REGISTRATION BLANK AND SEND WITH CHECK OR MONEY ORDER BY AUGUST 1, 1967

Enclosed is my check to cover cost of my conference attendance for the items checked below.

Name_____

Address_____ City_____ State_____ Zip_____

I plan to stay Thursday_____ Friday_____ Saturday_____ nights.

_____ **Conference Package Registration** $35.00
(includes twin-bedded room for Thurs., Fri., Sat. nights
meals Fri., Sat., Sun.
registration fee
book—The Church and the Urban Racial Crisis)

$_____ Total enclosed.
(Please make check payable to:
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice)

Indicate roommate preference_____

_____ **Individual Item Registration**

_____ Registration Fee $12.50 (includes book)

_____ Twin-bedded room @ $4.00 per night for ____ nights

_____ Fri. breakfast	$1.25	_____ Sat. breakfast	$1.25
_____ Fri. lunch	$2.00	_____ Sat. lunch	$2.00
_____ Fri. dinner	$2.50	_____ Sat. dinner	$2.50
		_____ Sun. brunch	$2.00

There are facilities available for married couples at the Plaza Motel nearby, $16.00 double. Please make your own reservations.

Workgroup Interest Area (specific workgroups to be announced in each area)

_____ Education _____ Employment _____ Housing _____ Health _____ Social Welfare _____ Legal Services _____ Spanish-speaking

National Catholic Conference
1307 South Wabash
Chicago, Ill. 60605

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

July 25, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Your July 20th Newsletter was good and newsy, as usual.

I don't seem to have received the "Special Report" on hunger written by six doctors which was issued on June 23. May I have four copies of this?

Carol: Please send -

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson

Also, check with J.W. and send Donald Jelinek 24 copies, if it is okay.

E

THE CHURCH AND THE URBAN RACIAL CRISIS

AUGUST 17-20, 1967
ROCKHURST COLLEGE
KANSAS CITY, MO.

Sponsored by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Hosts—Catholic Interracial Council of Kansas City
Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph
Rockhurst College

National Catholic Conference
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NCCIJ

THE CHURCH AND THE URBAN RACIAL CRISIS

Note: This conference immediately precedes the meeting of the Liturgical Conference in Kansas City. Plan now to attend both meetings.

Thursday, August 17

12:00 p.m.	Registration
5:00 p.m.	Community Mass
8:00 p.m.	**Crisis in Our Cities** Speaker to be announced

Friday, August 18

9:00 a.m.	**The City and the Mission of the Church** Speaker: Msgr. Daniel Cantwell, Pastor, St. Clotilde Congregation, Chicago
10:45-12:30 p.m.	Workgroups
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon
3:00-5:00 p.m.	Workgroups
5:15 p.m.	Community Mass
6:15 p.m.	Dinner
8:00 p.m.	**Power and the Institutional Church** Speaker: Rev. Henry Browne, President, Stryckers Bay Community Council, New York

Saturday, August 19

9:00 a.m.	NCCIJ Delegates Meeting
10:45-12:30 p.m.	Workgroups
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon
3:00-5:00 p.m.	Workgroups
5:15 p.m.	Community Mass
6:15 p.m.	Dinner
8:00 p.m.	**The Equal Rights of the Poor** Speaker: George Wiley, Director Poverty/Rights Action Center, Washington, D.C.

Sunday, August 20

8:30 a.m.	Community Mass
9:30 a.m.	Brunch
10:00 a.m.	**Challenge to Change in the Urban Church** Speaker to be announced
12:30 p.m.	NCCIJ Board of Directors Meeting

BACKGROUND PAPERS

For maximum involvement in the conference, background papers will be furnished all participants for their study prior to the opening of the conference in each of the areas of education, employment, housing, health, social welfare, legal services, the special needs of the Spanish-speaking.

Background paper authors include:

Education	Meyer Weinberg, Editor, Integrated Education
Employment	Author to be announced
Housing	Emil Seliga, Director, Department of Urban Services, NCCIJ
Health	Author to be announced
Social Welfare	Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, Columbia University School of Social Work, with Msgr. Thomas Reese, Director, Catholic Social Service, Wilmington, writing supplementary paper for relation to Catholic system
Legal Services	Author to be announced
Special Needs of Spanish-speaking	Author to be announced

WORKGROUPS

Conference participants, furnished in advance with background papers and informed by conference speakers on issues which affect problem areas, will discuss and formulate recommendations and their priorities for an overall action program on the part of the Church in the city. Several workgroups will be organized in each of the problem areas. Please check general area of interest—detailed workgroup breakdown to be announced.

PUBLICATION

Divine Word Publications will issue a paperback book, "The Church and the Urban Racial Crisis," containing the major addresses and background papers of the conference. This publication will provide a stimulating blueprint for action by the Church, its institutions, organizations and members, translating principles into action.

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(includes twin-bedded room for Thurs., Fri., Sat. nights
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registration fee
book—The Church and the Urban Racial Crisis)

$_____ Total enclosed. _____ I will pay at meeting
(Please make check payable to:
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice)

Indicate roommate preference_____

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		_____ Sun. brunch	$2.00

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Workgroup Interest Area (specific workgroups to be announced in each area)

_____ Education _____ Employment _____ Housing _____ Health _____ Social Welfare _____ Legal Services _____ Spanish-speaking

file

Eastern Mennonite Board
of Missions and Charities OAK LANE & BRANDT BLVD., SALUNGA, PA. 17538 • PHONE 717/898-2251 • CABLE "MENMISSION"

January 8, 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

On behalf of Donald Kraybill, Darrell Baer, and myself, I would like to express appreciation to you for the opportunity to visit with you in your office several weeks ago representing Mennonite Voluntary Service. It was very interesting for us to sit down and chat with you to discover if there are ways our organization can work with you.

It is certainly evident that there are many needs in the Atlanta and surrounding areas in the State of Georgia and other southern states. We are not sure exactly how our program might work with some of these needs. This was, however, a good beginning and a good insight for us.

Should you want to get in touch with someone from our organization locally, feel free to get in touch with Mr. Darrell Baer, 690 Bolton Road, Atlanta, Georgia.

Thank you again for taking time from your busy schedule to chat with us. Best wishes for your organization in 1968.

Sincerely,

VOLUNTARY SERVICE AND I-W OFFICE

Leon Stauffer

Leon Stauffer
Director

LS:agm

cc: Darrell Baer

file

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

January 9, 1968

Dr. John Spiegel, Director
Lemberg Study of Violence
Brandeis University
415 South Street, Waltham
Boston, Massachusetts 02154

Dear Dr. Spiegel:

I read the enclosed story in the NEW YORK TIMES with a great deal of interest. Your study on the 218 racial disturbances occurring in 1967 will no doubt prove valuable, and I should very much like to have a copy.

One serious flaw that I see is in going only to police chiefs for corroboration of newspaper accounts (which in themselves might be misleading). The police chiefs, of course, have a vested interest in the operations of their departments and are responsible to currently elected officials. This is not to categorically condemn the operation of police departments; but in my experience, especially in the South the policeman's report of what happened is often at great variance with what other observers see.

Might I suggest that, at least on a sampling basis, you solicit the same kind of information from state and city councils on human relations, state commissions on human relations, state advisory committees to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, from U.S. Civil Rights Commission staff itself, from the American Civil Liberties Union, and in the South from Southern Regional Council.

Another problem to be examined is the attitude of Negroes (and poor whites) toward the police department. Their attitudes, and the attitudes of policemen in dealing with the poor, in my opinion set up situations of conflict.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Sisson

John P. Sisson

bc- Ed Stanfield

N.Y. TIMES

RIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1967

Only 5 of 218 Racial Outbreaks Laid to Agitators

By DAVID BURNHAM

An expert on violence and rioting in the United States said here yesterday that only five of the 218 racial disturbances that occurred in the country in 1967 appeared to have been precipitated by agitators.

He did not disclose where the five incidents caused by agitators took place.

Dr. John Spiegel, director of the Lemberg Study of Violence at Brandeis University, said that friction between the police and Negro slum dwellers appeared to have started about 30 per cent of the disturbances.

Dr. Spiegel, a psychiatrist whose center has been studying riots for the last 18 months, discussed their causes during a session on riots and urban mass violence at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Spiegel said his survey indicated that the 218 disturbances occurred in 184 communities in 1967. He predicted there would be more in 1968.

"I expect we will have more urban violence next year and that this kind of violence will continue until the country learns how to deal with the crisis of racism," he said.

Dr. Spiegel defined the crisis as the "failure of the white people to understand that black people are to be treated as human beings."

The psychiatrist said that 159 of the 218 disturbances could be classified as what he called "real riots."

Discussing the immediate causes of riots, Dr. Spiegel said that confrontations between the police and the community appeared to be the "major precipitating event."

He emphasized, however, that only about 2 per cent of these confrontations appeared to involve police brutality and that the vast majority of them involved normal police practices, including the arrests for criminal offenses.

Dr. Spiegel said that though most riots were sparked by an incident on the streets, a large number of "precipitating events" occurred in such places as schools, parks or at dances.

The psychiatrist said 34 of the 184 communities that had racial disturbances in 1967 had more than one of them. He said four communities had two disturbances, three communities had three and four communities had from four to eight disturbances.

Dr. Spiegel said his survey had been based on an examination of accounts of disturbances published in newspapers. He said the accuracy of these accounts had been checked by writing the police chiefs in the various communities and weighing their responses.

TRAVELING WORKSHOP

FOR OUR TIME IN LANGUAGE OF OUR TIME ABOUT CHALLENGES IN OUR TIME

RACE

POVERTY

ORIGINS OF MAN

POPE JOHN XXIII

"It is not enough to publicize a social doctrine; it must be translated into action. This is particularly true of Christian social doctrine, whose LIGHT IS TRUTH, whose objective is JUSTICE AND WHOSE DRIVING FORCE IS LOVE."

HOW

There will be a concentration on a study of what man is and what kind of world he is trying to live in. What specific issues challenge his humanity or create conflicts, inter-religious tensions, intra-cultural problems in the context of the origins of man. College credit may be given by the college where the workshop is being sponsored.

RESULTS

These activities and experiences should result in greater understanding of youth, and adults, especially regarding social and psychological backgrounds. Sharing in workshop experiences can foster greater understanding of the community and the social milieu of one's apostolate.

WHEN

The workshop will be held for one, three, or five days. Lectures will be enriched by dialog and tours related to the local civic community. Local citizens will be guest lecturers and group leaders during the workshop.

MATERIALS

A film library, paperback collection and special printed materials on inter-group relations will be a part of the workshop. This is a "college faculty on wheels" for the sisters will drive from one part of the country to another where host centers are located. The sisters are from different orders and from different areas of fifty states.

TRUTH:

Cardinal Lawrence Shehan:

"With humility and regret, we Catholics must acknowledge that we have been all-too slow in the correction of our shortcomings, although, in the light of the experiences of our forefathers, we should have been particularly sensitive to the unjust inequalities suffered by other groups. For this reason, we have a special obligation to place ourselves in the forefront of movements to remove the injustices and discriminations which still remain."

TRAVELING WORKSHOP IS AFFILIATED WITH LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO

For further information, write to:
Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director
or Sister Mary Peter, S.S.N.D.
Department of Educational Services
THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
1307 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605
Phone 341-1530

THE COLOR OF TRUTH

"First among the rules of governing the relations between states is that of TRUTH. This calls, above all, for the elimination of every trace of racism."

Pope John XXIII

TRAVELING WORKSHOP ON INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

Sponsored by THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE AND

file

YOU?

WHAT

A workshop providing opportunity for the study of human conflict and its resolution, particularly in the field of inter-group relations. The workshop is designed to afford participants the opportunity to acquire insights and techniques for better human relations.

WHO

A traveling group of sisters holding doctorates in history, economics, sociology, anthropology and social psychology will be the teaching personnel.

NCCIJ

INFORMATION ON 'PROJECT EQUALITY'

An Equal Employment Opportunity

Program Service for Religious Institutions

For additional information contact:
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1307 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605
Phone: Area Code 312, 341-1530

INFORMATION ON PROJECT EQUALITY

WHAT IS IT?

Project Equality is a program service of the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice to utilize the hiring and purchasing power of Catholic Church institutions to end employment discrimination in both these institutions and all those firms which supply them with goods and services.

WHY IS IT NEEDED?

Today discrimination has unfortunately become part of the American way of life due to a defect in our education. Therefore, persons and firms practice as much unconscious discrimination as they do of the more overt type. For this reason affirmative actions are required to eliminate discrimination particularly in employment practices.

WHAT ARE AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS?

Affirmative actions are positive steps taken by management to adopt an equal employment opportunity policy and to implement it in their organization. Examples of affirmative actions are:

1) Contacting sources of minority group employees to fill job openings,

2) Communicating the policy of Equal Employment Opportunity to all management echelon, all employees, and particularly to the personnel department,

3) Contacting current sources of new employees and advising them of the firm policy of hiring on a non-discriminatory basis.

HOW MANY AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS ARE THERE?

Basically there are twenty-five affirmative actions, but these are effective in a sequence of time, so that other affirmative actions replace these and are added to them as the total employment picture in the country or a particular area changes.

WHAT AREAS WILL THE PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAM COVER?

Project Equality is designed to overcome employment discrimination in three specific areas:

1) general manufacturing and services,
2) construction, and
3) insurance, banking and real estate, as well as surveying the employment practices of church institutions themselves and eliminating any discrimination.

HOW WILL THE PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAM WORK?

Project Equality is an educative program, and as such it will offer technical assistance to Catholic Church institutions and those firms supplying them with goods and services. This will be done by surveying the employment practices and the personnel rosters of these firms and institutions and compiling progress reports. Evaluations of these reports plus compliance reviews of the institutions will determine what affirmative actions are required to eliminate the discriminatory practices encountered.

HOW WILL THE PROGRAM BE SUPERVISED AND DIRECTED?

The Archbishop has charged the Commission on Human Rights with the responsibility for implementing the program. Eventually a merit employment director will be appointed to conduct compliance reviews of employment practices, and to evaluate the efforts being made to provide equal employment opportunity on the part of firms doing business with Archdiocesan institutions.

IS PROJECT EQUALITY ACTUALLY A CHURCH BOYCOTT?

Project Equality is not a boycott, but rather an affirmative use of the hiring and purchasing power of Catholic institutions to end employment discrimination. Thus these institutions will evaluate bids from suppliers not only on the basis of price, quality and service, but also on the equal employment opportunity policy and practices of the suppliers. Those institutions which provide equality in employment opportunity will be favored over those which do not.

IF SOME FIRMS ARE FAVORED OVER OTHERS, ISN'T THIS A SANCTION OR BOYCOTT?

Catholic Church institutions have a responsibility to spend their funds in a moral manner. If a company received a contract award, because it provided a superior combination of price, quality and service, we would not say that the firm which did not receive this award had been boycotted or suffered from economic sanction. Similarly a preference in purchasing for those firms which offer true equal employment opportunity is also not necessarily a boycott or sanction in regard to other firms.

HAS THIS TYPE OF PROGRAM BEEN EMPLOYED SUCCESSFULLY ELSEWHERE?

The affirmative action concept was first utilized by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity created by executive order of President John F. Kennedy in April, 1961. Since then it has provided the most effective means of opening job opportunities to Negroes and members of other minority groups.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROJECT EQUALITY AND POSSIBLE STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE PROGRAMS?

Project Equality is an educative approach based on a contractual relationship, whereas fair employment practice laws are a punitive approach based on a legal relationship. In the first approach the employer is required to act affirmatively as a pre-condition to entering into a contract. In the latter approach the employer is proscribed from acting negatively under threat of legal sanction.

WHAT OTHER CATHOLIC DIOCESES HAVE ENLISTED SIMILAR PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAMS?

Several other Catholic dioceses have adopted the Project Equality program service being offered by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Many others have it under consideration as do religious orders which operate in many states. The program has been initiated nationally in the St. Louis Archdiocese. Eventually Project Equality will be offered to nearly 1000 Catholic jurisdictions in the United States. For further information contact Mr. Mathew Ahmann or Mr. Thomas Gibbons, Jr.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Employment SERVICES DEPARTMENT bulletin

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

January, 1965

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. / Director of Employment Services

Dear Friend:

Last September the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice announced a new program service for bishops and religious superiors in the field of merit employment. This program service is designed to promote and encourage merit employment practices at the expense of discriminatory practices by all those firms which do business with Roman Catholic Church institutions.

The preparation and execution of this program service was charged to the newly created Employment Services Department of the Conference. The preparatory phase will be completed in the coming month, and in February this new service will be ready for introduction into an initial three dioceses. Later it will be available to other dioceses and religious communities in increasing numbers.

We have named this new program service of the Conference - PROJECT EQUALITY - and hope it will be only one of many fitting responses to Mr. Whitney M. Young's recent book, To Be Equal. Attached is an outline of PROJECT EQUALITY. However, its application will vary according to the different circumstances applicable in a particular diocese or religious community. Your comments on the program service described will be appreciated.

This bulletin has been designed for two purposes: First, to provide those participating in PROJECT EQUALITY with general employment information, facts concerning merit employment, and specific aids in making their own efforts more effective; and second, to inform both participants and interested observers as to the progress of PROJECT EQUALITY through the various Roman Catholic dioceses and religious communities in our country.

We invite you to send us the names and addresses of any persons or organizations whom you believe would be interested in receiving this bulletin in the future.

Sincerely,

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr.

THG:lh
attachment

1307 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605 • Area Code 312—341-1530

572

"All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin."
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

PROJECT EQUALITY

A Program to Utilize the Purchasing Power of Catholic Institutions to Achieve Equality in Employment Opportunity

The largest purchaser of goods and services in the United States is the federal government. In March 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order No. 10925, which created the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This committee, under the Executive Order, had a two-fold purpose -- (1) to base the entire employment practices, including hiring, transfer and promotion, of the federal government and all of its agencies on merit alone, and to eliminate discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin; and, (2) to utilize the tremendous purchasing power of the federal government to bring about nondiscriminatory merit employment practices in all those firms and businesses which did, or wished to do business with the federal government.

This was followed two years later by a second Executive Order, No. 11114, which specified that, where federal funds were being used in private construction projects, all businesses engaged in those projects would also be required to utilize nondiscriminatory merit employment practices. The federal government recognized that it was the moral and constitutional right of every citizen to seek employment and to be employed based on his ability, and that discrimination because of his race, his creed, his color, or his country of origin, denied his natural and constitutional right of equal opportunity.

Aside from the federal government, probably the second largest purchaser of goods and services in the United States is the Roman Catholic Church, through its dioceses, archdioceses, and religious orders. The program, Project Equality, developed by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, provides the methods, tools, techniques and administrative procedures, so that church institutions may lend their moral suasion and economic influence to the moral cause of achieving equal employment opportunity for all of our citizens. It recognizes the moral obligation of the church to act in accordance with its teachings. Religion preached on Sunday must be practiced and applied to our economic endeavors during the rest of the week.

Therefore, to complement "Federal Money for Justice," the Conference proposes to add "Church Money for Justice."

The procedures to be utilized under the Conference program have been adopted from those proven in three and one-half years experience of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Thus the program is a positive and affirmative one, and is properly expressed in words such as, "encourage," "assist," "promote," and "educate." The program, in its direction and in its emphasis, is not negative ... is not punitive ... is not restrictive. It does add a new enlightened dimension to daily affairs in keeping with the spirit of aggiornamento, both within the church and within society in the United States and in the world.

It is a reaffirmation of the Church's role in bringing Christ's teaching of justice and charity to all mankind.

"For, if a man becomes conscious of his rights, he must become equally aware of his duties. Thus he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim those rights as marks of his dignity, while all others have the obligation to acknowledge those rights and respect them."

John XXIII
Pacem in Terris

Where the Conference is invited to assist a diocese or religious community in encouraging the promotion of equal opportunity, it will proceed along the general steps outlined below:

1. A statement of policy regarding merit employment and equal opportunity will be promulgated by the bishop or religious superior, both internally to all members of their own diocese or community, and also externally to the civic community of which they are a part. Naturally, the employment practices of the various diocesan institutions, themselves, would be reviewed at this time.

2. A merit employment director will be appointed by the bishop or religious superior to assist him in administering the program. This director will be instructed and trained in the requisite techniques by the Employment Services Department of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. These are the specific techniques which have been developed and proved effective in the federal program. The director will be selected on the basis of his ability to apply these techniques through good human relations, and also his capability as an efficient administrator.

   After providing the initial training, the Employment Services Department of the Conference will continue to act in an advisory and consultant capacity, to coordinate work of the various merit employment directors, to provide regular information, and to hold an annual refresher course and workshops at the yearly convention of the National Catholic Conference.

3. The bishop or religious superior will inform by letter all those companies with which the diocese or religious order does business, of the moral commitment and consequent requirement of practice of merit employment and equal opportunity in all of their future business transactions. It will specify, furthermore, that where church money is spent, selection of a supplier will be based, not only on the material considerations of price, quality and ability to deliver, but also on the moral consideration of the merit employment policy of the supplier.

4. To assist the diocese or religious community in determining the merit employment practices of those firms with which they deal, the practices of such firms themselves, as interpreted in affirmative actions, will be the criteria. A list of such affirmative actions will be supplied in the letter of policy statement. Examples of such affirmative actions are:

   a. Sending letters to all employment services of the company advising that they will hire on the basis of merit alone, and therefore wish to interview qualified candidates regardless of race, creed, or color; and,

   b. Contacting sources of minority group workers when they have imminent job openings.

   Those firms which are already utilizing such affirmative practices, and those firms which agree to implement those practices will be asked to notify the bishop or religious superior to that effect.

5. As proof of good faith, these companies subsequently will be asked to return to the diocese or religious order a form which will classify their working force by race, and will break it down according to job category ... from executive through professional and technical, down to supervisory, clerical, skilled and unskilled. Furthermore, a similar report will be required periodically. These forms will provide the basis for the work of the merit employment director, and will assist him in keeping the bishop or religious superior informed as to the progress of the positive merit employment programs of these companies. They will also furnish a basis for evaluation of the effectiveness of the diocesan equal employment opportunity policy in succeeding years.

6. Every occasion will be utilized to give laudatory publicity to those firms which have outstanding merit employment policies and practices; in particular, announcements of the awards of new contracts will be made, indicating the merit employment practices of the company as a contributing factor.

The program will work in conjunction with other organizations involved in the equal employment field wherever possible. This will first of all avoid inefficiency and duplication. For example, where a firm is already submitting a similar breakdown based on the adoption of similar affirmative action practices to a federal, state, county or local jurisdition, a copy of such report may be sent to the diocese or religious order.

Furthermore, one of the functions of a merit employment director will be to furnish sources of minority group workers in his community, so as to be able to provide this information to those firms cooperating in the program. This means the director will establish contact with civil rights groups as well as businessmen in the minority group communities.

The experience of the federal government, after three and one-half years of its program, indicates that the business community, particularly the enlightened business community, is primarily concerned not with the question of whether or not they will be merit employers, but rather how to go about implementation of a merit employment policy. Furthermore, in those firms not so concerned at this time, the factors of unconscious discrimination or inertia in implementing such a program are primary, and these factors will respond most readily to a merit employment policy on the part of Catholic institutions. It has been said, only half facetiously, that the color of integration in business is green. Through proper approach, application of effective human relations techniques, and efficient follow-up methods, the affirmative action program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has achieved significant success in providing thousands of new job opportunities with minimal friction.

Because the program of the federal government involves millions of contracts and thousands of contractors, their compliance program today is reaching primarily large and diversified concerns. It is anticipated that the program of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice will reach smaller companies, either those

not covered under one of the federal executive orders, or else on a level not reached by the compliance review system of the federal government's program.

Finally, other independent actions in this field are underway. For example, the program of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, which is utilizing the economic resources of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious institutions to promote equal employment opportunity, and the program of the United Church of Christ, to utilize its purchasing power to promote merit employment, and also to apply its investment and banking power to the same end. Subsequent to the inauguration of a merit employment program in a particular diocese or religious community, the Conference hopes to seek involvement with other faiths and communities in the same area.

America Magazine, the Jesuit weekly, has called the Conference program "Church Money for Justice" as noted above. It is furthermore, a reaffirmation of the second Commandment, by its expression of concern for our fellow citizens, and is a modern witness to the promise that we are our brothers' keeper.

* * *

> "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity - to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him - this, seeker, is the promise of America."
>
> Thomas Wolfe

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Employment SERVICES DEPARTMENT bulletin

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

April, 1965

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. / Director of Employment Services

"Moreover, the Church, entering the life of the people, is not nor does she consider herself to be an institution which is imposed from outside."

John XXIII, Mater et Magistra

TRUTH - LOVE - JUSTICE

The Affirmative Approach to Eradication of Discrimination in Employment

Announcement of the new program service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice last September to eliminate discrimination in employment was headlined by some news media as "Catholic Boycott," and since then some writers have used terms such as "economic sanction," "purchasing power club," and others. In truth, PROJECT EQUALITY is none of these. To understand better how PROJECT EQUALITY works it is first necessary to understand how discrimination operates in employment. Probably as many businesses discriminate unconsciously today as do those which discriminate knowingly and purposefully. Even then many firms which consciously discriminate do so not out of hatred or particular dislike for minority group persons, as do so out of fear of venturing into the unknown, out of lack of imagination and executive reluctance to accept the challenge of change, out of sheer procrastination and failure to assign this vital area of personnel management the priority which it should have on today's business world.

Discrimination exists today due to a deficiency in our education, due to bad habits learned over many years, due to unreasoning fears in dark corners of the mind which have never been subject to logical scrutiny in the light of the truth. Without some positive steps on our part, therefore, employment discrimination will cling to our way of life like many another out-dated and long since disproved theory which has not been rectified through education.

Truth, therefore, through education is the real goal of PROJECT EQUALITY, not punishment. And education through analysis and association and experience are the tools of PROJECT EQUALITY, not "boycott" or "sanction" or "force-feeding." There is really nothing coercive about PROJECT EQUALITY, but it is true that nothing can be taught a student who will not come to class, and therefore no diploma can be awarded.

A premise of PROJECT EQUALITY is that church institutions have an obligation to spend their money in a moral manner. Firms which practice rigid discrimination injure the economy as a whole, perpetuate false notions in the minds of their employees, and pose a problem to church jurisdictions which are not willing to use their purchasing power to enforce discriminatory

practices. Employment discrimination, according to the Catholic bishops of the United States, is morally wrong. Employment discrimination, according to the laws of the United States, is legally wrong. In this context, church institutions which adopt PROJECT EQUALITY come forth as adherents to constitutional laws, as practitioners of moral law, and as teachers of the right and the good which is their proper role.

There have been two principal approaches to combat employment discrimination in the past twenty-five years. One, which might be termed "legislative", posits a law against such discrimination, and then imposes penalties against those found to have violated this law within its jurisdiction. The second approach developed in 1961 might be called "educative." In this approach a person or other entity which did not wish to enforce discriminatory practices through the use of their purchasing power, claimed their moral and legal right to spend this money where they saw fit, and to judge the product or service offered not only on the basis of price and quality, but also on the basis of how it was made. Those firms which dealt in child-labor, for example, could not expect to be considered when a decision was reached as to where to spend one's money.

The educative and creative part of this second approach, however, was supplied by the purchaser through the medium of technical assistance to the seller as to how to correct those deficiencies in the product which made it "non-competitive." In doing so the buyer spent his time and efforts to assist the seller to learn the up-to-date methods which would benefit his own business as well as the total economy.

Finally, the result of the second approach was the re-education of the seller and its employees, resulting in their gradually changed attitudes and in the eradication of discrimination in their ideas about their fellow men, as well as in their practices towards them.

PROJECT EQUALITY, a program service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, was developed for Catholic Church jurisdictions in the U.S., and is based on love of our fellow man -- be he a minority group member or one who holds an attitude and practices a policy which is un-Christian, illegal and immoral. If we witness our brother being attacked, we have an obligation to protect and assist him, and then a further obligation to those who have attacked him to teach Christ's love for all men. This is the approach and the purpose of PROJECT EQUALITY -- and in keeping with the teaching of Christ -- there can be no other approach for those institutions which would carry on His work among men.

* * * *

"One cannot be a saint and live the Gospel we preach without spending himself to provide everyone with the housing, employment, food, leisure, education... without which life is no longer human."

Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard
(The Church Today -- Growth or Decline?)
1960

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Employment SERVICES DEPARTMENT bulletin

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

December, 1965

Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr. / Director of Employment Services

"We seek to work ... in brotherhood in bringing the goal of true human brotherhood to all of our citizens. We have faith in the positive response of our enlightened business community to the challenges of promoting affirmative actions, so that employment opportunities will be made equal. Together we can accomplish much for the good of all."

Board of Directors
Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit

* * *

PROJECT EQUALITY EXPANDS TO INTERRELIGIOUS PROGRAM IN DETROIT

On December 16, 1965 the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit, and the Detroit Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches joined with the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit to initiate the first interreligious PROJECT EQUALITY program in the United States. Each of the four religious bodies nominated three directors to a governing board of a new corporate entity to be known as PROJECT EQUALITY OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT. The directors then met and elected officers for a one-year term. Chosen for the dual position of president and board chairman was Reverend Robert A. Hoppe, who is Executive Secretary of the Commission on Race and Cultural Unity of the Detroit Council of Churches. Mr. John Shepherd of the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit was named legal advisor to the board and corporate secretary. Very Rev. Thomas Ruffin, President of the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches, was named vice-president, and Father James J. Sheehan of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese was elected treasurer. The four denominational groups then pledged to contribute predetermined shares to an annual budget to house, staff, and supply administrative offices for the new corporation.

* * *

"Project Equality will not only permit us to have a moral commitment alone, but will enable us to act as well."

Very Rev. Thomas Ruffin, President
Detroit Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches

FIRST RELIGIOUS MERIT EMPLOYMENT DIRECTOR IN PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAM APPOINTED.

Mr. Launbural W. Spriggs, Detroit resident and businessman, was appointed staff director of PROJECT EQUALITY OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT at a press conference held at the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit on December 16th. Mr. Spriggs thus becomes the first full-time professional employed locally by religious bodies in the United States to assist them in eliminating discrimination from their own employment practices and to perform similar services for their suppliers of goods and services. The Protestant, Jewish, Orthodox, and Catholic denominations underwriting the program thus will rely on the efforts and evaluations of Mr. Spriggs' office to help them determine where millions of dollars of purchasing of goods and supplies should or should not be spent in the coming years. Mr. Spriggs' offices and staff will be located at 305 Michigan Avenue, Detroit. He will report directly to the executive committee of officers of the governing board of PROJECT EQUALITY OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT.

* * *

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY COMMENDS PROJECT EQUALITY PROGRAM

The Vice-President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey, has commended the religiou jurisdictions and the many Roman Catholic Archbishops who have joined in the national PROJECT EQUALITY program to date. In telegrams to the various denominational heads, the Vice-President has stated as follows:

To Archbishop John F. Dearden of Detroit:
"Let me congratulate you and the Archdiocese of Detroit for announcing the PROJECT EQUALITY program. Your commitment to promote equal employment opportunity with all persons doing business with the archdiocese is a major step forward in this nation's effort to make available the blessings of our land to all persons regardless of race, color or creed."

To Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien of Hartford:
"This addition to the growing network of PROJECT EQUALITY programs throughout America is a proud testament of a church with a social conscience and a people determined to make equal job treatment a fact and not just a theory."

* * *

"Through PROJECT EQUALITY we hope to alert each pastor and layman to our divine obligation to work with God in his effort to see that our creeds may become deeds and that our pronouncements may progressively become incarnations."

Rev. Joseph L. Roberts, President
Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches

"Project Equality gives us a means of concrete fulfillment of the injunction of the prophet Isaiah of almost 2,000 years ago, who said, 'Justice, justice, shalt thou pursue.'"

Dr. Samuel Krohn, President
Jewish Community Council of Detroit

* * *

ELEVEN RELIGIOUS JURISDICTIONS IN FOUR STATES NOW PARTICIPATE IN PROJECT EQUALITY -- MORE TO BE ANNOUNCED SOON.

During 1965 the following religious jurisdictions made an initial three-year commitment to implement the PROJECT EQUALITY program service for equal employment opportunity. Also shown are the dates on which the program was announced.

Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Louis	May 6, 1965
Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit	May 13, 1965
Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio	Aug. 12, 1965
Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford	Nov. 18, 1965
Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches	Dec. 16, 1965
Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit	Dec. 16, 1965
Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches	Dec. 16, 1965
Episcopal Diocese of Michigan	Dec. 16, 1965
Presbytery of Detroit	Dec. 16, 1965
Methodist Churches of Detroit	Dec. 16, 1965
United Church of Christ in Detroit	Dec. 16, 1965

All of the above jurisdictions will ultimately work together with many more participating religious denominations across the country in a nationwide program. Coordination on a national basis will emanate from the Employment Services Department of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

* * *

ATTACHMENT -- FROM THE SAN ANTONIO NEWS-EXPRESS

Attached is a feature article from the Sunday San Antonio News-Express of October 3, 1965, describing the involvement of Father Sherrill Smith, coordinator for the PROJECT EQUALITY program in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio.

* * *

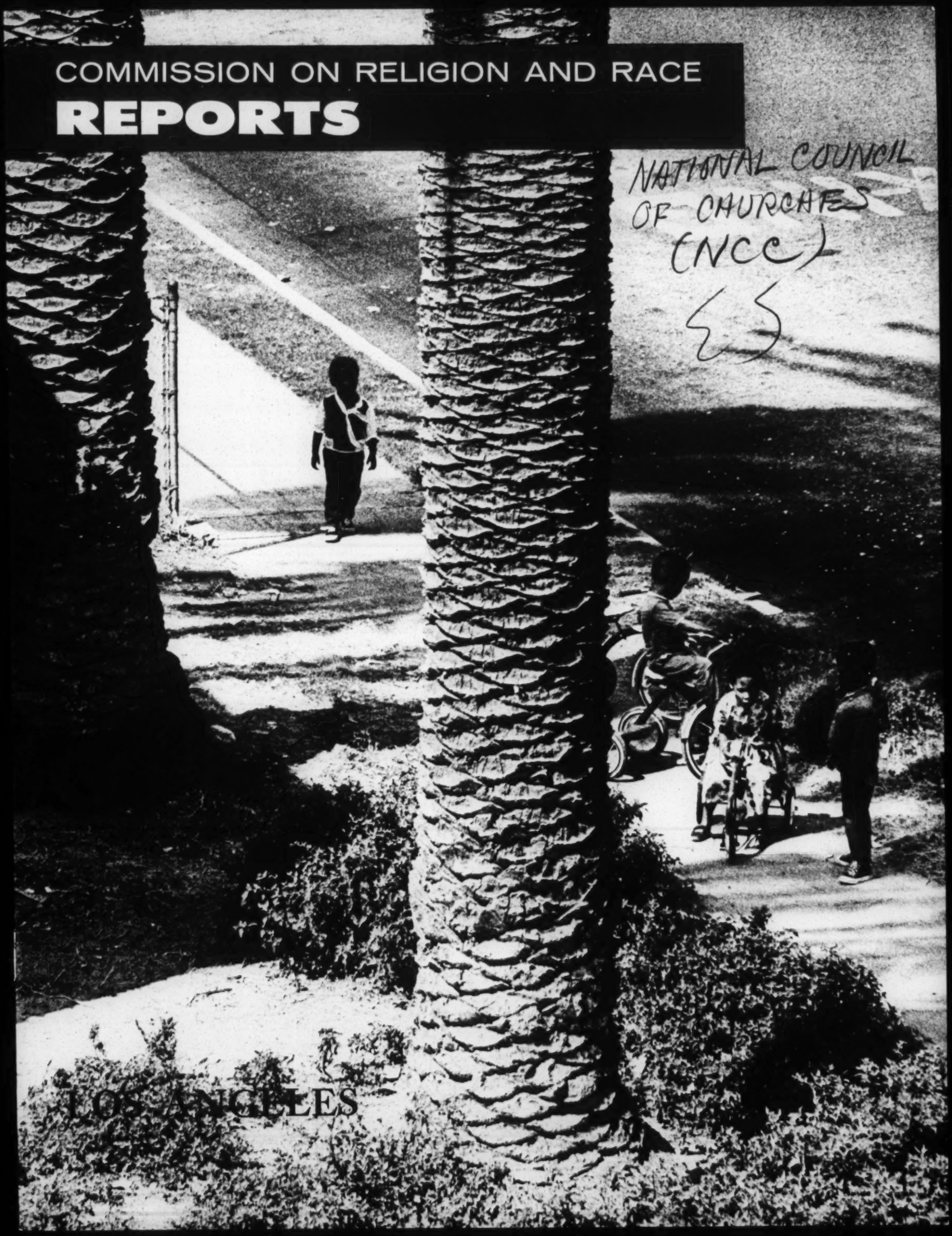
"Today we are preaching a significant sermon. The fact that the whole religious community of the Detroit area is the first to join together in the effort under PROJECT EQUALITY is an indication of our ecumenical maturity.

John F. Dearden
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Detroit

COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE

REPORTS

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (NCC)



LOS ANGELES

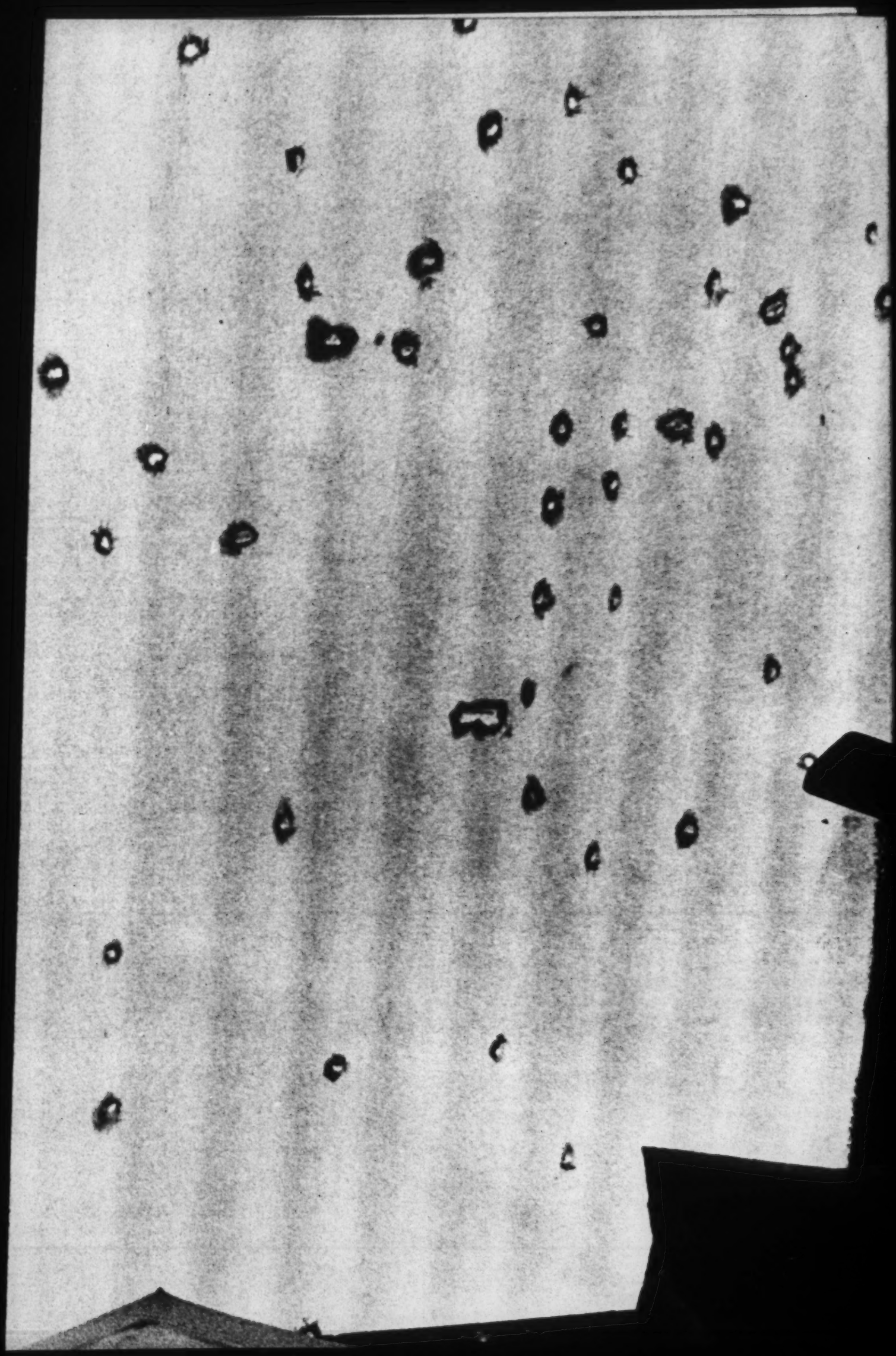
THE FIRE THIS TIME

A post mortem on a riot is impossible to write. The statistics are overwhelming. The crisis, literal and in the minds of men, which created the statistics is overwhelming. Prophets are a dime a dozen; a path to the sun and back could be paved with newsprint. We are in a veritable paroxysm of self-analysis.

One heard in Los Angeles a considerable amount of trash about how well everybody got along with everybody's maid. Fine. It is time now to talk to the Molotov cocktail lighter, not just the domestic. (Incidentally, the maid may have a good bit more to say than you have any idea.) It is time for a man to protest when his street is swept but another man's is not. It is time to insist on places at the council tables for "the least of these"—there is the chance, after all, that the demonic is articulate and wise. It is a time to get a noseful of oppression. It is a time to imagine what it might be like not to have a room to go to, to have a door to slam shut against whatever-it-is. It is a time to learn how you face today and tomorrow and tomorrow when there is no job.

We search for keys, but the door is already open. Michael Harrington said it: "If it is indeed a terrible thing that the people of Watts have spoken their manifesto as they did—and it is—then remember that it was the only way they could get anybody to listen." The voice of the oppressed has been heard, this time in the land of the palm tree. Los Angeles, Harlem, who will say where in the future—all ask: "Which side are you on, boy, which side are you on?"

View from the window



THEY SAID IT COULDN'T BE DONE—HERE

Los Angeles was, altogether, in a kind of sociological accident ward in the weeks after the rioting. Social scientists, officials, seers, the wise, the foolish, everybody gathered around the battered body, probing wounds, recalling past diagnoses, issuing prescriptions. An injection of money was ordered, and the hope was that the patient could be slapped on the back and sent home to recuperate. The patient protested that he needed operation after operation and more operations still, plus constant care and feeding and cleaning, plus a round-the-clock vigil. People smiled a little nervously. Too much talk about sickness isn't good.

The picture through the bullet-riddled window was taken from the second floor of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam No. 27, on Broadway just south of 56th Street, in Los Angeles August 19, about 36 hours after the police sacked the place. The helmeted men in the background are National Guardsmen; the man on his hunkers is a captain. A Guardsman is shown snapping the captain's picture. The sun was high that afternoon. It was, definitely, a good day for taking pictures.

It would be wrong to say, on the weekend after the Los Angeles riots of 1965, that it was holiday, tourist business-as-usual for all the city. Nerves were still frayed, even if there were the distractions of preseason football and three major league baseball games. It would not have been, in all probability, a good idea for Police Chief William H. Parker to go down to Watts. National Guard troops, earnest kids with out-sized helmets and bayonet-fixed rifles, patrolled the streets, like extras from a movie lot. It was a time of name-calling. Governor Brown said Chief Parker's statements ("We are on top and they are on the bottom" is a good example) were very, very unfortunate. Martin Luther King, Jr., said Chief Parker should resign. The police chief told the American Legion the country faced destruction unless there was respect for law and order. Mayor Sam Yorty attacked Sargent Shriver as responsible for the clogged War on Poverty pipeline. Shriver said the mayor's remarks were intemperate and questioned the mentality of the mayor, the police chief and others toward the poor. The mayor, grabbing a hay-fork himself, assailed the governor for making political hay with the McCone investigating commission. Both the mayor and the police chief blamed the State Highway Patrol for mishandling the original arrest. Whites said responsibility went with rights. A columnist on L.A.'s afternoon paper said the rioters were "depraved" (surely as off-the-mark, yet pernicious, as any adjective used) while others went hunting for "responsible" Negro leaders, the implication being that there must be *someone* acceptable to talk to, would he just step forward, please? Negroes loosed a hurricane of bitterness at the police chief and white merchants who peddle third-grade meat at premium prices. Everybody accused everybody else of hogging the TV cameras. It was a time when one baseball player slugging another with a bat still made people nervous about race.

Los Angeles blew up August 11, not in the choking squalor of Harlem but against a backdrop of hibiscus, oleander, lemon trees, broad boulevards, neat lawns and, for the first time, terrible flame. The box score was three dozen dead (since most were Negroes, it is difficult to sustain the thesis that the riot was purely a racial assault by black against white, without the overtones of class upheaval; the point is that "whitey" must solve the jobs problem and forget the race thing), some 900 wounded, more than 4,000 arrested, nearly 1,000 buildings burned and/or pillaged and $50 million in damage. L.A.'s was the third most murderous outbreak in this country in the 20th Century, ranking behind only the 1917 East St. Louis, Illinois, and 1919 Chicago killing. By any standard of chaos, Los Angeles is the national champion of modern times.

The person who broke the first window pulled the trigger, but what went into the explosion itself? Police excesses, beginning with crude forms of address, unemployment which staggers up over the 30-percent mark, infamous Proposition 14, an off-limits sign, if not fact, to prospective house hunters, the great expectations unfulfilled in the glamor capital of the universe—each contributed.

Here is the post-riot analysis of the situation by a knowledgeable observer, Paul Weeks, of the Los Angeles *Times*:

"1. Widespread disorder, suppressed only at military gunpoint, could erupt again unless remedial measures besides force are soon forthcoming.

2. Mistrust and disrespect between elements of law enforcement and the stricken community—the law-abiding as well as the law-breaker—are unabated, or worsened, by any dialogue in the aftermath.

3. Latent bigotry, within unsophisticated white population tending to blame the whole Negro race for the violence, increases the peril of racial incidents community-wide—similarly, from those Negroes who blame on 'whitey' rather than the social structure in which all are participant.
4. Most of Los Angeles, self-deluded, opened its doors as a haven for the oppressed Southern Negro—then unknowingly or insensitively locked him into another closet of frustration and despair.
5. The civil rights movement, middle-class oriented here, failed the truly poverty-stricken. It lost leadership when the general community did not heed warnings that advocates of non-violent protest, lacking highly visible successes, would be repudiated.
6. The rioting was by no means a conscious civil rights protest but an emotional explosion that swept erstwhile orderly citizens into mob lawlessness.
7. Unplanned, the uprising was seized upon in its early hours both by bigots fanning black supremacy flames and hoodlum gang depredators.
8. Its duration and high cost in life and property stemmed in part from tactical difficulties—guerrilla fighting against scattered pockets of resistance, which were mobile because even the poorest drive cars here in the absence of efficient public transport.
9. Root causes of human neglect were abetted by specifics: Disillusionment over collapse of the anti-poverty program; a feeling, right or wrong, that in passing Prop. 14, whites were posting a 'keep out' sign on their neighborhoods.
10. A law enforcement incident and hot weather triggered the loaded gun. The inquiry panel appointed by Gov. Brown must search out the truth in painstaking detail, regardless of political backfire."

C. Vann Woodward put the L.A. riot into the national perspective in this way:

In judging the progress of a revolution, much depends on whether the bottle is seen as half full or half empty; whether one concentrates on what has been done or what remains to be done. . . . [The] Negro is now measuring his advance, not by what he once was, *but by what the white man now* is*; not by outgrown scarcity but by surrounding abundance; not by old expectations, but by new possibilities.*

Some $1.7 million in anti-poverty funds were pumped into the area for riot recovery, and a highly-questionable compromise was worked out to take the wraps off $29 million in O. E. O. program money (the riot cost twice as much as the L.A. War on Poverty will). A Presidential task force hurried out to the Coast. And Southern California's churches banded together to form a Commission on the Church and Race.

It took a riot to get Los Angeles this far. Its future course is undetermined. There is no reason to expect a miracle, even at a cost of 36 lives; no top city official went to Watts in the crucial post-riot days, which makes one wonder what kind of hearing aid is needed.

And they said it couldn't be done. . . .

WATTS

Watts and its immediate neighbors in South Los Angeles are the port of entry to the West Coast for Dixie's Negroes. Just how busy the port has been in the post-World War II era is shown in census figures: for 1950, about 170,000 Negroes in the city; for June 30, 1965, about 420,000. The housing isn't what Harlemites are accustomed to, but four times as many people live in L.A.'s "Black Channel" as in the rest of the area (a palm tree is *really* an inadequate fringe benefit). Unemployment engulfs about a third of the population. Everybody can vote, of course, and the lunch counters are open; L.A. takes considerable pride in pointing this out. Yet there is so little communication, so much mistrust, that John A. Buggs, a Georgian who has been at the helm of the L.A. County Human Relations Commission for 14 years and ought to know, doubts whether more than two percent of South L.A.'s Negroes would emigrate, even if they had the money.

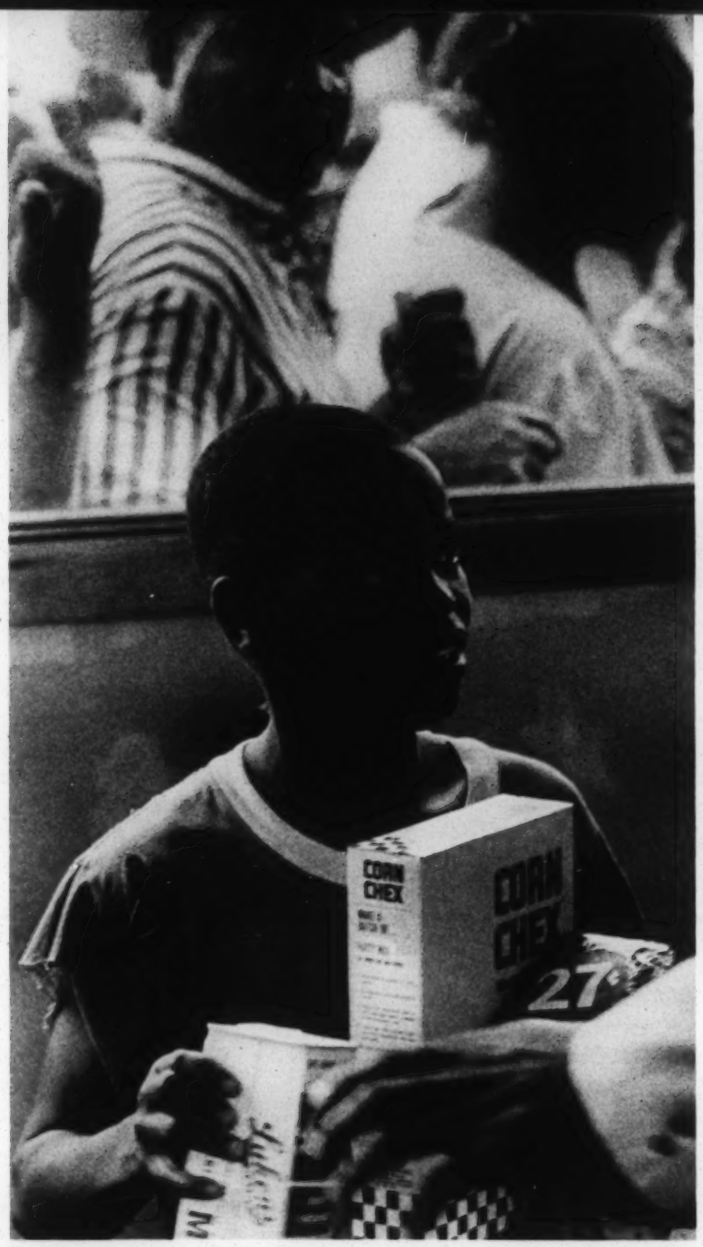
All this came abruptly and terribly apart with a simple arrest the night of August 11. A week later, on the first day of the armistice, visitors took a close look at that part of the city that somehow had always ended up on the cutting-room floor.

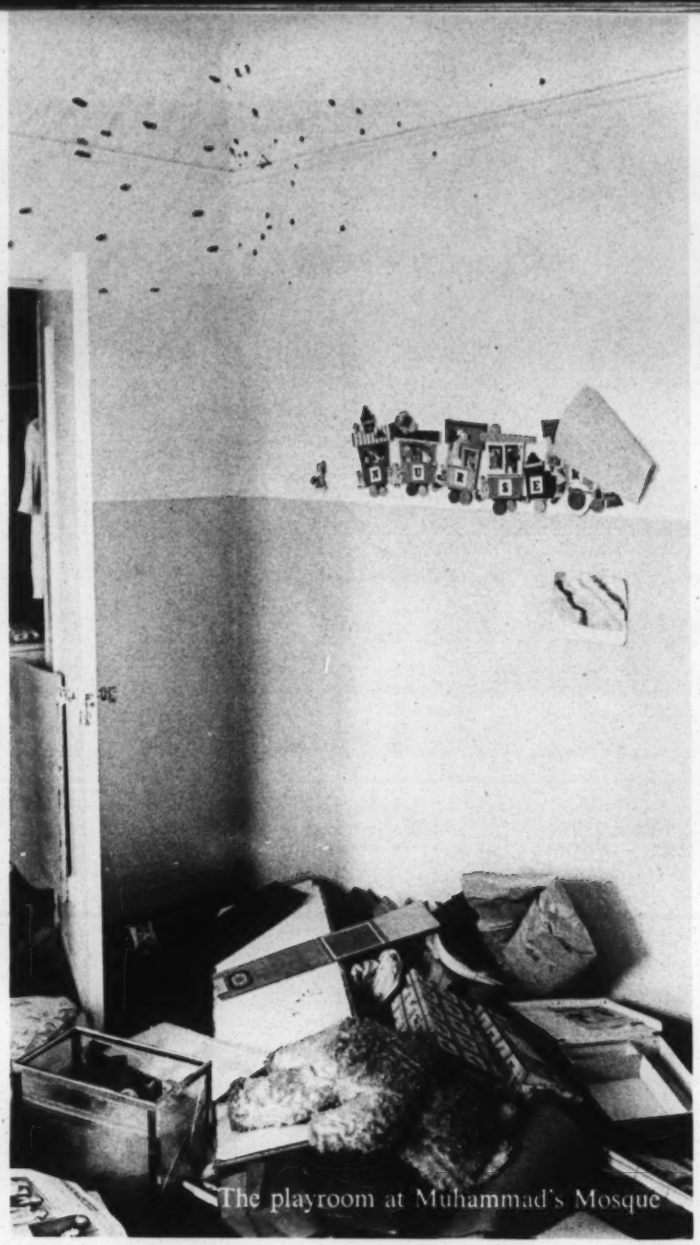
The Bank of America on Central Avenue, one of the spines of Watts, was intact, but the market across the street from it was gutted by fire. Blackened walls and listing roof signs pocked other corners. The city's branch library was untouched, but the Department of Power and Water had lost its glass face. A warehouse outlet was interesting; its huge plate window was gone, but appliances stood just inside, as though business had never been interrupted. Industrial sites were spared, as were the shops with "Negro owned and operated" sprayed on in white paint. But for the white entrepreneur it had been burn, baby, burn. The rubble of glass in front of clothing stores and markets and yellow-helmeted workmen testified to this.

To the west, on Main Street around 67th and 68th, there are rows of square cement blockhouses. Between them are alleys so narrow the sun couldn't get into dry the clothes hung on the lines. Women are talking in knots; they look up as the car passes. One wonders whether the women are herded into the blockhouses every night. The concrete pens are the only ones seen. In the next block or so, there are the stucco homes in pastel shades, the lawns and the straight, towering palms.

Muhammad's Mosque stands at 5606 S. Broadway. It was a neat two-story structure as recently as midnight August 17. Two hours later, however, the police stormed the temple, pouring a reported 500 rounds into the building. (Nobody was hit by bullets, however.) By actual check, the only room at—or near—the front of the Muslim headquarters to escape flying lead was a bathroom. A man is digging slugs out of the plaster. The police used everything but bazookas, it seemed. The interior—basement, ground floor and upper floor—have been methodically reduced to a shambles. A large pot of beans, cooked, is dumped out of a refrigerator; it could have hidden a small pistol. Two TV sets have been plugged, right through the forehead. Racked suits have been slashed. A mimeograph machine is wrecked. On a new typewriter, the "j" is bent at right angles. There was a fire in the basement. On the first floor, in the main hall, a smashed clock is on its back; its hands point to 1:39, the time of the raid.

John Shabazz, the Muslim credited with carrying so much weight in Watts, is out, and nobody else will talk. The sentinels at the door are as silent as drugstore Indians and as impassive. There is only one exchange in 45 minutes. Before the white visitors leave, one probes for




The playroom at Muhammad's Mosque

contact with a Muslim, remarking, "They really did a good job, didn't they?" The reply: "Yes, you really did."

Words are superfluous. The whole bit is tacked up on the wall of the nursery. There, in red, blue and green, is pinned a paper train, each car bearing a letter in the word "nursery." There is a white child in each car of the paper nursery train on the wall, and the face of each white child is crayoned brown or black.

It is during this visit that the four National Guardsmen make their brief appearance.

Over on 103rd Street and Success (correct) Avenue, the community building at lovely Will Rogers Park is being converted into a depot. Perhaps 100 women and children file slowly inside where a nine-member team of County Bureau of Public Assistance workers is filling out food-requisition forms. The supervisor, Miss Peggy Smith, slender, attractive, harassed, talks between phone calls. The Salvation Army is sending food, so there will be no more emergency grocery orders. As it was, the limit was five days; a family of 14 people could expect a maximum $43.85. Peggy Smith acknowledges the agency is a little late, since the real food crisis passed the weekend before.

Outside, the two Guardsmen stand at ease in an archway, bayonets fixed to gun muzzles. They are protecting the park-turned-campsite from the women and children, apparently. "If everything goes OK," says one Guard who works for the state and seems to be moonlighting, the troops will be out over the weekend. Everything was OK, it turned out, but the troops stayed in town for another week anyway. It is hard to imagine the bright kids in the food line assaulting the Guardsmen; it is hard, too, to imagine the friendly Guard pointing that M-1 in earnest.

A few paces away, two men in Guard fatigues and a Negro man talk. Verbal souvenirs of a riot. Chatting, yet a moment ago, enemies, afraid.

Around 104th Street and Compton Avenue, there is the Hacienda Village, a project of 184 one-story units built in 1942. Mrs. Una Green, a handsome woman who is the manager, is proud as punch of the Village and its people. The grass is clipped, workmen are putting up a wire fence around a paved area and in one building, teenagers who operate a canteen are running "The Bowery

After the riot

Boys Meet the Monsters" for the sunsuit set. There are no Cokes in the machine; someone says the distributor was afraid to come. "Nobody bothers to turn around and take a picture here," Mrs. Green complains, surveying her domain.

On Beach Street, a block from the 103rd Street main drag, is one of the few visible forms of the church—Westminster Neighborhood Association, Inc. Westminster is a community center, canteen and information office most of the time. That afternoon, it is a distribution point for wooden boxes bearing the legend, "Medical Emergency Supplies, Property of Los Angeles," and cartons of evaporated milk. There is a gaggle of people, upstairs and down; the switchboard buzzes constantly. In an office at the back, executive Archie W. Hardwick, 31 but looking 10 years older, talks between interruptions. He points out the window to the spot where a pregnant woman was fatally bayoneted. He is a Presbyterian from Chicago and holds a Master's in social work.

"Just call me plain old Archie from now on. Social work is out after last week. The problems that exist are going to require a different approach. ADC is out, mental health, all the traditional bureaucratic approaches to helping people are out. The basic problem is economic, which requires educational programs, massive redevelopment, better housing. . . ." He ticks off a list of things, watching for the high sign that the governor, for whom everybody has been waiting for hours, has come. The governor has promised to visit Watts; it is late afternoon, and he has not come, as expected, to Westminster (he never got there, although he made a quick trip later to Rogers Park). But Archie Hardwick waits and waits. A minister sticks his head in the door, says he saw the governor in a hotel lobby four hours before and learned that the governor wasn't coming. A young woman blisters the minister for not passing the information along, and he leaves, closing the door very softly.

"Everyone wants to know what's the Negro problem," an irate man on the street says. "Everyone is an individual. I've got to know your individual experience." Ex-convict, out of work, he, too, was waiting for the governor. Equal rights, police brutality, discrimination

at the meat counter, a litany. "The Negroes are trying to find their home," he says.

"I don't know why" the chili store behind Westminster was burned to the ground, another man says, "but if I *had, it was because of the white owner. Accomplished more in a week than they (meaning the people in the South) did in a year." It was not a call to arms, simply an after-the-fact observation. Maybe now "something will happen."*

A Baptist preacher took his card out ("Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord," it said) and began a diatribe based on 24 years in Watts. He crossly brushed aside the other talk as trash. "We've got to start from now." That meant Negro kids had to stay in school, to learn skills and keep jobs and support families, to develop personal pride. It also meant the management—white—of a nearby supermarket had to take some soap and water or something to the floor of the store. The concrete was black with dirt, the sawdust at the meat counter ancient. "Don't this make you sick? That guy is so busy making money he don't have time to mop the floors," he said disgustedly. He stalked down and up the aisles and out into what was left of the sun as fast as he could go.

"Everything they say about the police is true and then some," the minister said. He said the law went "shopping for tickets," framed the kids so that "65 percent of them have records and are ruined before they're 21." He also believed the riots were a city plot, explaining that the arrest of the week before was part of a conspiracy to make Los Angeles look so bad that the Federal government would *have* to pour money in. It was a theory not heard elsewhere. Wrong or right, it was part of one man's thinking. There was nobody from the city to tell him he was wrong. The black preacher said that "unless they reach in here and get a man a job. . . ." He didn't say what would happen.

At Westminster again, Chief Parker came in for some more target practice. So did the ministers, who "wouldn't come down because they were so busy deciding who would be on television." The governor was over at Rogers Park by this time, but nobody at Westminster knew it. They were still waiting.

Presbyterian official Dr. Carroll L. Shuster addresses churchmen, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (foreground)

Exactly two weeks after the Los Angeles riots began, Southern California had a Commission on the Church and Race, put together by top churchmen on an emergency footing. The Rev. James C. Moore, of the staff of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, took part in the preliminary discussions. His report follows:

TOWARD THE NEW CITY

Southern California has been called a "land of promise." The bright sunshine, the palm trees, rushing freeways, carefully manicured residential sections and teeming business districts all seem to support this illusion. After World War II, millions of people poured into the area, particularly around Los Angeles, looking for new opportunity and a new life. The veneer of success and affluence covers the California Southland.

And the churches share this veneer. The denominations have been busily building new structures to house potential worshipers in the burgeoning population. Contemporary architects are designing contemporary buildings for this most contemporary culture. One gets the feeling that the churches belong to this world, this land of promise, perhaps too much.

Thousands of Negroes came to Los Angeles after World War II, believing in the promised land. Most came from the South, where hope had been killed, to this new Southland of the West where they were led to believe that hope could be resurrected again. And here we may have one of the main reasons for the outburst of violence. What other recourse can a man take when his hopes have been raised only to be shattered again? The residents of Watts turned it into a wasteland, but they only added new wreckage to the accumulated debris of shattered dreams and blasted illusions. Whatever the reasons for the riot in Watts, it did serve the purpose of shaking up the white community and its leaders to a degree never achieved before. We heard again and again expressions of shock and horror but, even more, declarations of real surprise. It seemed that almost everyone, and this was particularly true of church leaders, did not realize that they had such a time bomb in their midst.

One bishop, at a public meeting, said that the explosion had come to him "as a bolt from the blue." At the same time, he set the mood for many church leaders by confessing his own insensitivity and assuming his share of responsibility for allowing this to happen. We did not hear churchmen mouthing the usual cliches of white liberals who have been put to the test. Some congregations, including Woodland Hills Methodist Church, began to provide food and other relief supplies even while the riot was going on. They began to look for other ways to serve during the crisis, and more than that, proceed to deal with the problems minority citizens have to face all over Southern California. They had begun to hear the ticking of other time bombs in every part of their sun-washed land.

The staff members of the Commission on Religion and Race spent many hours discussing courses of action with church leaders in Los Angeles. Some worked almost exclusively in the riot-torn area. Our legal counsel was instrumental in establishing a Los Angeles chapter of the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee to provide legal assistance to those in jail. Others worked with the leadership of white and Negro churches.

On Wednesday, August 25, ten top executives from the major Protestant and Orthodox communions in Southern California gathered together to take concerted action. They wasted no time in recriminations for the failure of the churches in the past—rather they made it clear that their failures were costly lessons which had been learned. They said that a new direction must be taken to implement their proclamations about racial justice and equality, a direction which would lead them into direct involvement with the minority peoples of their region. In a move without precedent in Southern California, and perhaps unique for the nation, they created, in two hours' time, an emergency Commission on the Church and Race and pledged themselves to raise $100,000 to finance a program for the first year.

The new commission is a part of the Southern California-Nevada Council of Churches directed by Dr. Forrest Weir. Dr. Julian J. Keiser, United Church of Christ executive who has been serving as coordinator of the council's Civil Rights Committee, will be its acting executive director until such time as a full-time executive is hired. The present chairman is Dr. Carroll L. Shuster, top executive of the United Presbyterian Church in Southern California and a vice president of the council.

Dr. Shuster, who made many trips to the Watts area (now called "Charcoal Alley") both during and after the riot, said at a press conference the next day that the new commission would not announce a final program until consultations had been held with the leaders and residents of communities where the action agency proposes to work.

"Too often in the past, patronizing programs have been imposed upon persons in need without prior consultations and their inclusion in decision making processes," Dr. Shuster said. "This is no time for the churches to be paternalistic, for God has not given us this right. We will work with people—not for them."

Dr. Shuster met the press flanked by Dr. Carl W. Segerhammar, president of the council and the Synod of the Pacific Southwest, Lutheran Church in America;

Bishop Gerald Kennedy, resident Methodist Bishop of the Los Angeles Area; Dr. H. H. Brookins, pastor of the First A.M.E. Church in Los Angeles and chairman of the United Civil Rights Committee, and Dr. Keiser.

Dr. Brookins' presence was particularly significant, for although long involved in work with the council, he has been much in the public eye in Los Angeles by serving as the official representative of the Community Anti-Poverty Committee. For nearly nine months, CAC has been involved in a struggle with the city's anti-poverty committee attempting to guarantee that poor people have a say in the administration of the poverty program.

The commission came down squarely on the side of the poor by declaring that they had been appalled at the "incredible insensitivity displayed by some elected officials" which kept Federal funds from coming into Los Angeles. They said that had these public officials been "less concerned with power and more concerned with the poor, our community might not have experienced the whirlwind of destruction which has been visited upon us."

Much was made in the press over the post-riot "compromise agreement" worked out to allow anti-poverty funds to come in. While "reluctantly" supporting the compromise because of the long delay and great need, the commission made it clear that it does not intend to allow the poverty program in Los Angeles to become a mere political boondoggle. They pointed out that the poverty board does not provide for maximum feasible participation by the residents of the areas affected upon the board as required by Federal law. "The board allows for minimal participation by the poor," the church leaders declared. "We fear that as composed, the board will all too easily be able to stifle the voice of the poor. We intend to do all in our power to see that this does not happen."

Dr. Brookins and the poor people who chose him as their representative have been fighting a lonely battle. It is clear, now, that they have new allies who intend to be heard, even if it means coming into direct conflict with the city administration. There are those who believe you *can* fight city hall.

Another immediate action of the commission was the announcement of the establishment of its own board of inquiry to look into all the causes, both immediate and deep-rooted, of the Watts riot. Of course, investigation is the order of the day now. But the churches' inquiry will be markedly different from other investigatory agencies in that it will include residents of the Watts community as full participants on the board. Without prejudging the findings of an investigating commission appointed by Governor Brown, or any others, the churchmen pointed out that their efforts will be free from all political ties and "will be able to place responsibility for the rioting wherever it truly belongs."

The issue of police harrassment and alleged brutality is much in the news. The new commission did not duck this question but, at the same time, made it clear that they have no "ready-made" solutions to the problem. The board of inquiry will deal with it, of course, and after findings have been drawn, the churches will have recommendations to make to the city.

The church leaders have taken steps to insure that the new Commission on the Church and Race will be more than a paper organization. Its board will be composed of the elected head of each denominational judicatory in Southern California plus thirty other members chosen for their special skills in the field of human relations. This is to insure that the responsible leadership of the churches will be directly involved. At this stage, they are projecting a staff of four persons including the executive director, with three of these persons to work directly in the communities and with the people where the needs are greatest.

They will be working in Watts immediately to assist in the massive reconstruction program which is desperately needed. In addition, they are taking steps to see that the legal rights of more than 4,000 persons arrested during the riot are protected. They have included in the mandate for the commission the tools of demonstrations and direct action when necessary. They have created an agency which will be able to go to the roots of the racial problems affecting Southern California and take action to solve these problems with the speed crisis demands.

The commission does not anticipate a calm sea and easy sailing as the churches launch this new program. Rightist forces in Southern California are sure to attack any direct involvement of the churches in the struggle for racial justice, since they seem to see the church as a social club rather than the Body of Christ. But they declared that, although arriving late on the scene of the struggle for full justice and opportunity for all citizens, "We are here now, and we intend to stay."

The church leadership of Southern California has been deeply shocked by the violence which rocked the city of Los Angeles. They see their sins of omission and are willing to take their share of the blame for the lives which were destroyed. But they see that a greater sin would be not to act now that past failures have exacted this terrible toll. Perhaps history will mark one gain from the great Los Angeles disaster of August, 1965—that the churches were purified in the fires of "Charcoal Alley."

COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE REPORTS is designed to keep interested persons and organizations informed of what the churches are doing in the current struggle for full human rights for all our citizens. With primary attention being given to the activities of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, it will also deal with denominational and interreligious efforts to advance the goals of the freedom revolution. Additional copies are available at 15¢ each; 100 copies or more at 10¢ each. Payment must accompany order.

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July 13, 1966

Mr. Bruce Hanson
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Hanson:

This is to notify you that you were elected to the Executive Committee of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference for a period of one year at the last meeting of that group.

We hope that you will be able and willing to serve and unless I hear from you to the contrary we shall assume that you will do so.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

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MISSISSIPPI WOMEN'S PLANNING SESSION - REPORT

November 18-19, 1966, Jackson, Mississippi

agency

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

OPENING SESSION - YWCA, North Farish Street

Greetings: Mrs. C.C. Mosley, Temporary Chairman, Jackson Section, National Council of Negro Women.

Orientation: Miss Dorothy I. Height, National President, NCNW.

1. Growth and Range of Volunteer Work

Miss Dorothy Height, in her opening remarks stated:

> During the years in which the National Council of Negro Women has had programs in the State of Mississippi, it has become aware of the many people who are dedicated to the goals of strengthening the Negro woman and her family life. Progressive programs have already taken place in Mississippi; for example, the Special Training Institute on the Problems of School Desegregation at the University of Mississippi. Now we need to confront ourselves with the thought that in these times we are not only faced with the normal change seen in every generation, but with the speed of change that this generation is experiencing.
>
> As we consider, during this planning conference, the new look in volunteer services - the volunteer as the person who works by his free will - we hope to define the needs and methods of work for the volunteer who is also a working woman, a wife and a mother, but who is acutely aware that there are many needs still to be met, and that her role is to help meet them.
>
> We must, during this planning session, decide if a training program is desirable in Mississippi, whether NCNW can help with such a program, and, if so, what are the issues, the problems and the needs.

2. Areas and Services of Interest to NCNW

The 49 participants in this opening session, from 15 communities, as well as staff and consultants, introduced their neighbors (after a few moments

of query) by name, location, profession and volunteer activity. Among the Mississippi women, nine were community organizers, 14 had worked or were working with Head Start, eleven were or had been teachers - elementary through college - four were social workers, one a librarian, several were employed in social agencies such as the YWCA, Urban League and STAR. Volunteer work included : United Church Women, Catholic Ladies of Charity, NCCW, Girl Scouts, SCLC, NAACP, Womanpower Unlimited, F.D.P., Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal, Women in Community Service (WICS), and NCNW.

After the introductions, the participants, staff and consultants broke into small buzz groups to prepare statements of the community needs and the problems to be considered in this planning session.

3. Summary of Small Group Sessions

a) Certain rights, such as education, are unfulfilled.
b) There should be a place for women to be trained for jobs, to upgrade themselves.
c) A means must be found to channel resources and funds into the state.
d) The Planners should consider the "how to" of funding women who cannot volunteer for work without travel and food allowance.
e) The need for recreation centers and day care centers should be studied.
f) The Planners need to gather support for a Compulsory School Attendance Law.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION - Hotel Heidelberg

(Breakfast Meeting: Miss Height, Dr. Tatum, Miss Cramer, Dorothy Duke, Dr. Boyer, Gabe Beard, Polly Cowan. Summary of reactions to Opening Session)

4. Training Persons for Volunteer Work

Miss Height opened the meeting with a few words about the purposes of The National Council of Negro Women since its inception by Mary McLeod Bethune. The founder's goals were those of joining all hands to get the

job done. From this goal to those of the planning session is a short step: increasing skills and adding womanpower to many volunteer projects already functioning in Mississippi, and bringing new volunteer projects into areas in need of them.

5. Areas of Work

Stimulated by these goals, the participants spoke of their own definitions of volunteer work. In the course of the discussion they spoke of the means of communicating with each other and with those who need to become involved.

Areas of Work, selected as primary needs:

a) welfare and educational needs of children
b) parents' relationship to the school
c) citizenship responsibilities
d) involving and training of youth for service
e) adult education and related need such as transportation to classes and tests
f) consumer education
g) using individual or group initiative in volunteer work to promote a cause
h) payment for food and travel when volunteers cannot afford out-of-pocket expenses
i) training sessions for filling out of all kinds of forms (leases, voter registration, applications for jobs or for training for jobs) as well as for program funding
j) implementing child labor laws

The participants spoke of the fact that the Negro woman has had to nurse the sick and bury the dead, and always make something out of nothing. They concluded that she is peculiarly well equipped to use initiative when there are no guidlelines. Now, however, the women agreed they wanted concrete proposals by which they could raise their families and themselves to a higher level. They spoke of the need for people with a better education and a good job to work for the general good because they have access to information and know how to use it. They told of their desire to bridge the gap between those who have received the benefits of education and those who have not.

6. Task Forces

To decide what The National Council of Negro Women can do to meet the overall needs of poverty, by developing potential and determining the projects and places which need leadership training for volunteer work, the group divided into five Task Forces.

Task Force leaders: Miss Gloria Cotton - McComb
Mrs. Annie Devine - Canton
Mrs. Mason - Biloxi
Mrs. Jeanette Smith - Hattiesburg
Mrs. Unita Blackwell - Mayersville

7. Reports from Task Forces

The Task Forces began their reports before lunch and concluded after the meal.

Group V - Mrs. Annie Devine:

Reported concern on the plight of the poverty- stricken and felt the need for leadership training for both young people and adults. The group asked for the tools with which to bridge the gaps, finding that groups do not reach out to one another. They specifically requested NCNW to find methods or proposals from which the entire community could benefit.

Group IV - Mrs. Mason:

Asked NCNW to help discover and train women for work on the needs of schools and school related problems, such as getting representation on school boards and in PTA's. Also work in helping adults to pass tests given for jobs.

Group III - Mrs. Unita Blackwell:

Requested NCNW to have training workshops on a regional basis

throughout the state,and to find funds to make this possible.

Group II - Mrs. Jeanette Smith:

Asked for more information on the program and goals of NCNW and on how to organize sections in Mississippi.

Group I - Miss Gloria Cotton:

Requested same information as Group II, adding the need for information on how projects can get funds to pay the basic expenses of volunteers.

8. NCNW Program, Activities and Structure

Miss Height explained the concept and structure of the National Council of Negro Women and outlined Council programs such as : Women in Community Service (WICS), Consumer Education, the National Committee on Household Employment, WIMS, Project Womanpower and Volunteers Unlimited.

She expressed the Council's appreciation of the trust shown by the Mississippi participants as shown by the attendance at this meeting, called by the National Council of Negro Women. Answering the requests of the Task Forces, Miss Height said that NCNW would plan to begin a series of training programs: the first early in 1967. NCNW will supply training resources, staff and volunteers. The first workshop will be designed to answer the needs of those volunteers who wish to develop the skills for writing proposals for federal or foundation grants.

9. Consultants to the Mississippi Planning Session

Dr. Roscoe Boyer,Professor of Education at the University of Mississippi, spoke to the women on "grantsmanship". He told the women that any training program which emerged from this Planning Session had the support and the

participation of the consultants from the University of Mississippi. He urged them to make use of the educational research by counties and school districts, which his department can make available on official request from the women. However, the University can help only if the request is made as it was for the Planning Session -- through some part of the National Council of Negro Women, its Mississippi membership or local sections.

Miss Marie Barksdale, Special Assistant for the Office of Economic Opportunity and a WIMS team member, gave information on the need nationally for technical assistance for writing proposals. She added that if the State of Mississippi does not submit its alloted number of proposals, another state will move in and use the money earmarked for Mississippi.

Mr. Coleman Miller, Director of a special program for community centers in Mississippi, which operates through the National Federation of Settlements, addressed the participants, stressing that if progress is to be made in the social service areas of Mississippi, it is the Negro women of the state who will do it.

10. Other Programs operating in the South

Discussion followed on the importance of relating the proposals to the needs of the community. Miss Height outlined the program of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, Southern Rural Action Project (SRAP), giving the example of the work in Crawfordville, Georgia. (The Greenville representative asked if her community could apply for a SRAP program).

11. Summary - Task Force and Steering Committee

Leaders of the five Task Forces rounded up their hopes from this Planning Session into one specific request :

> That leadership training should be geared toward helping people in the community to identify their problems and set forth solutions.

The steering committe of volunteers consists of the five Task Force leaders plus Mrs. Snowdon Jones of Greenwood, Mrs. Morton of Greenville, Mrs. Gooden of Oxford, and Mrs. Rucker of Greenwood. Mrs. Annie Devine and Mrs. C.C. Mosley will serve as co-chairmen.

MISSISSIPPI WOMEN'S PLANNING SESSION

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

November 18-19, 1966

Chairman

Dorothy I. Height - National President, NCNW

Director

Polly Cowan - NCNW

Consultants

Miss Marie Barksdale	-OEO
Dr. Roscoe Boyer	-University of Mississippi
Miss Mary Cramer	-Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
Dr. Katherine Rea	-University of Mississippi
Dr. Julian Tatum	-University of Mississippi
Miss Kate Wilkinson	-University of Mississippi

Staff

Gabriel Beard	-University of Mississippi
Doris Dozier	-NCNW
Dorothy Duke	-NCNW

Attendance --- Planning Session

Overall Number	53	
Jackson women (& 2 men)	18	
Other Mississippi women	25	(included women from 15 towns and rural areas)
Staff and Consultants	10	
Travel and Meals paid	19	(includes 2 consultants; others paid for by their own agencies)

Mississippi towns and communities from which participants in Mississippi Planning Session came.

Clarksdale

Hattiesburg

Mayersville

Corinth

McComb

Oxford

Philadelphia

Laurel

Greenville

Greenwood

Canton

Wesson

Jackson

Biloxi

file

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

~~Wednesdays in Mississippi~~

147 E. 81st Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

WIMS NEWSLETTER

December, 1966

NCNW - WIMS has gone back to Mississippi. A Mississippi Women's Planning Session was held in Jackson, November 18-19th at the Hotel Heidelberg. Three WIMS team members were present: Dorothy I. Height as Chairman of the Planning Session, Marie Barksdale as a Consultant from OEO and Polly Cowan as Director of the Planning Session.

Miss Doris Dozier, staff member of NCNW Project Womanpower for the southern region, and Polly Cowan went to Mississippi a few days before the session, starting in Oxford, Mississippi and driving down to Jackson, visiting the East Tallachatchie County School System on the way. We saw many friends from the University of Mississippi, and met with the Oxford Section of NCNW. At the Planning Session, which was devised for women from 15 communities in Mississippi to plan for training of volunteer women of the state by NCNW - WIMS, we encountered many of your summer hostesses. At the meeting of the Jackson Section of NCNW, which was timed for Miss Height's visit, we also met with women who had been helpful to WIMS during 1964 and 1965. As we moved around Jackson, we had meetings with Ken Dean, Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Rights, John Mudd and others of CDGM, people from MAP - Mississippi Action Program and Jean Carroll who is the director of the Jackson Head Start Program. One evening, we were invited by Aurelia Young, who had gathered together a group of Deltas and their husbands, all of whom expressed interest in the Planning Session and in lending a hand to the Jackson Section of NCNW.

The Hotel Heidelberg, where the women who were participants from out of town were housed, as were the consultants, and where our planning sessions were held, treated us with consideration which would have astonished those of you who stayed in the hotel in 1964. A sign announcing the Planning Session of THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN was placed where a similar announcement for the Chamber of Commerce might have hung.

In Oxford we saw the metal hanger where the sign "white only" had hung when Ellen Tarry spotted it in the summer of 1965. It swung -- empty.

Not everything in Mississippi is sweetness and light. Although integrated meetings in Jackson are rarely cause for harrassment, this is URBAN Mississippi. Rural Mississippi lags far behind. You all read the reports of shootings, bombings and fires in the churches. Just this month John W. Gardner, the Secretary for Health, Education and Welfare, said that the Hinds County School District has lost its federal aid for failure to comply with nondiscrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. These Hinds County schools are in rural and suburban sections outside of Jackson and include twenty-four schools none of which have desegregated. Those few children who are in desegregated schools in other parts

of the state are not usually treated as equals, either in the school room or on the playground.

We were struck by the polarization around OEO projects (generally Head Start) which has generated warring camps between people who were formerly sympathetic to each other. We noticed also that many of the "haves" in the Negro community are now further apart from the "have-nots". As the gap is widening, it seems to follow the pattern of gaps between the lines (economically) in northern communities.

The Mississippi Women's Planning Session took this matter into account during the discussion of training women for volunteer services. We cannot, in this newsletter, give you a detailed account of the day and a half of sessions, but we will send a complete report to any of you who ask for it. We can tell you that the Mississippi women concluded that NCNW should set up a series of workshops, and that the first of these, to be held early in 1967, will instruct women from wide-spread communities on the art of writing proposals for government or foundation funding. This will be followed by workshops relating to the skills needed in the many aspects of volunteerism.

This is where WIMS team members enter. Some of us have written proposals, or judged them. We would be useful consultants for the first workshop. The rest of us have a background of volunteerism, either as volunteers, or in working with volunteers. Your skills are needed - will you become consultants to these workshops?

NCNW - WIMS would like to hear from each of you about your free time during 1967 and whether you would like to return to Mississippi as consultants. We have built funds for travel into our budget. You would be volunteering your time and experience. Do let us know.

NEWS FROM WIMS AREAS

BOSTON

Laura Avery has moved to Newton. Her husband is the new superintendent of the Episcopal City Mission on Boston.

Laya Weisner and Ruth Batson are having great success with METCO, transferring 220 Negro children from Roxbury and North Dorchester to suburban schools. Their program might turn out to be a model for other communities throughout the United States.

NEW JERSEY

Edith Savage was a recipient of the Lane Bryant Annual Awards Citation as an individual for her volunteer service. Neither WIMS, (group Award) nor Edith, were winners. But it was a happy thing to have had these citations.

Dr. Hannah Levin substituted for Dr. Molly Harrower on a panel at the National Convention of the Psychological Association. Her speech included a discussion of her work with WIMS. Hannah's sister-in-law, Sue Miller, is in England with her family. Sue is working on remedial reading with a Ford Funded program in London.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mildred Pitt is now Mildred Pitt Goodman. All of WIMS congratulates Mr. Goodman. Billie Hetzel and Marguerite Cassell were together in Gatlinsburg, Tenn. Billie is to be congratulated on the passage of a bill setting up a public college in Washington due largely to her persistence and hard work. Geraldine Woods (California, but a member of one of the Washington Teams) President of Delta Sigma Theta, wrote us about a meeting she and her board has with President Lyndon Johnson in August. Discussion was on programs the President would like the Deltas to support with its womanpower. Gerry also recently attended a DACOWITS meeting.

Peg Roach moved from Washington to Chicago where she is working with the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Jane McClary told us that her new book was published early November. We urge you to try your bookstores to buy it: THE WILL TO WIN is the title.

Mary Cushing Niles is in India once again working on the Friends World Institute.

CHICAGO

Elizabeth Haselden was a delegate of the American Baptist Convention to the World Order Conference of the Wrold Council of Churches, held in Geneva, Switzerland.

Selma Taub writes: "I saw Buddy Mayer and asked her if the women who are participating in our Fine Arts Program (National Council of Jewish Women) could go on a tour of her galleries. Of course Buddy said 'yes'. The women were thrilled with Buddy, her home, and the art collection. Besides my vice presidency in NCJW, I'm social chairman of our temple where we are in the process of holding a series of speakers and discussion sessions on Open Occupancy. Our Skokie Fair Housing Committee is not too successful ... We haven't gotten to first base with the realtors."

NEW YORK

Trude Lash was named by Mayor Lindsay to the new Council Against Poverty of New York City. This council is the policy-making body for the whold anti-poverty program, responsible for the allocation of both federal and city funds. It operates within the newly created Human Resources Administration.

Betty Barnes is working with the School Volunteers operating under the New York City Board of Education. Betty's interest is libraries: School Volunteers have instituted a crash program in schools that have overcrowding and understaffing to help with cataloguing and other library mechanics so that libraries will be fully utilized.

Marion Logan ran a party for Fanny Lou Hamer in October, and is planning another affair for Mrs. Hamer to collect clothes for the people of Ruleville. Mrs. Hamer will be in New York for another speaking engagement this month.

Susie Goodwillie is working with the press corps of the United Nations.

Ann Doubilet finished her job with the Civil Liberties Union (on F.A.I.R. during the campaign for the Police Civilian Review Board) and is now working at the Committee for Democratic Voters.

Rae Dudley is on a job for the New York City Board of Education as a community coordinator spending most of her time at one of the elementary schools which is a feeder school for I.S. 201.

Dorothy I. Height and Margaret Bender were the "planners and executors" of a two-day leadership seminar at the United Nations, directed toward "The Responsibility of Women in Human Rights." Marge Gross and Marguerite Cassell attended this first joint seminar run by the NCNW and the Women's Division, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church.

Gladys Zales is giving the final push to the Life Membership Awards Dinner for Monday, the nineteenth of December at the Plaza Hotel. Awardees are: Mrs. Arthur Goldberg, A. Philip Randolph and Walter Reuther. Lena Horne is co-chairman with Gladys.

ROUND-UP

From Jackson, Mississippi: Patt Derian is a consultant to OEO assigned to the Mississippi Action Project. Ann Hewitt has been in New York for two months, and as usual has been seeing more team members than we have seen of each other. Her volunteer work is for the MUST program, financed by the Methodist Church. She has promised WIMS her services when she returns to New York next summer.

From Omaha, Nebraska: Susie Buffett, long a friend of WIMS, is working on a new housing committee. WIMS answered a request from Susie for material on housing, tutoring programs and job training.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

NEW PROJECTS FOR NCNW

All of you received the NCNW progress report, so you know of Project Womanpower, whose director is Mrs. Christine Clark, and Volunteers Unlimited which has Dr. Annabelle Sherman as its national director. Chris has assembled a staff which is ready to move regionally and will be marching off ot train volunteer leaders who will in turn train volunteers for many services. Eventually, Project Womanpower will be working in 30 cities in the United States.

Annabelle has three target areas for Volunteers Unlimited: D nville, Virginia, Minneapolis, Minnesota and Miami, Florida, where her professional staff will train women of varied backgrounds and experience as volunteers to work, under supervision, with girls who might otherwise be headed for trouble.

WIMS Northern Projects

PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

WIMS' new technique of a "Conversation Caravan" proved to be successful in Paterson, on September 17th. At the request of the local NCNW Section President, an all-day meeting was held at the Paterson "Y", attended by over 100 women representing different religions, races, organizations and economic groups. A panel discussion was held, followed by lunch, buzz sessions and a final plenary

session. The three local Paterson women were joined by Trude Lash and Ilza Williams on the panel. Polly Cowan was moderator and Dorothy Height was the summarizer. The women discussed the most pressing needs of Paterson, and decided that the first and most important one that they wanted to tackle was housing. They proceeded to set another meeting date on October 5th for the purpose of establishing an organization to provide a mechanism through which those who had been working in their own individual ways can work in concerted fashion and develop a community action program encompassing all elements in the community. Esther Cooke from Jersey City attended the day's proceedings.

The October 5th meeting was held at the "Y". The new organization was named "Women's Council for Community Service." A steering committee was appointed, and it is already working to establish educational and action programs to meet the housing needs of Paterson.

An educational meeting of WCCS was held on November 9th and the first step was taken to move toward establishment of a Fair Housing Committee.

Because new issues arose regarding urban renewal problems, a November 29th steering committee meeting planned the next full meeting, December 14th, on the subject of urban renewal. At that time officers will be elected, and WCCS will take a formal structure.

APPENDIX I

Several WIMS team members have moved, or changed their phone numbers since we had our team lists printed. NCNW has changed offices in Washington and in New York. We suggest that you bring your list up-to-date by making the following corrections:

p. 1 -	National Council of Negro Women, Inc. 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	office: (202) 223-2363
	National Council of Negro Women, Inc. 145 E. 52nd Street New York, N.Y. 10022	office: (214) 355-0205
p. 3 -	Miss Margaret Roach 5814 N. Rogers Avenue Chicago, Illionis 60646	home: (312) Mu 5-6840 office: (312) 314-1530
p. 9 -	Dr. Hannah Levin	office: (201) 621-1766
p.10 -	Mrs. Leroy Savage 150 Penna. Avenue Trenton, New Jersey	home: (609) 883-0422
p.11 -	Mrs. Gilbert S. Avery 34 Elmhurst Road Newton, Mass. 02158	home: (617) 969-9774
p.14 -	Mrs. Lloyd Miller (winter only, 1966) 20 St. Paul's Place Islington, London, N 1	
p.14 -	Mrs. Lorna Scheide Jockey Hollow Road Morristown, New Jersey 07960	home: (201) 267-6656
p.15 -	Mrs. Frank Cassell 5617 Montgomery Street Chevy Chase, Md. 20016	home: (301) 657-9449
p.16 -	Mrs. Mildred Pitt Goodman	office: (202) 386-6248

THE OPEN MEETING

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY -- A Commitment to Action

Action on Mobile Bay

A report of the AEA-ASTA-MEA-MSTA-ACT Faculty Desegregation Conference

Action on the Potomac

A report of the KEA-NCEA-NCTA-TEA-VEA-WVEA Exploratory Conference on Problems of Appalachia

A report of the Fifth National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity

SPECIAL FEATURE

A special report from the U. S. Office of Education on the guidelines for the 50 states

Action on the Piedmont

A report of the NCTA-NEA Tri-State Conference on the Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks

Action at the Foot of the Sierra Estrelia

A report of the Arizona ACT-NEA Bilingual Conference

Action on Lake Michigan

A report of the MEA-NEA-CRS Joint Conference

Action along the Hudson

A report on "The Short-Changed Children of Suburbia

THE HUMAN RIGHTS AWARDS DINNER

DATE: July 1, 1968

Place: The Grand Ballroom
The Adolphus Hotel
Dallas, Texas

TIME: 5:45 - 6:30 p. m. Reception
6:45 p. m. Dinner

Price: $7.50
$6.00 prior to June 7, 1968

AWARDS

The H. Council Trenholm Memorial Awards

For leadership in the advancement of intergroup understanding within the education profession

---

The Carter G. Woodson Memorial Award

Presented to a National Education Association local affiliate for its leadership in promoting Negro History Week

---

The Abraham Lincoln Awards

For courageous action in pursuit of equal educational opportunity

---

NEA Human Rights Awards

Presented for creative leadership in the education profession

Mail To: NEA-PR&R Committee on Civil and Human Rights
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20036

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Enclosed is my check or money order for $_____. This is advance payment for _____ tickets at the discount rate of $6.00. I understand that this discount rate does not apply unless my reservations are postmarked on or before June 15, 1968. All reservations must be accompanied by a check or money order.

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: NEA-CHRE Committee

THE ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS AWARDS DINNER

July 1, 1968
The Adolphus Hotel
Dallas, Texas

THE NEA-PR&R COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF EDUCATORS OPEN MEETING

July 4, 1968
The Statler Hilton
Dallas, Texas

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THROUGH THE YEARS the American Teachers Association sponsored a Human Rights banquet at its annual meeting. This was the period set aside to recognize outstanding leadership in the area of human rights.

SINCE THE HISTORIC merger of the American Teachers Association and the National Education Association in Miami, Florida during July, 1966, the NEA-PR&R Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators has assumed ATA's role in promoting this activity.

AMONG THE HIGHLIGHTS of the ATA's annual session was the ATA-NEA Joint Committee Open Meeting and the Human Rights Awards Dinner. Last year's dinner was reminiscent of the many pleasent experiences ATA conferees have had through the years.

SEE * AND * HEAR

NEA-PR&R COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF EDUCATORS

IN ACTION

At The

NEA Convention in Dallas, Texas

Plan to attend

the

HUMAN RIGHTS AWARDS DINNER
July 1, 1968 - 6:00 p. m.

OPEN MEETING
July 4, 1968 - 2:30 p. m.

Agency

NEA.

National Education Association

1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C., 20036
(202) 223-9400

PR&R COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF EDUCATORS

MEMBERS

WADE WILSON
Chairman
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

J. M. BELCHER
Department Head
Baltimore, Md.

MRS. EDNA W. GRIFFIN
Coordinator
Intergroup Education
Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. LILLIAN MADISON
Classroom Teacher
High Point, N.C.

ROBERT B. TURNER, JR.
Southwest District Supt.
Dade County Schools
Miami, Fla.

CONSULTANTS

SAM M. LAMBERT
Executive Secretary
NEA

CECIL J. HANNAN
Assistant Executive
Secretary, PD&W

RICHARD B. KENNAN
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STAFF CONSULTANTS

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MEMBERS

Commission on
Professional Rights
and Responsibilities

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Vice Chairman

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2nd Vice Chairman

MRS. LUCILLE BALL
HUDSON BARKSDALE
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HELEN E. HAY
MRS. EDNA LINDLE
GERTRUDE SINCLAIR

EX OFFICIO

BRAULIO ALONSO
SAM M. LAMBERT

April 29, 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

This is to invite you to share in the second awards dinner meeting of the NEA Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators during the Annual Convention of the National Education Association on July 1, 1968 in Dallas, Texas, and in the Open Meeting on July 4.

The dinner is scheduled for 6:45 p.m. at the Hotel Adolphus, preceded by a reception at 5:45 p.m. Committees and Commissions hold open meetings during the Convention so that delegates and members may get a first hand report of their work. Our Open Meeting is scheduled from 2:30 - 4:30 p.m. on July 4 at the Statler Hotel in the Junior Ballroom.

Since the unification of the American Teachers Association and the National Education Association, the NEA Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators has been charged with carrying on many of the ATA ideals and traditions. In attempting to carry on some of the ATA awards and honors and at the same time promote a greater interest in human relations and human rights programs, our committee is sponsoring the second of what we hope will be an Annual Human Relations Dinner during the NEA Convention.

The main feature is the presentation of the H. Council Trenholm Award, a twin award to two persons of opposite races who have worked for harmonious race relationships within the education profession.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will again present the Carter G. Woodson Award to the NEA local association sponsoring the best Negro History Week Program.

Awards by other agencies and by the Committee itself, will also be presented.

Tickets for the dinner will be on sale at the Convention for $7.50 each. However, tickets may be ordered in Advance from the NEA-PR&R Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators through June 7 at a 20 percent discount ($6.00 per ticket). We bring this to your attention at this time so that your interested delegates may take advantage of the $1.50 reduction for cash advance registration.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel B. Ethridge

Samuel B. Ethridge
Associate Secretary

SBE:eg
Enclosure

NSA.

USNSA Southern Project

Report of PROJECT's Activities
September and October, 1966

New Staff

The Project now has a secretary, Miss Sandra Egland. Originally, we had not intended to hire a secretary until we could obtain more office space; however, our limited budget makes other space unlikely; therefore, we hired Miss Egland although we have no desk for her.

Miss Gwen Patton (summarized from reports)

During the first two months of Project activity, Miss Patton has been very active. She has travelled extensively in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina. In addition she has planned a conference on "Extra- rricula Activities in an Educational Framework." This conference will be held in the early part of 1967.

Alabama--------Miss Patton has assisted the Tuskegee Institute students in their efforts to obtain salaries for the student government employees. She has also worked with students dissatisfied with compulsory chapel and R.O.T.C. At Alabama State College she worked with strengthening the student government and the student newspaper.

Tennessee------In Nashville, Tennessee, she worked with students in an effort to get an exchange program functioning between Fisk and Tuskegee Institute.

Georgia--------The students of the Atlanta University complex desired to have a seminar in Civil Rights, Miss Patton has worked with them in this effort.

Mississippi----The state of Mississippi has a law prohibiting state schools from becoming NSA members. This law was passed as a result of NSA's 1960 stand on civil rights. Some students at Jackson State College are dissatisfied with this, Miss Patton has worked with these students.

South Carolina-Miss Patton was invited to serve as a resourse leader for the Fall conference of the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations. While in South Carolina, she also visited the campuses of Allen University, Benedict College and Vorhees College and attempted to encourage the students of these institutions to work to raise the educational standards of their school.

Mr. Tom Gardner (summarized from reports)

Mr. Gardner has spent his first two months in travel through North Carolina and Virginia. In addition, he has worked closely with students in the Atlanta, Georgia area.

Mr. Tom Gardner (continued)

Georgia--------Mr. Jody Palmer, a SSOC(Southern Student Organizing Committee) worker, stationed in Atlanta and Mr. Gardner have worked together in an effort to revive a student group at Emory University. Their first program was a panel discussion about the Atlanta riots. The program was attended by a large number of students and the response was favorable.

North Carolina-Mr. Gardner worked with some students at Duke University. He attempted to encourage them to engage in state-wide activities and to set up a literature table. He also discussed a University Reform conference with some interested students.

Virginia-------At the University of Virginia, Mr. Gardner worked with the Iconoclast, an indiginous newsletter. He also reconsiled the differences between the University of Virginia's SSOC chapter and the Student Union. The SSOC chapter wanted to set up a literature table. He spoke at the Virginia State College branch of the NAACP about the Southern Project. He also worked with the Southside Virginia Project and wrote a report for the NAACP on a case of discrimination.

Conferences----Mr. Gardner is now working on two conferences, one for visiting Bolivian Students and the other for insurgent newspaper editors.

Mr. Gardner's present assignment is to work on a project on the Draft and Discrimination.

Mr. Wm. Roberts(summarized from reports submitted)

The Director was tied down during the first two months with a great deal of administrative tasks, inherent in re-opening a Project that had been closed for over six months. His traveling before the new secreatry was hired was limited to within the state and mainly in the Atlanta area. After Miss Egland was hired; however, he was freed and began travelling more extensively into Georgia, South Carolina and Kentucky.

Georgia--------Mr. Roberts visited with many agencies in the Atlanta area to inform them that the Southern Project was re-opened. He also visited with the Student Governments of the schools of the Atlanta University Complex and has worked with them in their efforts to conduct a seminar in civil rights. He has also worked with the President of the Emory University Student Senate on speakers and programs for the campus, as well as on NSA affiliation for Emory.

Mr. Wm. Roberts(continued)

South Carolina-On a request from Project SPEED-UP, Mr. Roberts went to South Carolina to assist SPEED-UP in their efforts to obtain funds. SPEED-UP is a state-wide tutorial program. While in South Carolina, Mr. Roberts met with the Chairman of AWARE, a student group that is trying to activate the University of South Carolina campus.

Kentucky-------Mr. Roberts was invited to serve as a consultant for the fifth annual Kentucky Commission on Human Rights student conference. He used this opportunity to find out what is happening in Kentucky and to develop some useful contacts for future trips to Kentucky.

Georgia--------Mr. Roberts also visited on the University of Georgia campus. He spent the day with the Dean of Men's son and the director of the Presbyterian student center, the gathering place for most of the University's "liberal" students. He discussed Southern Project assistance with a tutorial program and an underground newsletter.

Conferences----Mr. Roberts has prepared a presentation for the Southern Education Foundation, the purpose of which was to raise funds for the proposed conference on "Extra-Curricula Activities in an Educational Framework." He has met with Mr. John Griffin, the Director three times and has been assured of an answer by the fifteenth of November. The Project has proposed that the Southern Education Foundation provide half of the conference expenses.

SIS----------Mr. Roberts has also prepared the first Student Involvement Series(SIS), A Guide to a Citizens Education Program.

General Comments

Staff relations have been strained during part of this period; however, the Director believes that these problems are becoming minor and that the Project is becoming more and more productive. The main problem now is financial. The Project's budget will need to be suplemented in order to obtain peak effeciency.

Conclusion

Two things have become clear during this short period: 1) for some reason students are unwilling to engage in activities. Apathy on the campus is greater than in previous years. 2) The Project staff needs to be increased. Miss Patton has suggested that extensive work we done in Mississippi and in South Carolina. There is also a great need to work more on educational issues. This in addition to regular activities spreads the staff too thin.

FINANCIAL REPORT
SOUTHERN PROJECT, U.S.N.S.A.
OCTOBER 31, 1966

Balance in Trust Company Account.....	8.49
Balance in Citizens Trust Account.....	111.08
Received from U.S.N.S.A.....	5,000.00
Received from Tom Gardner.....	22.45*
Received from Gwen Patton.....	8.75*
Received from Bill Roberts.....	10.00**
Total Funds Available.....	$5,160.77***

Dispersed

Salary***(Advance to Miss Sandra Egland).....	30.00
Staff Travel.....	624.85
Program Materials.....	37.75
Supplies.....	176.56
Telephone and Telegraph.....	180.39
Equipment.....	1,110.27
Administrative Support (rent).....	144.00
Total Dispersed.....	2,204.82
Balance as of October 31,1966.....	2,955.95

The Project receives funds from U.S.N.S.A. when needed
* Personal phone calls billed to Project number
** Speed-Up paid $10.00 of Bill's travel expenses to Columbia, South Carolina
*** Salaries are paid directly from the Washington office

FINANCIAL REPORT
page 2

Dispersement of funds by budget catagories

Salary*	
Amount in budget catagory	36,974.00
Amount dispersed	30.00
Staff Travel	
Amount in budget catagory	5,500.00
Additional funds received	129.57**
Amount dispersed	624.85
Amount remaining in catagory	5,004.72
Program Materials	
Amount in budget catagory	700.00
Amount dispersed	37.75
Amount remaining in catagory	662.25
Supplies	
Amount in budget catagory	900.00
Amount dispersed	176.56
Amount remaining in catagory	723.44
Telephone and Telegraph	
Amount in Budget catagory	700.00
Additional funds received	31.19***
Amount dispersed	180.39
Amount remaining in catagory	550.80
Equipment	
Amount in budget catagory	1,500.00
Amount dispersed	1,001.27
Amount remaining in catagory	488.73
Travel Advisory Board	
Amount in budget catagory	500.00
No dispersements as of October 31,1966	.
Conferences	
Amount in budget catagory	3,226.00
No dispersements as of October 31,1966	.
Administrative support****	
Amount in budget catagory	5,000.00
Amount dispersed	144.00

* Salaries are dispersed out of Washington. The $30.00 expendature is a salary advance to Miss Sandra Egland, which will be re-paid

** The balances in the accounts and a $10.00 check paid to Bill for travel to Columbia, South Carolina by SPEED-UP are credited to this account

*** Tom Gardner and Gwen Patton made personal calls on the Project phone and paid the Project for the call

****The majority of Administrative Expense is dispersed out of Washington.

agency

N.S.A.

SUMMARY OF THE
SOUTHERN ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING
November 22, 1966

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Edward Schwartz, the National Affairs Vice President of the United States National Student Association. Those present were:

Miss Constance Curry
Mr. Curtis Gans
Mr. Joseph Hendricks
Rev. Charles Jones
Dr. James Laue
Mr. Andrew Lipscomb
Mr. M. Hayes Mizell

Much of the morning was spent in reports and general discussion, which is ommitted for the sake of brevity. The discussion which led to a programatic suggestion started with an assumption about the constituency of the Project. It was suggested that there was a choise of contiuency.

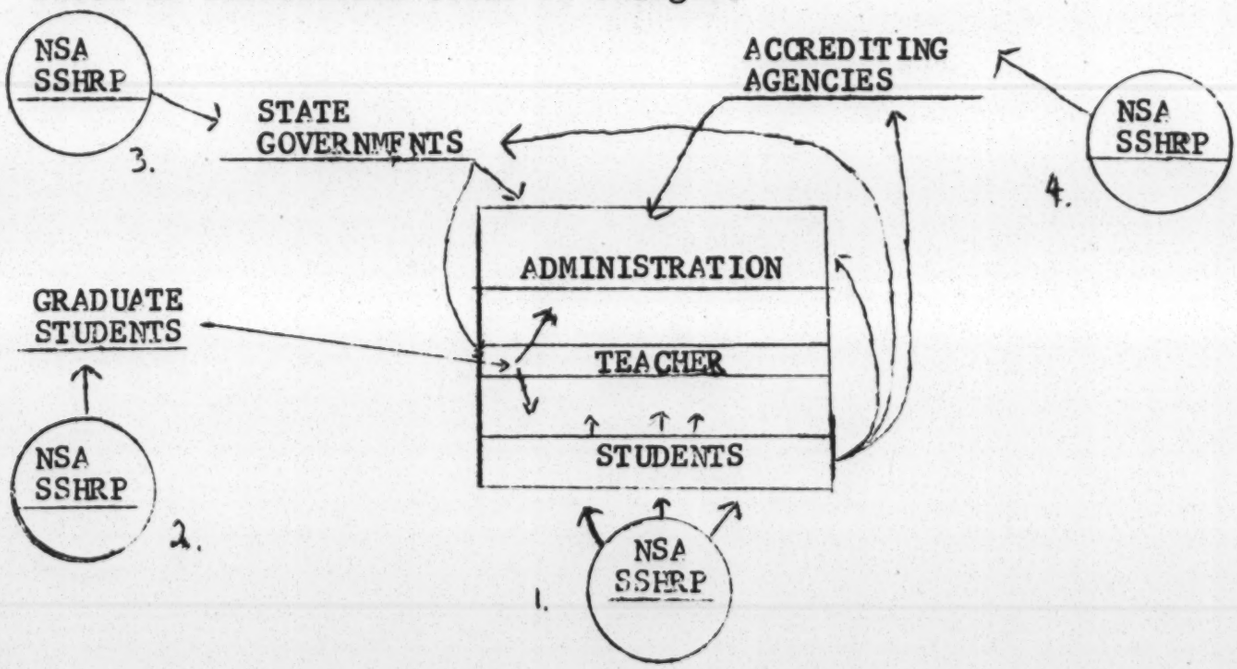
1) A coalition of the very active 2%.

2) Students on the campus itself. If this were chosen the goal would be to make the students aware of the community. By asking questions about education the Project could increase the student's sensitivity to other issues.

It was observed that the student must realize himself, as a student, before he could be effective in other efforts.

It was generally agreed that the constituency of the Project should be those willing to become involved. For this purpose a coherent program of educational reform was needed.

The following diagram was submitted to illustrate the ways in which an institution could be changed.



Explanation of the diagram

1. NSA and the Southern Project(SSHRP) could work directly with the students and incourage them to seek the means necessary for change.
2. NSA and SSHRP could contact graduate students and incourage them to teach in a Southern institution.
3. NSA and SSHRP could put pressure on state governments.
4. NSA and SSHRP could put pressure on accrediting agencies.

It was also noted that each of these techniques could result from different approaches. For example, by working with students NSA and SSHRP could put pressure on state governments or accrediting agencies.

The final consenses of the meeting was that the S uthern Project should conduct a series of conferences on "Institutional Self-Analysis" This Program would be in three stages or phases.

PHASE I

1. "Institutional self-Analysis conferences"
   a. White campuses-Bill
   b. Negro campuses-Gwen
2. Extra-curricular activity conference
3. Develop contacts with people

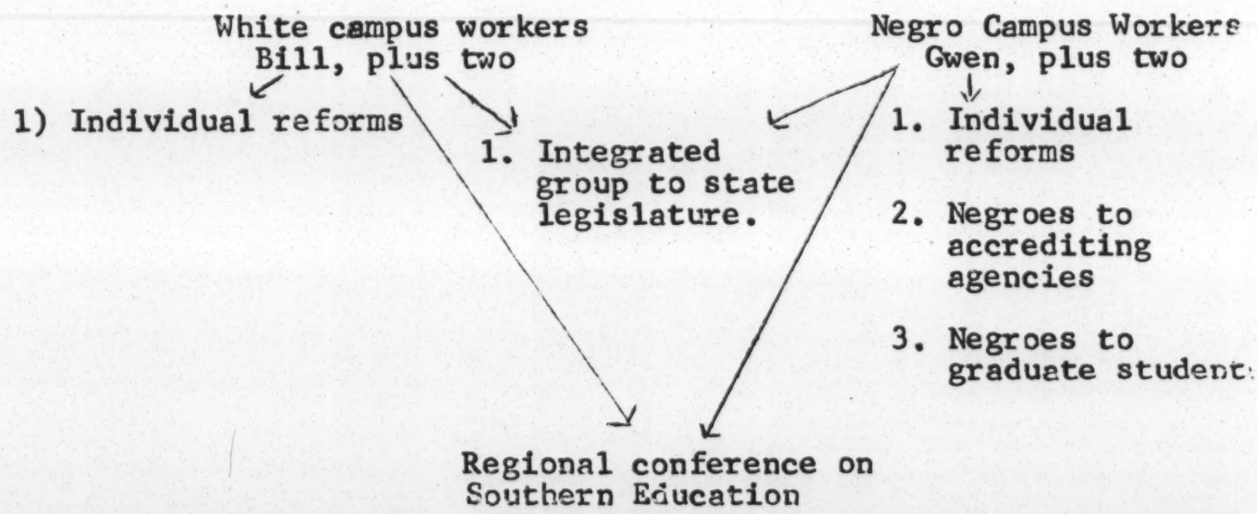
PHASE II

1. Grant
   1. Expand staff
   2. Conference geared to institutional self study-Still on local campuses.

Phase III

Second part of grant

Expand staff



Correspondence - Allied Agencies

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

January 6, 1966

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to attend an Alabama Statewide Conference on Governmental Anti-Poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People. The conference will take place Friday and Saturday, January 21 and 22, at Alabama State College, Montgomery. A conference program is enclosed.

The conference will bring together state and federal officials, representatives of private agencies and church leaders, and the people to be served -- low-income rural people and farmers from the state of Alabama.

Federal and state programs to improve farming operations and living conditions for low-income rural people will be presented and discussed. While the conference is officially scheduled to end at noon on Saturday, January 22, we hope you will want to remain for the informal Saturday afternoon meeting to discuss the crisis in rural America.

Also enclosed is information pertaining to room accommodations, as well as a registration blank. Please note that you are requested to make your own reservation for overnight accommodations in Montgomery, and to send in your registration form for the conference as soon as possible.

We would appreciate your cooperation in spreading word about the conference to any who may be interested in attending.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham
Chairman

FPG:gh
encs.

ALABAMA STATEWIDE CONFERENCE
ON GOVERNMENTAL ANTI-POVERTY AND OTHER
PROGRAMS TO AID LOW-INCOME RURAL PEOPLE

Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama
January 21 and 22, 1966

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21

Morning

8:00 - 10:00 Registration

10:00 Morning Session - Chairman: Lewis W. Black, Chairman, Alabama Rural Areas Council

Greetings --Levi Watkins, President, Alabama State College, Montgomery

"The Challenge" (brief opening remarks) - Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund

Keynote Address: "Massive Rural Readjustments in the South" - Leland N. Fryer, Assistant to the Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, USDA

"The Public's Responsibility for Rural Poverty in the South: Programs and Remedies Under the Office of Economic Opportunity" - Emanuel Boasberg, Interagency Relations, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

11:15 Questions and Discussion

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch

2:00 Panels on Federal Programs for Farm and Rural People in Alabama, with Emphasis on Increasing the Capacity of Public Agencies to Serve the Needs of the Disadvantaged - Chairman: Joseph Bradford, Rural Task Force, OEO

Farmers Home Administration
Leland N. Fryer, Assistant to the Administrator, FHA, Washington, D.C.
Robert C. Bamberg, Alabama State Director, FHA, Montgomery
Mrs. Rachel Brown, Social Worker, FHA, Washington, D.C.

Federal Extension Service
Raymond C. Scott, Assistant Administrator, FES, Washington, D.C.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
John B. Vance, Assistant Deputy Administrator, State and County Operations, ASCS, Washington, D.C.
B. L. Collins, Alabama State Director, ASCS, Montgomery
Victor B. Phillips, Assistant to the Administrator, ASCS, Washington, D.C.

Office of Economic Opportunity (Community Action Programs)
Earl Redwine, Regional Director, C.A.P., Atlanta, Georgia
Orville O'Shields, Economic Opportunity Officer for Farmers Home Administration in Alabama
Representative of the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation

3:15 Response from Rural Panel

J. B. Newman (farmer), Clopton, Alabama
Ernest Essex (farmer), Demopolis, Alabama
Rev. S. S. Seay (minister and farmer), A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery, Ala.
Mrs. Lillian S. McGill (community leader), Haynesville, Alabama

4:00 Questions and Discussion

6:00 Dinner

Evening
8:00 Evening Meeting - Chairman: Joe L. Reed, Executive Secretary, Alabama State Teachers Association, Montgomery

"The Courts and Economic Security for Rural People" - Charles Morgan, Jr., Director, Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22

Morning
8:00 "Cooperatives and Credit Unions" - Chairman: G. W. Taylor, Director, Agricultural Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

"What a Cooperative Is and How It Can Help Rural People" (with slides) - Speaker from Farmers Cooperative Service, USDA, Washington

"What a Credit Union Is and How It Can Serve Rural People" - William E. Jordan, Senior Field Representative, Alabama Credit Union League

Film on Credit Unions - "The People of Kolevu"

"Training for Cooperative and Credit Union Leadership in Rural Areas" - G. T. Dowdy, Director, Agricultural Economics, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Sam F. Parigi, Director, Southern Rural Training Project

10:00 Questions and Discussion

11:00 Organizational meeting to establish state organization and multi-county organizations of farm and rural people

12:30 Evaluation and Conclusion - Jac Wasserman, Field Director, National Sharecroppers Fund

12:45 Adjournment

- - - - -

NOTE: There will be a special afternoon program from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. to discuss the crisis in rural America. Interested persons are invited to remain for this session.

****

Sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund's Rural Advancement Project
in cooperation with Alabama Rural Areas Council
and concerned religious, community, and government agencies

ALABAMA STATEWIDE CONFERENCE
ON GOVERNMENTAL ANTI-POVERTY AND OTHER
PROGRAMS TO AID LOW-INCOME RURAL PEOPLE

Information on Housing Accommodations and Meals

Suggested Accommodations:

Harris Motel, Thurman Street, Montgomery (at campus)
single - $7.50
double - $2.00 additional

Ben Moore Hotel, S. Jackson and High Streets, Montgomery
single - $7.25
double - $2.00 additional

Mid-Town Holiday Inn, Madison Avenue, Montgomery
single - $7.35-$7.50
double - $2.00 additional

PLEASE MAKE YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS FOR OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS.

Meals will be served at the campus cafeteria:
Breakfast - 50¢
Lunch - 50¢
Dinner - 60¢

- -

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

Please tear off this portion and mail to:

Mr. Joe L. Reed, Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

There is no registration fee.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Occupation or Organizational Affiliation _____

Rec'd
1/26/66

E S

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vice-chairman
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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

January 25, 1966

REPLY TO
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TEL 404/522-3697

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I would appreciate it if you would submit my name for regular membership in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Sincerely,

Jac

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

JW:ja

Submitted

file - SIC

January 20, 1966

Mr. Jac Wasserman
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jac:

Paul asked me to tell you that you will be welcome to attend the Southern Interagency Conference meeting as a guest.

In order to become a regular member, you should write us a letter -- which could be a one-liner -- requesting membership, so that it could be voted upon at this meeting.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

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South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
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JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Dear Paul:

It was suggested that I participate in the Inter-agency Council & attend the meeting to be held on Jan. 26th.

I shall be happy to participate if I am invited.

Yours,

Jac

MEMO to Ed Stanfield

Please write fact that he can be a guest.
To be a regular member he must put in writing
that request to be voted on by the
members at the meeting.

PV

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Agency NSF - MATERIALS

Recd 2/14/66

NORMAN THOMAS
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y

Dear Friend:

I enclose a story of hope. One marginal farm family in South Carolina, rescued from debt and threatened eviction, shows the way for thousands of others.

Just recently we helped solve a similar crisis in Mississippi. Another small farm was about to be foreclosed. Only a few days were left when the National Sharecroppers Fund field man discovered the family's predicament. Quick action on the spot, plus immediate telephone calls between the NSF National Office and Washington and Jackson, saved the day--and the farm.

With help of the right kind--at the right time--families can, and do, reach self-sufficiency on their own farms. They achieve a new inner sense of dignity as they improve their farms and their homes through self effort. They need money, yes; most need the federal loans which the law provides. But, even more, they need technical advice, instruction in farm management, and the assurance that they have a knowledgeable advocate at the seat of power in Washington. For those who can no longer remain in farming, NSF helps set up retraining programs through its Southern Rural Training Project.

For generations Negro farm families have been shortchanged on federal assistance. While other farmers, South and North, were taught new techniques and crop diversification, and received the benefit of federal loans at reasonable interest, Negroes received either little or no help.

Change has now begun at the top. But it isn't coming fast enough. Scores of farm families--mostly Negro--are being evicted from the land. Some are trying to remain in the area, living in makeshift tents until basic help can come. NSF is working locally and nationally to interpret the needs, to supply guidance, and to affect public policy.

NSF's field staff and our southern statewide conferences are helping to bridge the gap between government programs and the rural poor, Negro and white, who urgently need help.

Please give as generously as you can to help support this vital effort. Your dollars enable us to bring not charity, but the chance to help themselves, to more poor farm families.

Sincerely,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

P.S. The enclosed contribution envelope needs no stamp.

New Hope for Mr. Williams

BEFORE

THIS IS THE WAY most sharecroppers, and many other farmers, live.

An NSF staff member first saw this house in 1963 when its owner, whom we shall call Mr. Williams, came to NSF for help.

There was a hole in the roof of every room but one, and in the floor. But the roof was worst, for neither the kitchen nor the living room could be used when it rained.

One third of all our farm housing is dilapidated, badly in need of repair.

Yet Mr. Williams came to us, not because the house was falling down around him, but because foreclosure threatened. He feared he was going to lose everything he had.

MR. WILLIAMS was a good farmer. He owned 112 acres of land, planted in cotton, tobacco, and soy beans. For 36 years he had farmed this land with his wife, and they had raised three children. The previous year his three crops had brought him a gross income of $3700. But that hadn't been enough for repairs to the house—it hadn't even been enough to make necessary payments on his debts.

Thousands of struggling small farmers are caught in the same terrible cycle, going deeper into debt every year because they earn so little. One reason for this is the exorbitant interest rates of private money-lenders. Mr. Williams paid 8 to 10 per cent on his various loans.

In 1963 Mr. Williams had a $7500 mortgage on his farm. He owed $1787 for farm machinery and other equipment. He had applied to Farmers Home Administration for a loan but had been refused because he still owed $1000 on a previous loan from this government agency. FHA, with an interest rate about half that of private money-lenders, could have provided manageable financing for the Williams family.

Then NSF went to work.

It took 18 months.

NSF helped Mr. Williams appeal twice from the local FHA office to the state director.

NSF helped him to appeal from the state director to the federal administrator of FHA.

Most small farmers need technical assistance like this. They may (or may not) know enough about government programs to go to the county agent or the FHA the first time. But they are easily defeated by a "no" answer, or by complicated forms and financial projections. This is particularly true of Negro farmers in the southern states, who have often found local agencies unfriendly.

Finally, in spring, 1965 (after many appeals to Washington), Mr. Williams received an FHA loan for $15,436 with forty years to pay at 4 per cent interest. The money was to be used to build a modern home for the family at a cost of $6000; to purchase additional farm equipment; and to finance farming operations for the year 1965.

All this has been done.

Here is the Williams' new home.

1965 was the best year Mr. Williams has had for a long time. His farm income increased to $5226, from these sources:

27 bales of cotton	*$3780*
250 bushels of corn	*313*
120 bushels of soy beans	*282*
1 acre of tobacco	*500*
assistance to others with tractor	*351*

After paying current bills and making the annual payment on the new FHA loan, the Williams family had left a net income of $2540.

For a family of five, this is still beneath the poverty level. But for the Williams family, hardworking and used to life at a subsistence level, it has meant the dignity of a comfortable home of their own, freedom from the once-constant fear of dispossession, confidence that the corner has been turned and that life will be better.

THE STORY of Mr. Williams is

...An example to give hope to thousands of other small farmers that they need not be driven from the land.

...A stimulus to government agencies to look a little deeper and help a little harder—and a little sooner!—because self-sufficient farmers will repay their debts many times over, adding to the wealth of the community rather than becoming a burden upon it.

...An illustration for NSF contributors of the life-saving work that their aid makes possible.

HERE is another NSF field representative, in another state — Mississippi this time—working to help small farmers to help themselves. Here a group is discussing the organization of a rural cooperative.

These are two of our most important activities:

*helping farmers to secure loans to improve their incomes and their living conditions.

*helping farmers to organize cooperatives for their mutual advantage.

THE LIST of NSF work in and for rural areas is long:

**organizing state conferences for the rural poor;*

**helping rural people to organize to take advantage of assistance available under the Economic Opportunity Act and other government programs;*

**bringing manpower training (including education for the illiterate) to rural areas through NSF's Southern Rural Training Project;*

**helping to raise standards for domestic farm workers, to find them jobs, and to eliminate cheap imported contract labor;*

**keeping the public and Congress informed about all issues relating to the welfare of the rural poor.*

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Atlanta 2-5764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 15, 1966

Mr. Jac Wasserman
National Sharecropper Fund
5 Forsyth St., N.W
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Wasserman:

The Southern Regional Council invites you to attend a luncheon in Atlanta on February 28, 1966, at which Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach will deliver a major address on voter registration and education. It will be held at the Marriott Motor Hotel at 12:30 P.M.

It is important that we know whether or not you plan to attend. Please let us have your reply at your earliest convenience.

Cordially,

Ed Stanfield

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Yes. Thanks

Jac

$900.00

National Sharecroppers Fund

112 East 19th Street

New York 3, New York

First year's overhead for Rural Advancement Project for Florida.

Rural Advancement Project.

March 29, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

N 3F

The New York Times.

May 27, 1966

Still the Excluded

The abysmally low state of farm wages is indicated again in the annual report of the National Sharecroppers Fund, which for thirty years has been seeking to awaken the nation to the indignities of life for those who harvest America's crops. The report shows that farm workers got in 1965 their largest one-year wage increase since the Korean war; the result was to inch up their average pay from $1.08 an hour to $1.14. More than one-third earned less than 75 cents an hour; in the South 54 per cent were in that category.

These wretchedly low wages help explain why organized labor is extending from California to Florida its drive to unionize migrant farm laborers. More than 100,000 migrants start working their way up the Atlantic Coast from southern Florida each spring; their earnings average $1,312 a year—just a little over one-third of the sum the Federal Government considers the dividing line for poverty. The minimum wage bill currently before Congress, which the House passed yesterday, will provide a small beginning toward putting a Federal floor under the wages of those excluded workers, but more than half will remain without any statutory protection. The world's best-fed people are still shamefully neglecting the welfare of the workers who gather their fruits and vegetables.

New York Post

May 24, 1966

The Forgotten

Few of us who dwell in the city know much of the grim existence of the migrant farm laborer; such information as we do possess comes largely from the annual reports to the board of the National Sharecroppers Fund by its executive director, Fay Bennett.

The city housewife out shopping probably makes little connection between farm and city problems. A point in Miss Bennett's report will be of interest to her: cuts in production quotas, harvesting automation and rural race discrimination are forcing migration from farm to city of some 1,000,000 persons annually. They move from rural squalor to urban ghettoes; most are untrained and cannot profit from the new environment. The additional welfare load is proportionately great.

The NSF's legislative program for migrant farm workers may not arouse the impassioned interest of the urban housewife and her husband. But there are two contributions they can make, especially if the husband is a trade union member.

They can urge their Congressman to vote for legislation now before the House which would extend minimum wage coverage to some 400,000 migrants. And they can, through unions, express their support for the new AFL-CIO campaign now under way to organize farm workers in Eastern states.

Agency NSF

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

September 29, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: NSF staff
RAP field representatives
State Council on Human Relations directors

FROM: Fay Bennett

Re: NSF/RAP staff meeting, October 5 - 7, 1966

You cannot say that I am not keeping you supplied with important reading and studying material which you will find useful in your work, and also in preparation for our coming Atlanta staff meeting. I am now enclosing a 3-page popular report on our 2-year Southern Rural Training Project which ended this summer. If you haven't read the full report yet, I do hope you will read this brief summary, which, while factual, has a more personal touch.

Also enclosed is our most recent brochure, "Panola Builds a Co-op," which tells about the various farmer co-operatives we have helped to organize in Mississippi, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

I do hope that all of you, especially the field staff, will plan to stay through all of the sessions so that you do not miss any of the important discussions and program planning which will be presented by Walt Sharp, Jac Wasserman, Mike Kenney and others. If any of the field men have business to take care of with government officials, they should plan to go in a day earlier rather than to miss any of our important staff workshops.

I look forward to seeing you in the coming week at Atlanta.

national board

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Striking Poverty at its Source -- in Rural America

A Report on the Southern Rural Training Project
from
National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

> When graduates of a pilot farm management program in Tennessee were asked by the Employment Service if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No."
>
> The average net farm income of these trainees before the program had been $343 for the year. After training, in 1964, it was $1,285; and the program graduates knew it would continue to increase as they put into operation farm plans and techniques they had learned. Fourteen of the 19 trainees who finished the course increased their incomes by more than 100 per cent. They had found a way out of poverty at home, where they wanted to stay.

Here are the basic facts on rural poverty which point to the significance of this pilot project and the work of the Southern Rural Training Project.

Half of all the poverty in the United States is in rural areas. And, over all, between one-third and one-half of current unemployment has been attributed to the number of workers forced out of agriculture since 1953. Between 1947 and 1964, the number of farms dropped 40 per cent, to 3.5 million, while the number of people working on farms dropped 41 per cent, to 6.1 million.

In the South, Negroes are usually first to go, because their hold on the land is weaker. The South lost 3.3 million nonwhites between 1940 and 1963. But for every Negro displaced, two whites are also displaced. This is far more than a racial problem. And so long as millions of unskilled rural people migrate to cities looking for jobs which no longer exist for the under-educated and untrained, urban poverty will not be eradicated.

"Surplus" People

Mechanization of agriculture is the root of the problem, but neglect and discrimination have also caused the small farmer to be by-passed by economic programs benefiting large farmers. Fewer jobs are available for farm workers, and more skill is required for most of them--handling machinery and chemicals, for instance. Small farmers who cannot afford the new techniques cannot compete successfully with their larger neighbors and are bought out as the big grow bigger. Tenants and sharecroppers are evicted as uneconomic burdens; they become day laborers or migrants, fighting for jobs that are disappearing.

As both the numbers and the incomes of small farmers and farm workers drop sharply, the small rural communities decline with them. There is not enough purchasing power to maintain the small stores, service stations, eating places, country banks. Whole areas stagnate, and then even residents of small towns start to migrate to the swollen ghettos.

Why a Southern Rural Training Project?

The Southern Rural Training Project (SRTP) became an effective effort to reach these hardest to reach of all people, living in poverty-stricken rural areas, without education, technical skills, or indeed anything but the desire to better their lives. The SRTP was set up by the National Sharecroppers Fund in 1964 and was financed by the Department of Labor as an Experimental and Demonstration Project under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The services and technical assistance of a private agency such as NSF, with its Southern Rural Training Project, provided the bridge between legislation and need. Many of the poorest rural people do not know where and how to find the government agencies that can help; how to interpret legislation to see what is available; how to fill out intricate forms and follow through bureaucratic channels to success--although they have shown that they can learn.

The first year's experience showed the wide variety of needs that such a program could meet. The project served as a middleman, assisting local groups and institutions in understanding the programs that were available, helping them to survey their areas and to draw up the programs they needed, and putting them in touch with all the government agencies that had to be involved. Processing and clearances sometimes took as long as a year, and local people had to be kept aware of what was happening. People without previous experience in dealing with government programs would have been quickly frustrated.

What Is a Training Program?

Although training programs vary a great deal, depending on the area, the participants, and the objectives, they ordinarily comprise three components. First comes basic education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and basic social education in health and hygiene, citizenship, how to apply for a job. Second comes training, whether in a classroom, on one's own farm with expert supervision, or on-the-job at a new place of employment. Third is the sphere of community action, which has two sides: supportive services for trainees (counseling, health examinations, and the like); and involvement of the program participants in the planning and running of the program, along with other concerned community people.

Programs Developed

Among the early projects developed by SRTP were one to train sugar cane workers in the use of farm machinery; another to train rural young people as secretaries; a third to train small farmers in farm management. One project was also used to test selection techniques; another to test methods of teach-adult literacy.

In its second year, the Southern Rural Training Project broadened its approach to program development, helping local groups apply for and secure training programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and the Vocational Education Act of 1963, as well as under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It broke new ground in Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee, where the first funded programs under Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act (programs for seasonal farm workers) were developed with the assistance of the Southern Rural Training Project.

Title III-B offered an opportunity for SRTP field staff to encourage indigenous people to take an uncustomary active part in the planning and processing of projects. One participant commented:

> I think that the most significant factor of the meeting tonight was that the seasonal farm workers could sit and discuss a training program with the "big" farmers. I don't think some of the persons attending have ever before participated in a meeting of Negroes and whites similar to this one.

During the second year, SRTP helped local leadership in Southern communities to secure funding for 12 programs which are now providing this kind of education and training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. And 16 additional projects, which will serve 3,000 more trainees, are ready for 1967 funding. This was accomplished at a cost per trainee of $30 to $70, depending on how many projects finally become operative.

Interest is High

From one of the poorest counties in the nation (Fayette, Tennessee), the local training project head wrote:

> Our school has been in operation for three weeks. We have separated the school attendants into three levels of learning. The highest level (consisting of 16 people) is just barely functional. The balance, about equally divided, are illiterate completely to barely being able to read. All of these people at one time had some skill in reading and writing, but through non-use this has been lost.... The interest among the students is high and the enthusiasm of the teachers is very high.

SRTP is a Success

SRTP completed its activities in July. It was an Experimental and Demonstration project which was clearly successful; nevertheless, the Department of Labor's policy is not to continue to finance demonstration projects beyond a second year. The local people who have been aided to plan and follow through on projects have learned how to carry on. But, despite the number of training projects in existence under all of the legislation that SRTP used, still unmet are the needs of thousands of "surplus" people in the rural South, anxious to help themselves if the tools and techniques are offered.

Still Needed

The National Sharecroppers Fund is determined to continue its pioneering work to help poor rural communities receive the benefits of educational and training programs which they desperately need. To this end, one of the most able of the SRTP field representatives has been added to NSF's Regional staff and is now at work with rural communities in several Southern states.

Thus, many more thousands of functional illiterates will begin to read, to learn skills, to find jobs, to open a door out of poverty. But to be truly effective in helping the rural poor to achieve a life of economic independence at home, and in helping to rebuild their impoverished communities, government and private agencies must greatly increase their efforts beyond their present level. NSF is working to bring this about.

Panola Builds a Co-op

Panola Builds a Co-op

Negro farmers in Panola County, Mississippi, were being paid only four cents a pound for their okra. They knew their okra was worth more. The broker to whom they sold their crop, and who was making a handsome profit, wouldn't pay. What did the farmers do? They organized their own co-op to market their own okra. This is the story of how they did it with hard work, determination to succeed, and technical assistance from the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Poverty has been the way of life for generations in Panola County, Mississippi. Nearly 29,000 people lived there when the 1960 census was taken, about 9,000 less than the previous census. More than half of them are Negroes, and nearly all of them are poor farmers. The one out of four—black and white, men and women—who left Panola County forever included more than half of the young people in their twenties.

As everywhere, in Panola the Negroes were harder pressed, poorer, more apt to be forced off their land or to lose their jobs. As more of them left, the thousands who remained wondered if they should—or could—go too. This is the source of the great migration to the cities of people who are untrained, without resources, still hoping to share in the American dream.

Like most of Mississippi, Panola is cotton country. And like many other southern counties, it grows okra and beans on the side. Cotton is so much the center of life that until last year children attended school on a split shift, with classes in the summer so they would be available for picking cotton at the midwinter harvest. Even small independent farmers had little control over their livelihood because they depended on a few local white brokers for pricing and marketing their crops, and they had to take what they were offered in order to get any cash at all.

Farmers Ask Help From NSF

The National Sharecroppers Fund first heard from the small okra farmers of Panola County in the summer of 1964. They asked NSF's field representative, Mr. James Mays, to come and advise them. Civil rights workers in the county had told them about cooperatives, and they asked him to help them start one.

These farmers were being paid only 4 cents a pound by the broker for their okra. When 60 of them signed a petition to the white okra buyer asking for 8 cents (and hoping for 5 or 6 cents), he told them not to try to run his business.

The farmers thought that trying to make a living was as much their business as making a big profit was the broker's business, and they decided to take the risk of trying to sell their okra for themselves. Mr. Mays helped them to get started, but they learned most by doing. Before long, they had formed the beginnings of a farmers' marketing cooperative.

The Farmers Begin

First, they learned how to buy seed wholesale and sell it to co-op members at cost, so that everybody saved. Then they learned that okra has to be graded before it can be marketed, that it has to be a certain size and shape.

When the co-op started, the farmers had to sell their okra on the open market in Memphis, Tennessee, because they had no contract for the crop. One day they might get 6½ cents a pound, and another day only 2 cents. That was because they started late in the season, and because their former buyer worked hard to prevent their getting contracts.

They decided to hold back 1 cent a pound from each member grower's sales to pay for the trucks the co-op had to hire to take the okra to Memphis, and for other expenses. The manager who kept the records and supervised the loading station didn't always get paid his $35.00 a week.

Some farmers went back to the old broker when the co-op had to cut its payments to 4 cents a pound at the end of the summer, but most of them stuck with their co-op. They knew next year would be easier because they now had experience in grading and marketing, and they had time to get contracts with out-of-state buyers and frozen food plants. With these new buyers, they could contract for other crops, too. If they could manage to buy their own trucks, they could save money there.

The Government Should Help

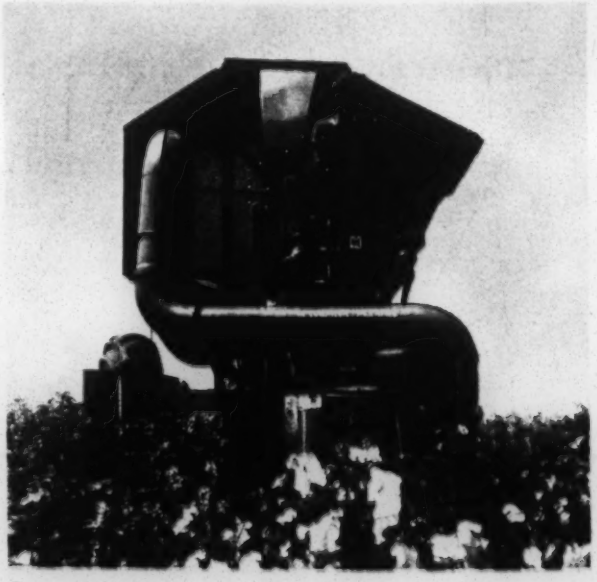
Both the National Sharecroppers Fund and the civil rights workers had told the farmers that they were entitled to government help that they hadn't been getting. The Extension Service could give them information about grading and marketing, and even help get them contracts. Other agencies could lend them money to buy trucks and equipment they needed.

Now that the West Batesville Farmers Cooperative was organized, the farmers had a way to tackle other problems. None of them could afford to buy machinery alone, but through the co-op they could share the expense. The first thing they wanted was cotton harvesters, so that their children could go to school instead of picking the crops after the split-session law was changed. They found out that the poverty program could lend money to a farmers' co-op if more than half the members were poor, but when they first went to the local Farmers Home Administration office the agent didn't seem to know about it.

The co-op filed an application anyway, asking for two cotton pickers, two bean combines, and a bulldozer. They also needed funds for an equipment shed and an office.

Then the county agent came to a co-op meeting and was very discouraging. He said the farmers were asking for too much and told them to take a survey of how many acres of cotton and beans they would be harvesting. The farmers took time off to make the survey and raised money to buy gasoline to get around the county. They found that farmers who wanted to hire the machines the co-op would buy had a total of 1,400 acres of cotton and 1,400 acres of beans. The county agent had to admit that they needed more than they had asked for—six cotton pickers instead of two, and three combines.

Mr. James Mays, NSF field representative



Cotton picking machine at work

The Loan Comes

In August, 1965, the co-op received a loan for $113,000 under the antipoverty program. They had ten years to pay, at about half the interest that was charged locally. It was the largest loan yet made to such a co-op, and all of a sudden local officials who had never done anything for the farmers became interested and even bragged about their achievement.

Now members are being trained to operate and take care of the machinery, and they are talking hopefully about the day they'll have their own cotton gin. Even though it was late summer before the loan came, they were able to make the 1965 payment on it. The drivers were paid $1.25 an hour, which big Mississippi plantation owners still claim they can't afford. Dealers are bidding for the co-op's business, and contracts for 1966 crops were signed in time. Plans are to start handling fertilizer, insecticides, and farm equipment soon.

The farmers' children are going to school now, instead of working in the fields. Some of the farmers are going to classes too, after work is done. With a special foundation grant, a young civil rights worker wrote the story of the co-op in language that people without much education can understand, in print large enough for easy reading, and with pictures that help to tell the story. This is part of a literacy program, and it also helps to spread the word about how to form a co-op.

The West Batesville Farmers Cooperative is a beginning for Panola County. The South is full of counties like Panola where people are being driven out; yet thousands want to stay—if they can get help to build a better life where they are.

Before Panola—and After

The National Sharecroppers Fund has been helping low-income farmers and farm workers in the rural South for nearly thirty years. It brings information about agricultural assistance programs to rural people who need them, and it helps poor people to organize to take advantage of the antipoverty program and to implement the Civil Rights Act so that all may share in benefits.

NSF's first southern field represenative went into Fayette and Haywood Counties, in Tennessee, after hundreds of sharecroppers had been evicted because they registered to vote in 1960. Today, with NSF representative Art Emery as a moving spirit, farmers there have organized the MidSouth Oil Cooperative with a $49,000 loan through the Office of Economic Opportunity. A vegetable marketing cooperative and a credit union are in the planning stages, and another NSF program, the Southern Rural Training Project, is helping the local people get manpower training started there. Small machinery co-ops have been organized, too.

The very first OEO loan to go to a rural cooperative went to the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Lafayette, Louisiana. A delegate from the co-op had attended NSF's first Southern Conference (in North Carolina, in 1962) which brought government and rural people together to learn from each other. The next such conference, in South Carolina in 1963, was specifically about co-operatives, and more than 200 rural people attended. In the following years, similar meetings were held in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama.

Poor farmers took home ideas of what they could

Co-op member Mrs. Turner in her okra field

Equipment bought with government loan

do themselves (such as forming co-ops) and how the government could help (through loan and training programs). NSF added field representatives to follow up with help; those in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida work in a Rural Advancement Program jointly sponsored by NSF and the Southern Regional Council and the state Councils on Human Relations. In South Carolina, NSF representative L. S. James was credited with key assistance in forming the St. Mathews Machinery Association, which secured the first loan in the state for such a co-op.

Now small co-ops are beginning to multiply throughout the rural South: machinery co-ops, marketing co-ops, even producers' co-ops. The idea is outrunning the know-how, but not the need. Members must learn not only to run machines but to keep books; to understand market conditions as well as soil potential; what they can ask from government, and what they must give of themselves.

The way out of poverty is long and difficult. Guideposts, like NSF, help show the way. But the poor are on the move, and there will be no turning back.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET/NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

GRamercy 3-0284

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director

Panola Builds a Co-op

N. S. F.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

October 27, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: NSF/RAP Field Staff
State Directors on Human Relations

FROM: Fay Bennett

national board

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

I think all of us feel that our last NSF/RAP workshop in Atlanta, October 5-7, was one of the best we have had, and yet I think we all agree that there is room for improvement. We are all involved in the job of tackling tremendously difficult problems and it will need very careful planning so that the next workshop makes possible the presentation of as much factual information as possible on how to develop economic programs to help the local groups with whom we work; to permit full discussion on the part of all of the staff members on the problems they face in their areas and to raise all of the questions and say all of the relevant things they have on their minds. Spending a full three days at our next workshop as agreed upon will help.

As you will recall, we have accepted James Mays' invitation to hold our next workshop close enough to the Mississippi Delta so that we can spend an afternoon visiting the Panola County Farmers Co-op and to meet with its leaders that evening. When details of the meeting are worked out, you will hear about them directly from Jac Wasserman.

I enclose for your information a reprint on "'Black Power' and Coalition Politics" by Bayard Rustin which I am sure will be of interest to you.

Also enclosed, is a copy of the telegram sent by a representative group of those who attended our last Atlanta workshop to President Johnson and Sargent Shriver regarding the Child Development Group in Mississippi. Much has happened since then. Briefly, the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty held an emergency Executive Committee meeting on the matter on October 10 (attended by Dr. Frank Graham and myself for NSF). It unanimously adopted the report of a distinguished panel of experts which gave CDGM a clean bill of health all down the line and urged its refunding. CCAP tried to use its influence to get OEO to hold up giving out Head Start money to newly set-up groups and to continue CDGM for another thirty days while the matter was being resolved. Things moved so fast that within a few days a special National Citizens Committee for the Child Development Program in Mississippi was formed and placed a full page ad in the New York Times on Wednesday, October 19th. (Enclosed is a copy). Enclosed also is Sargent Shriver's reply which appeared in the New York Times, the latest exchange on all this in the current issue of New Republic, and an excellent analysis of this struggle by James Wechsler in the New York Post.

C O P Y

TELEGRAM

C O P Y

Atlanta, Georgia
October 7, 1966

TO: The Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, NW
Washington, D.C.

THE UNDERSIGNED REPRESENT A WIDE VARIETY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS TO AID THE SOUTHERN RURAL POOR. IN OUR PRESENT MEETING TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN RURAL POVERTY, WE FIND OUSELVES DEEPLY DISTURBED TO LEARN OF THE REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE UNRESTRICTED THE WIDELY ACCLAIMED AND EFFECTIVE EFFORTS OF THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI TO BRING PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION TO THOUSANDS OF THE MOST SEVERELY IMPOVERISHED CHILDREN IN THE COUNTRY AND MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT TO HUNDREDS OF THEIR PARENTS. THE GREAT HOPE BROUGHT BY CDGM TO THIS POOR POPULATION IS IN CONTRAST TO OTHER ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS WHICH DO NOT TRULY INVOLVE NOR GIVE GENUINE AID AND HOPE TO THE RURAL POOR IN MISSISSIPPI.

WE STRONGLY URGE YOUR CONTINUATION OF THE PIONEERING WORK OF CDGM. ITS DISCONTINUATION WOULD BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP BACKWARDS FOR HEAD START AND WOULD BRING DEEP FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR TO THE MILLIONS OF POOR PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE NATION WHOSE HOPES HAVE BEEN RENEWED BY THE

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EFFECTIVE AND MAXIMUM PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR IN THEIR WORK TO MEET THEIR OWN NEEDS IN MISSISSIPPI. WE SIMILARLY URGE YOUR SUPPORT AND RENEWAL OF CDGM TO PREVENT WIDESPREAD DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG ALL STRATA OF AMERICANS WHO ARE DESPERATELY CONCERNED WITH THE CONTINUATION OF PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMS TO INVOLVE AND AID THE POOR.

Signed:

Mr. Jac Wasserman, Regional Director
The National Sharecroppers Fund
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. James N. Mays, Representative
Hinds County Community Council &
The National Sharecroppers Fund
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Director
So. Carolina Council on Human Relations
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Hubert D. Thomas, Representative
Georgia Council on Human Relations
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rev. LaVert H. Taylor, Director
Florida Rural Advancement Project
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. Lewis Black, Representative
Alabama Council on Human Relations &
Alabama Rural Advancement Project
Greensboro, Alabama

The Rev. Augusta H. Vandenbosche
Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
Miami, Florida

Mr. L. S. James, Representative
So. Carolina Rural Advancement Project
Columbia, South Carolina

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, INC.

agency

★ MANDATE
★ FOR
★ ACTION

In A Year Of Decision

1964 ANNUAL REPORT

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 27, 1966

To: Participants, New Orleans Regional Consultation
February 15, 1966, Sheraton-Charles Hotel

As background information for your participation in the New Orleans Regional Consultation, in connection with the study of the future role and program of the National Social Welfare Assembly, I am very pleased to enclose several documents.

These include: The last Annual Report of The Assembly; Full Agency Information for the National Budget and Consultation Committee; and the Treasurer's Report presented at our last Annual Meeting.

Gordon Manser
Associate Director

Encs.

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

FULL AGENCY INFORMATION FOR THE NATIONAL BUDGET AND CONSULTATION COMMITTEE

AGENCY STATEMENT OF NEEDS, PROGRAM AND ORGANIZATION

Human Needs Served

The Assembly is the one national planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare field. Through involvement of national-state-local, public-voluntary, and lay-professional interests, The Assembly gives leadership in bringing about adaptive change in purposes, programs, and structures within the social welfare field, and in encouraging innovation in meeting needs and trends. The Assembly also takes leadership in shaping new relationships with other interests concerned with human well-being, including housing, education, government, business, labor, social sciences, and economic and physical planning.

What the Agency Does

In pursuing these goals The Assembly is committed to the following priorities: Advancing social and economic well-being; achieving new, dynamic, and inclusive approaches to planning; and furthering the realization of equal rights and full access to opportunities and services. Working together on this program are 36 standing committees, conferences, and workshops on which over 1,500 different individuals serve. The Assembly:

a. Studies problems and programs of current and coming import which vitally affect the entire field of social welfare. For example, the place of voluntary social welfare in today's world and how it is to be financed; ways organizations can open full opportunities for Negroes; changing relationships between governmental and voluntary agencies; social welfare needs of the armed services and veterans; selection, training and differential use of staff with and without professional education; automation and leisure; executive responsibility for long range development plans; legal entitlements under welfare laws.

b. Influences public social policy of governmental and voluntary organizations through: Analyzing and evaluating programs, needs, and trends; working with key persons in the agencies; adopting official positions developed in consultation with national organizations, state and local planning councils, and social welfare statesmen; preparing and distributing information bulletins and guidelines.

c. Speaks in behalf of voluntary social welfare. Presents point of view of voluntary social welfare for incorporation into the U.S. position on matters before the U.N. Social Commission; prepares report on voluntary services for U.S. report to the U.N.; presents organized young adult interests in national and international affairs through U.S. Youth Council; testifies before committees of Congress in its own name and by request on behalf of local, state, and national agencies and individuals. By agreement with United Community Funds and Councils of America, The Assembly is the national spokesman for social welfare planning, and serves as liaison to state and local welfare councils on national developments.

d. Develops guides for agency programs and policies. For example, how to use volunteers in poverty programs; how to determine fees for service; what to consider in choosing a campsite; personnel matters; salaries; uses of confidential information; what teenagers can do about human rights. With UCFCA cosponsors the National Budget and Consultation Committee. Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations were developed in a joint project with the National Health Council.

Organization

History. Created in 1945 to meet the demand for a central national planning and coordinating agency in the social welfare field.

Governing Bodies. The Assembly, the corporate authority, elects 158 members named by the 79 affiliate and associate organizations and 117 members-at-large, also The Assembly officers and Board of 36 who serve 3-year terms. Chairmen of standing units are ex officio Board members. In 1965, The Assembly met twice; average attendance 200. The Board met 4 times; average attendance 24.

Officers. Board: Chairman, Winslow Carlton; Vice Chairmen: Robert F. Shea, Sanford Solender; Secretary: C.F. McNeil. The Assembly: President, William H. Bulkeley; Vice Presidents: Margaret Hickey, R. Wolcott Hooker, John F. Meloney, Chester McKittrick, Leo Perlis, Mrs. Alexander B. Ripley, Ira A. Schur; Secretary, Mrs. Michael Harris; Treasurer, Eugene J. Patton.

Staff. Total: 45. NSWA: 18 full-time, 2 part-time. (5 full-time, 1 part-time are professional). Special staff: 25.

Community Relations. No local branches. Work through members-at-large, national organizations, united funds, and welfare planning councils.

HIGHLIGHTS OF PROGRAM

The Assembly in 1966 will continue its regular on-going activities; will complete the special Study of Future Role and Program begun in 1965; will work further on implementation of uniform accounting and financial reporting; and will give special attention to four major areas: 1) Anti-poverty programs. 2) Extending and strengthening relationships with departments and agencies of the Federal government. 3) Governmental and voluntary agency relationships, roles and responsibilities. 4) Financing national voluntary organizations. During 1966, adaptations in the structure and work of Assembly units will be made as the special study progresses, if change is indicated.

The paragraphs which follow report selected program highlights.

Future Role and Program

The special Study of the Future Role and Program of the National Social Welfare Assembly, begun in September of 1965, will be completed in 1966. The study will: 1) Analyze and evaluate national issues and problems affecting the well-being of people; 2) assess the purpose, nature, and extent of The Assembly's role in the light of these problems; 3) project attainable program goals; and 4) convert program goals into recommendations covering organization, management, and financing.

The scope of the study includes: 1) Factual assessment of The Assembly over the past ten years with respect to trends in financing, staffing, workload, participation in program, and program emphases and priorities; 2) identification and broad evaluation of social welfare problems and issues requiring national study, planning, coordination and leadership for solution; 3) assessment of the nature, role, and utility of The Assembly, its present image, the utility of its materials; 4) identification of means by which to further working relationships with the Federal government, and with other national organizations of similar interests; 5) identification of the methods for improving and strengthening working liaison with local and state social welfare planning councils; and 6) identification of means by which working relationships can be extended and strengthened with organizations and groups whose interests touch upon social welfare.

The study plan calls for individual and group conferences with lay and professional leaders in social welfare and related disciplines. Care is being taken to have the views of united fund and community welfare councils as well as those of national voluntary and governmental bodies. A series of five regional conferences assures geographically wide-spread participation.

The study committee of 18 members includes business, education, labor, government, religion, and social welfare interests. Bernard L. Gladieux, Vice President of the management firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, is committee chairman; Mrs. H. M. Rozendaal, citizen leader of Schenectady, New York is vice chairman. Greenleigh Associates are consultants to the committee. The study is financed by The Rockefeller Foundation with matching money from individuals, and national organizations affiliated with The Assembly.

Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations

Implementation of the Standards, developed jointly by The Assembly and the National Health Council is proceeding so that agencies may make their first report by these Standards before or during 1968. The program includes work with the national agencies, with united funds and with regulatory bodies. June 30, 1966 has been set as the deadline date for completion of national agency manuals and those of their local units. United Community Funds and Councils of America is developing a new budget manual for use by local united funds and chests. Technical assistance in the implementation program is by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

A handbook, Forms and Instructions Recommended to State and Local Regulatory Bodies for Uniform Financial Reporting by Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations, has been completed. Its contents were developed in cooperation with voluntary agencies, state and local regulatory bodies and other public officials. This handbook will be distributed in cooperation with the National Association of Attorneys General and the National League of Cities.

These three approaches - with the agencies, united funds, and regulatory bodies - encompass the major facets of reporting. This means that, when completed, a national or a local agency can use one set of reports for all purposes requiring reports of income, expenditures, and assets, and the relationship of these items to program and management costs. The reports will also provide means for financial comparisons among agencies.

War on Poverty

Historically The Assembly is committed to advancing the well-being of all people, a commitment which was reaffirmed on April 10, 1964 with the adoption of an official Position Statement on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In 1966, The Assembly will give particular attention to the war on poverty. The Assembly will: 1) Continue to emphasize the role of social welfare in fighting poverty, and will recognize that both innovative and established programs are essential. 2) Help define appropriate roles for governmental and for voluntary agencies. 3) Gather information about the experience of national agencies and local units. 4) Examine how such experience relates to and affects agencies' on-going purposes and programs. 5) Identify in what places and ways the established agencies may make their best contributions to the poverty fight. 6) Against this background, seek to develop common understanding and agreement with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Relationships with United Community Funds and Councils of America

The Assembly and the UCFCA work closely together in ways appropriate to advance planning and coordination in social welfare. A statement of agreement, adopted by the two boards in 1964, recognizes The Assembly responsibility for overall planning in the social welfare field, for keeping abreast of Federal and national developments and for dealing directly with welfare planning councils on such developments. UCFCA continues its responsibility for giving leadership,

consultation, and service to local funds and councils, and for keeping abreast of local voluntary and governmental planning matters.

With UCFCA, The Assembly co-sponsors the National Budget and Consultation Committee, and two annual regional meetings - the Great Lakes Institute and the Adirondack Workshop.

Governmental and Voluntary Responsibilities

Plans have been drawn for initiating a dialogue to assess the dramatic changes which are taking place in governmental and voluntary responsibilities and relationships in the health and welfare fields, and to consider and define the respective roles of government and voluntary effort in the coming years. This dialogue, jointly undertaken by the National Health Council and The Assembly, is seen as a continuing process, for such matters are not static. Funds are being sought for an initial group to be brought together in 1966.

Social Issues and Policies

Committees of Congress, public bodies, national organizations and local community welfare councils look to The Assembly for advice, consultation, and information on matters of public social policy. The Assembly speaks for itself on those matters for which an official position has been taken. By request The Assembly speaks on public issues for other organizations and individuals. For example, in 1965 The Assembly testified on unemployment insurance before the House Ways and Means Committee on behalf of 23 organizations and 64 executives. Of these, 10 organizations were local funds or councils and 42 individuals were executives of local funds or councils. The Assembly filed separate statements for three national organizations, and for the Record introduced an Assembly study on unemployment insurance.

Individual consultation has been given to national organizations on specific issues, such as, Federal aid for social work education, and implementation of medicare as it affects visiting nurses and united funds. At the request of the D/HEW Task Force on Social Work Education and Manpower, members of The Assembly Committee on Personnel met with the Task Force staff for consultation regarding needed legislation.

Members of Congress and public officials have been warm in their praise for this aspect of The Assembly work.

Legal Rights of Persons Entitled to Public Benefits and Welfare Protections

The question of legal entitlements and protections under welfare programs is a growing interest of The Assembly. In 1959, The Assembly took the lead in examining the issues around a newly passed Louisiana law which disqualified over 22,000 children for Aid to Dependent Children. A number of national agencies, acting under Assembly sponsorship, petitioned the Social Security Commissioner to call a hearing to determine whether or not the Louisiana action was not in fact out of conformity with Federal law. When the hearing

was called national organizations singly and jointly filed amicus curiae briefs on behalf of the Louisiana children. As a result of this action Federal regulations were modified, and subsequently incorporated into law, making it impossible to deny assistance to an otherwise eligible child because of the unsuitability of the home, unless other provisions are made for support of the child.

Legal and social welfare interests have been further stimulated by Assembly publications. For example, Poverty and the Law (1963), which discusses the constitutional rights of public assistance recipients, and Check List of Legal and Constitutional Issues affecting the rights of individuals seeking or receiving welfare and related benefits (1965). Elizabeth Wickenden, The Assembly Consultant on Public Social Policy, has spearheaded these efforts which have involved others also. For example, the Yalw Law Journal in June of 1963 published Midnight Welfare Searches and the Social Security Act, and in June 1965 carried Individual Rights and Social Welfare: The Emerging Legal Issues. Both articles were by Charles I. Reich, Esq. The Assembly, through special financing, gave wide distribution to the 1963 article. Miss Wickenden has secured a grant for an exploratory examination of the legal issues through a project now underway at the Hays Center of the New York University Law School.

Continuing attention will be given to this significant area in the coming months.

Social Welfare and Community Mental Health

A seminar on social welfare and community mental health will be held in March of 1966 under the joint sponsorship of The Assembly and the National Health Council and with the aid of a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. The purpose of the seminar is to bring together national, state and local, voluntary and governmental service and planning agencies to develop ways to gain the objectives of the Community Mental Health Act of 1963. The seminar proceeds on the assumption that it is necessary to replace the walls between systems of service in the states and communities with bridges of understanding and cooperation. It is hoped that answers will be found to problems of financing, fragmentation, and growing demands for a variety of new kinds of services.

This seminar may well provide a pattern for exploration into other important program areas involving a variety of community interests.

Relationships with the United Nations

Voluntary social welfare's point of view on issues to come before the United Nations Social Commission is developed and presented by The Assembly Committee on International Social Welfare. In preparation for the 1965 meeting of the Commission, agenda items were analyzed, comments and recommendations prepared dealing with: 1) family, child, and youth welfare services; 2) relationship between social security and social services; 3) training of social welfare personnel; 4) reappraisal of the United Nations Social Service Programme; 5) the social aspects of housing

and urban development; 6) proposals for the programme of work of the U.N. in the social field 1965-1967. These papers, issued as an Assembly publication, have had wide use. Mrs. Edison Dick, then U.S. Representative to the U.N. Social Commission, expressed "warmest appreciation ... for the help and guidance given by the thoughtful position papers of the National Social Welfare Assembly." She added: "It is a great satisfaction to a delegation to have the back stopping of such an interested and informed group."

The U.S. representatives to the UNICEF Board have requested similar help in 1966.

International Development

Social welfare services are constructive and necessary measures to advance, support and sustain the total society is the central message of a Position Statement on Social Welfare in International Development, adopted by The Assembly on March 12, 1965. The principles set forth in this statement will guide The Assembly's future relationships in both governmental and non-governmental international development interests.

International Conferences

United States participation in the Fifth Pan American Congress of Social Service was sponsored by The Assembly Committee on International Social Welfare. There were 19 on the U.S. delegation to the Congress which met in Lima, Peru in November of 1965. The Assembly Committee was responsible for the preparation of the U.S. position paper on the theme: Social Welfare's Role in Mobilization and Administration of Human Resources in Social Development.

The Assembly is joining with other national organizations in plans for the 1966 International Conference of Social Work which meets in Washington, D. C. in September.

International Exchange

Local communities have the privilege of learning first hand about social welfare interests and services in other countries through the International Exchange Program, which is financed by the U.S. Department of State. Under the auspices of this Program, each year several hundred visitors from some 40 to 50 nations study and visit social agencies in the United States. In 1966, some 1,000 individuals will be hosted by IEP with each visitor's program developed by The Assembly's IEP staff. Through The Assembly U.S. Youth Council, friendships across national boundaries are formed which in time will broaden and enrich the lives of young people throughout the world. In 1965, there were small exchange delegations to Cambodia, Latin America and the Caribbean Islands, and from West Germany, Russia, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Vietnam.

Intergroup Relations

A newly constituted Committee on Intergroup Relations will gather information about the programs, problems, and progress of national agencies and will develop recommendations for use by the national agencies and their local constituency.

Financing National Voluntary Agencies

This subject will receive attention in 1966 through an ad hoc committee charged with exploring the 1) problems national voluntary agencies have in securing adequate financial support, 2) current and potential sources of support, and 3) possible solutions. Intimately involved are the changing relationships with government, project money, and fees.

Regional Conferences and Workshops

Regional national organization field staff conferences offer the opportunity for a careful look at problems specific to the region, and for making plans on how best to deal with them. Four regional field staff conferences now meet regularly as part of the program of the Committee on Field Service: Western, Midwestern, Southeastern and Northeastern.

Adirondack Workshop and the Great Lakes Institute, co-sponsored with UCFCA, bring together national, state and local agency executives, both governmental and voluntary, for an exploration of some special problem. In 1966 the topics will be New Federal Legislation-Impact on Local Communities, and The Revolution of Expectations.

National Inter-organizational Relationships in Social Welfare

The Assembly is serving as convener of a group of national agencies meeting to review major changes affecting the social welfare field, and to consider their implications for national functions, programs, organizational structure, etc. within the field. Included are National Association of Social Workers, National Conference on Social Welfare, American Public Welfare Association, Council on Social Work Education.

Individual Staff Members

Individual staff members are called upon from time to time for committee service, for speaking, and for writing assignments. For example, four articles in the 1965 Encyclopedia of Social Work, published by the National Association of Social Workers, were prepared by Assembly staff members: National Organizations in Social Welfare, Robert E. Bondy; Voluntary Organization for Social Welfare, Gordon Manser; Social Action, Elizabeth Wickenden; Financing National Health and Welfare Agencies, Elma Phillipson Cole. The 1965 Yearbook of the U.S. Department of Agriculture included a section on welfare services written by Mrs. Louise N. Mumm.

Miss Wickenden prepared a Chapter on Welfare Services for a book, In Aid of the Unemployed, edited by Joseph M. Becker, S. J., published by The Johns Hopkins Press in 1965. Mrs. Cole prepared a Chapter on Interagency Relations for a 1966 Columbia University book Public Relations in Health and Welfare Management.

Miss Wickenden in 1965 was appointed by the President to membership on the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women. She was also invited to membership on the National Advisory Committee to the Legal Services Program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. She is a member of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, charged with reporting in 1966 to Congress and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on changes needed in the public assistance and child welfare services provisions of the Social Security Act.

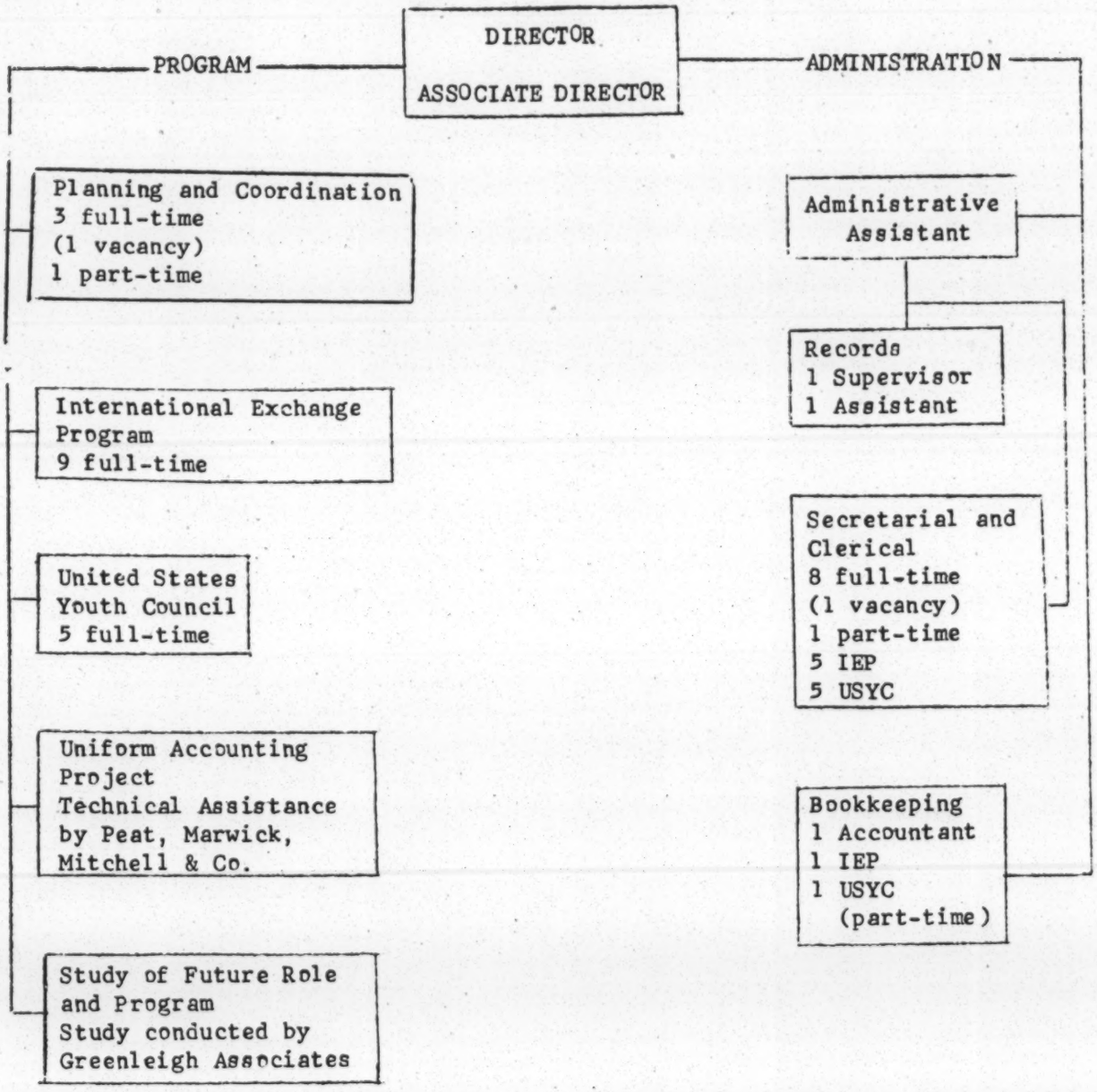
Staff members have helped in the development of standards, for example homemaker services, and for accreditation of agencies serving blind persons.

Publications

Publications are an integral part of The Assembly's service to the field. A regular newsletter to the constituency highlights developments. Guides for organizing and operating programs and services are developed with the help of technicians in the related fields. For example, youth work camps, use of case aides, handling confidential case material. Information bulletins are issued analyzing new Federal proposals or laws, or dealing with some critical and emerging problem. For example, taxes, health care for the aged, poverty, youth employment. Occasional papers pertinent to The Assembly's program emphases are issued: integration, poverty. Studies and special directories are prepared: a study of salaries and working conditions in social welfare, titles and definitions of social welfare positions for the Department of Labor Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Service Directory of National Organizations affiliated and associated with The Assembly. In 1965, 20 items were added to The Assembly's Publication List.

Printed and mimeographed in U.S.A.
February 1966

STAFF ORGANIZATION - January 1966



SAMPLE

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

INFORMATION ON CHILD DESIRING A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION

NAME OF CHILD_____

ADDRESS_____TELEPHONE_____

BIRTHDATE_____DOES CHILD HAVE A BIRTH CERTIFICATE?_____

GRADE CHILD WILL BE 1965-66 SCHOOL YEAR_____

SCHOOL WHERE CHILD IS PRESENTLY ENROLLED_____

FATHER'S NAME_____EMPLOYER_____

MOTHER'S NAME_____EMPLOYER_____

NAME GUARDIAN IF OTHER THAN PARENT_____

NAMES AND AGES OF OTHER CHILDREN AND SCHOOL WHICH THEY ATTEND:

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

NAME_____SCHOOL_____

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IF ANY_____

NEAREST FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOL OR SCHOOL WITH DESIRED COURSE:

_____

CAN PARENTS SUGGEST NAMES OF OTHER PARENTS INTERESTED IN DESEGREGATED EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN?

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

REMARKS OF VISITOR:

FOLLOW UP:
Did parents seek to register child in or transfer child to a formerly all-white school?_____NAME OF SCHOOL_____DATE_____

Action of school board: was child enrolled or denied?_____DATE_____

AFSC - Form No. 2 - rev. 5/12/65

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

Report of The Treasurer to the 1965 Annual Meeting of The Assembly

Eugene J. Patton

The financial situation within The Assembly has always been reasonably tight. In our first year back in 1946 the income was about $63,000 and our expenses were about $59,000, so in that first year we started off with a surplus of some $4,000. Until 1960 our income has matched our expenses. It had to be that way. In the last four years, however, our expenses exceeded our income and we had to borrow from the banks.

In reporting the financial results of operations of The Assembly for the year 1965, let me say at the outset that on the basis of actual figures for the first ten months of this year and what I consider very reasonable estimates of income and expenses for the months of November and December, we shall not have to go to the bank and borrow as we have had to do at the end of each of the last four years. At the end of 1961 we had to borrow $16,000; 1962 - $21,000; 1963 - $12,500, and 1964 - $18,100.

The 1965 financial results viewed in light of this background are quite commendable, and our retiring director, Robert E. Bondy, and his executive staff should feel proud of their accomplishments this year.

Before going into detail, I also wish to point out and emphasize that in 1961 The Assembly adopted the financial policy that the basic support should come from its own constituency, namely, the affiliated organizations and the United Funds and Welfare Councils. In other words, it was the objective of this policy that The Assembly's own constituency would provide 90% to 95% of the income to defray expenses of operation. An examination of this objective will be discussed later in this report.

A summary of 1965 financial results projected on the cash receipts and disbursements method of accounting is as follows:

Income - 1965

Income - cash receipts	$ 294,300
Bank loan proceeds	None
Total income - cash receipts	$ 294,300

Expense - 1965

Monies actually paid out	$ 291,000
Less: Dec. 1964 loan repaid with interest thereon	18,500
Actual operating disbursements	$ 272,500
Surplus, estimated 12/31/65	$ 3,300

Operating income exceeds operating expenses, on a cash basis, by $21,800 ($294,300 - $272,500). Out of this excess of income over expense, we were able to repay, in 1965, the December 1964 loan and interest thereon of $18,500 leaving an estimated surplus of about $3,300 at year end.

What were the sources of our 1965 income as compared with the four preceding years?

Total Cash Available by Source and Year 1961 - 1965

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
Affiliated Organizations	$ 112,800	108,800	103,300	91,400	95,000
United Fund & Community Welfare Councils	114,200	107,500	100,000	101,000	94,300
Contributions	7,600	8,600	8,400	9,500	7,200
Reimbursements	55,300	27,000	36,000	21,800	19,500
Sale of Publications	3,800	3,600	7,600	5,200	8,000
Miscellaneous	600	600	600	600	2,500
	294,300	256,100	255,900	229,500	226,500
Money Borrowed	NONE	18,100	12,500	21,000	16,000
Cash Available	$ 294,300	274,200	268,400	250,500	242,500

Percent of Cash Available by Specified Source Year 1961 - 1965

Affiliated organizations United Funds & Community Welfare Councils	77%	79%	76%	77%	78%
Reimbursements	18.8%	9.8%	13.4%	8.7%	8%

There was a marked increase in income from reimbursements in 1965. Of the $55,300, about 90% came from implementation of the Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting, The International Exchange Program and the comics project. If it had not been for this substantial amount of reimbursement income we would have had to go to the bank again this year.

We are still striving to increase our income from outside sources. The president is again sending letters soliciting contributions from friends and from individuals.

So much for the income analysis; let us look at our cash disbursements.

Disbursements by Object and Year 1961 - 1965

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
Salaries	$ 161,200	155,300	143,600	144,900	147,500
Retirement	19,500	17,800	13,700	13,100	12,700
Rent	19,700	19,100	19,600	19,700	19,700
Travel	20,000	19,300	17,300	15,000	14,000
Printing and reproduction	8,600	4,100	10,900	6,900	12,000
Telephone and telegraph	6,500	8,100	6,300	7,200	8,400
Meetings - conferences	10,000	11,100	9,600	8,600	9,500
Office expenses	25,500	26,600	25,900	19,900	17,600
Equipment	1,500				
Repayment of loan and interest	18,500	12,900	21,500	16,400	
	$ 291,000	274,200	268,400	251,700	241,400
Less Loan repayments	18,500	12,900	21,500	16,400	
Operating expenses	$ 272,500	261,300	246,900	235,300	241,400

This report gives you an idea of the scope of the financial operational aspects of The Assembly. These figures relate to what we call the Operating Budget.

In addition, The Assembly in 1965 will expend $749,000 for special projects including the International Exchange Program which is carried in co-operation with the U.S. Department of State; the U. S. Youth Council, and Standards Implementation Project.

In other words, The Assembly this year is doing a total business involving expenditures of over one million dollars. The accounts have been examined every year by the national accounting firm of Haskins & Sells and have been found to be in order.

These expenditures are under the administration and supervision of a small Assembly administration and program staff. May I say on my behalf and, if I may, on yours that they are doing an excellent job under a tight budget situation. They deserve our highest commendation.

file URBAN LEAGUE

CITIZEN ACTION ASSEMBLY
ON
HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES
FOR
GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, as follows, were set forth by the participants of the state-wide Citizen Action Assembly on Health and Welfare Services for Georgia's Children, April 1, 1966.

I. In considering welfare services, it is essential that we resolve to be aware and have concern for current programs, problem areas, and proposed changes in programs and legislation.

A. We resolve that the criteria for qualifying to receive Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) be re-evaluated to eliminate the high rigidity of requirements which deprive our children of basic essentials for their normal existence, and that steps be taken to increase the amount of the grants and the number of benefits (services).

B. We particularly recommend that the "substitute father" or "man in the house" clause be removed as a criteria for denying a family the right of assistance.

II. We recommend that the Georgia General Assembly be reconvened for the purpose of using surplus funds to increase health and welfare benefits; and that such benefits include the Georgia Department of Family and Children's Services launching a special project to distribute surplus foods, and that this Department increasingly use the Food Stamp Program as a more effective means of providing food to people in need.

III. We recommend that mandatory legislation be passed which will....

...require all school superintendents in all school districts to establish classes for retarded children, both educable and trainable, and that there be less rigidity in the accreditation of teachers for these special classes and an increase in the training of volunteer aides.

...establish a mechanism to insure the enforcement of child labor laws and practices throughout Georgia.

...insure enforcement of day care requirements at all centers in Georgia.

IV. We resolve that we be an Action Assembly and Committee, concerned with implementing and insuring adequate services towards improving the health and well-being of all children in Georgia, regardless of race, color, or creed.

A. To actively follow-up the groundwork laid by the Citizen Action Assembly:

1. Funds be sought and secured to develop a program which will bring services to those people most in need.

2. Upon receiving of funds, area meetings be held in the State, as the first phase of the Citizen Health and Welfare Program. These meetings will follow, in principle, the goals, purposes, and structuring of the State-wide Assembly.

3. An Advisory Board (Committee) be established to insure the fulfilling of program goals and plans, and that this Board be composed of a third civic leaders, a third representatives of communities in need, and a third professionals from public and private servicing agencies.

B. Upon establishing a state-wide structure, which will be composed of a state-wide committee with an advisory board, and area committees with boards and community delegates, we recommend the following programs:

1. Consultative services (public or private) be secured for community organizations requesting health and/or welfare programs.

2. Leaders of community organizations be encouraged to assist in educating the general public by interpreting health and welfare programs to their membership, encouraging volunteer service in areas of need, and devising means of disseminating information to the community-at-large.

3. Students should become aware of communities with health welfare problems; they should examine (research) services performed by local agencies, and, in general, analyze areas of need--geographical and problematic.

4. Young people should be motivated towards careers in public health and welfare, particularly in those areas in most need of trained personnel.

5. Local action should be taken to establish a community information center which would be responsible for....

   a) developing a community agency inventory for the purpose of coordinating and co-relating existing services and developing those additionally needed;

   b) devising an uptodate fact sheet on existing services and a means of disseminating this information;

   c) actively involving the people receiving services, and in most need of services, in the planning of methods for more efficient dispersing of services and in the planning for additionally needed services.

C. We recommend that, in cooperation with various citizen action groups in Georgia, public and private servicing agencies....

...examine their current procedures for distributing services, and, wherever feasible, devise means for simplifying procedures.

...make home services available or, where such servicing is not feasible, funds be available for those individuals who cannot present themselves to take advantage of services.

...consider decentralization and extension of services to improve the quality and quantity of services for those communities in need.

...provide the assistance of qualified personnel to train volunteers for services needing aides.

V. We resolve that we as individuals and representatives of our organizations will assume the responsibility for taking the above recommendations and resolutions to our respective communities, that we will actively participate in their implementation and in the elimination of all discriminatory practices existing in health and welfare servicing by public and and private agencies in Georgia.

April 18, 1966

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

VISTA: A VOLUNTEER MANPOWER RESOURCE

A Conference on VISTA Training for Social Agencies
Georgian Terrace Hotel
January 10, 1967
12:30 - 4:00 p.m.

Sponsors: OEO Washington, VISTA Division
National Urban League, Inc.

Cooperating Agencies: Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

12:00 Noon	Registration	
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon Meeting	Presiding: Mr. Kenneth Crooks Director E. K. Jones VISTA Training Center
	Greetings	Mr. Clarence Coleman, Regional Director National Urban League, Inc. Mr. Duane Beck, Executive Director Community Council Mr. William Allison, Program Developer Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
	Film	"VISTA Volunteers Experiences"
1:00 P.M.	Luncheon Speaker	Representative from VISTA Washington "VISTA in Perspective" (Total VISTA Program)
1:30 P.M.	Questions from Audience	
1:45 P.M.	VISTA Volunteers in Atlanta	Mr. David Damman, Director VISTA Volunteers, EOA
2:00 P.M.	Training Program	Mr. Kenneth Crooks, Director E.K. Jones VISTA Training Center

2:15 P.M.	Various Phases of Training:	
	a. Lectures	Dr. John Doby, Professor Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology Emory University
	b. Discussion Groups	Mrs. Cecelia Harsch, Coordinator Discussion Leaders
	c. Training Evaluation and Placement	Dr. John Mallet, TEPO
	d. Field Work	Mrs. Margaret Hall Field Work Coordinator
2:45 P.M.	Typical Agency Field Work Programs	
	a. Community Development Agencies	Mr. Harold Arnold, Director Atlanta Urban League, Inc.
	b. Health and Mental Health Agencies	Mr. Robert Pulliam, Director Clayton County Mental Health Service
	c. Special Youth Development Programs	Mr. Franklin Thomas, Director Butler Street YMCA
3:00 P.M.	Questions from Audience	
	Resource Persons	All E. K. Jones Staff and Representatives from social agencies who previously supervised trainees in Field Work
3:30 P.M.	Summary	Mr. Kenneth Crooks, Director E.K. Jones VISTA Training Center

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

agency file

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Legal Counsel

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter comes as an invitation to you and your supervisor to attend a conference on "VISTA Training".

It is scheduled for January 10, 1967 at the Georgian Terrace Hotel, beginning at 12:30 p.m. and running until 4:00 p.m.

Participants will include representatives from social work agencies, and civic organizations of Metropolitan Atlanta. The conference is being co-sponsored by VISTA Washington and the National Urban League, having as cooperating agencies the Community Council of Atlanta Area, Inc,, and Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is one of the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and was established to recruit, train and assign capable volunteers to qualified organizations which are concerned with services to the poor.

Men and women of all ages and from all sections of the country are offered the opportunity to provide full-time volunteer service in a major united effort against the evils of poverty in America. In order to qualify, these volunteers must have the desire and ability to help motivate those caught up in the cycle of poverty. Prior to placement, they must participate in a training program in assignments which prepare them with knowledge and a variety of skills for working within organizational structures to improve the living conditions of deprived people. The E. K. Jones VISTA Training Center of Atlanta was established as one of 14 training centers in the country to accomplish this objective.

This conference will present an over-all view of the total VISTA program, with special emphasis on field training. It is our expectation that your participation will afford you an opportunity to assess the desirability of using VISTA volunteers and Trainees in your agency's work, and of providing field training in cooperation with the E. K. Jones Center.

The conference is planned with the hope that our agency leaders might be better informed about VISTA and will discuss in detail the plans for field training. We hope that you will offer your suggestions and ideas so that together we might provide the kind of training program which will best serve the needs of the trainees and the agencies.

You will find enclosed a form for pre-registration. If additional information is needed, please call Mrs. Margaret Hall, Conference Coordinator, at MU 8-8778.

Very cordially yours,

The Sponsors:
O.E.O., Washington VISTA Division
National Urban League

Enc: Registration Form

National Urban League

78 Marietta Street, N.W. SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Agency file

MEMORANDUM

DATE: JANUARY 12 1967

TO: PARTICIPANTS AT VISTA CONFERENCE

FROM: MARGARET HALL
FIELD WORK COORDINATOR

RE: FOLLOW-UP OF CONFERENCE ON
VISTA TRAINING FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES

We appreciate your attendance at the conference on VISTA Training held at the Georgian Terrace Hotel on January 10, 1967. Your questions and ideas were helpful to us in planning future training and we hope that the conference provided some helpful information about VISTA for your agency.

Our next training period begins on January 25, 1967 and we are eager to complete the planning now. We have thought of your agency as one that might provide a good field experience for our trainees. If you cannot consider that at this time, we would appreciate your suggestions for our training program.

Please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it to the address below. I would welcome any questions or discussion and may be reached at 688-8778.

(Mrs.) Margaret Hall
National Urban League, Inc.
78 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MH/ls

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook

May 22, 1967

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

At the time of the State-Wide Citizens Action Assembly on Health and Welfare Services for Georgia's Children in March, 1966, a request was made for a full-time staff member in this office to continue working with the Advisory Committee. We were not authorized to hire such a person until January, 1967. Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker was appointed Assistant Director, Health and Welfare at that time. We recognize that situations have changed and progress has been made in some of the areas of concern of that Assembly. We are desirous of reviewing the recommendations of the two-day conference to determine the status of the problem areas identified and to assess the feasibility of reactivating the Advisory Committee.

We are asking you and other members of the Advisory Committee to meet with us on Wednesday, May 31, 1967, at 3:00 p.m. here in our office. We hope that it will be possible for you to attend. We recognize the time lag that has occurred since the Assembly, but we would appreciate your co-operation at this time.

Sincerely,

Clarence D. Coleman

Clarence D. Coleman
Southern Regional Director

CDC/de

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
136 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

file

February 21, 1968

Mr. E. C. McClinton
NAIRO
3100 Maple Drive, N. W., Room 320
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClinton:

In our luncheon session with Fred Routh, one of Fred's main concerns was that we should have a city-wide membership drive to encourage inter-group relations officials in Atlanta to become members of National NAIRO.

I would like to suggest that you talk with Ed Stanfield at the Southern Regional Council, whose telephone number is 522-8764, to find out whether he has any information for the number of representatives in government and business in Atlanta, regional and local, who are not now members of NAIRO. If we could secure such a list, I think that a letter of invitation should go to all of them to become members of NAIRO and also to participate in our next meeting, scheduled for early March.

Since we usually meet on the second Monday in each month, I suspect that our program will probably be operational March 11; however, I need to clear this with some of the members of our Atlanta Chapter, prior to a decision on it. In the meantime, if I can prepare a roster of people, who we should contact, I will be glad to pursue this with you.

If you need any assistance on this and wish to move it to April, you may want to write directly to Fred Routh in our Washington Office, to secure from him the necessary materials and information for a successful membership drive for NAIRO.

Let me thank you for your assistance to the local chapter, both in the Model Cities program and in our local activity, and hope that your continuing support will help our local chapter to continue moving in the right direction.

Yours very truly,

K. B. M. Crooks, Jr., Chairman
ATLANTA CHAPTER, NAIRO

KBMC:rw

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 26, 1966

Here Goes Nothing?

Is a "Field Activities Newsletter" a good idea? We've been toying with the notion for some time and decided to try one or two. We don't know for sure what all we want to put in it, who we want to send it to, how often it should be written, or whether it is worth the effort. But from time to time there are bits of news or good ideas or useful information that we would like to pass on,--mostly to the staffs of the state councils, state council presidents, and perhaps to the SRC Board members and maybe state council staffers can let us know if you would like to select a few others to get it--like members of your Board and/or local council presidents.

New Names and Faces in Tennessee

Among the first new staffers to be employed under the expanded grant-in-aid program are Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wiersema, who have joined the staff of the Tennessee Council. Actually, they were not "Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema" until after they started working for the TCHR. Baxton Bryant writes, "The Council has already had a wonderful effect on this fine young couple. Their marriage was performed by me in my home last Saturday." That's a wonderful effect, all right!

Mrs. Wiersema was Jerry Jolene Williams, a twenty-seven year old native Tennessean. She has a B.S. from Middle Tennessee State, where she was in Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges, and lacks her thesis for a Master's in sociology from the University of Tennessee. For the past couple of years she has been working for the Metropolitan Action Commission (Nashville's community action agency) and the State Planning Commission. Her duties included research on poverty in Tennessee, community organization, and preparation of proposals for the poverty program.

Harry was born in Knoxville and is likewise twenty-seven. He holds a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering and also has done work toward a Master's degree in sociology at the university. Before joining the TCHR staff he was Assistant Coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Nashville. On the side he is a genius with office equipment and photographic equipment.

Both Harry and Jerry have been active in civil rights,--and there is no denying their commitment. Needless to say, the TCHR could not offer them, finance-and-security-wise, anything like their combined compensation from their former jobs. We don't think they would mind our quoting from a letter they wrote to the TCHR Board in connection with their application:

> ...For some time we have worked in the war on poverty, and we have been disillusioned with the progress made there and in other areas of human relations.
>
> ****
>
> We have come to see how much progress toward these ideals can be made by one man who is independent, with the help and support from concerned members of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Personnel Changes in Arkansas

Beginning June 1, Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, will lay down his accustomed duties to write a book about the Little Rock school crisis. After that he will retire to the family farm. He will be succeeeded as Executive Director by Ozell Sutton, long-time Associate Director of the Council.

Taking Ozell's place as Associate Director will be the Reverend J. Harold Jackson, presently Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of North Little Rock. Harold was born in New Orleans and holds a B.S. degree from L.S.U. and a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He has served churches in Jennings, Louisiana, and Helena, Arkansas, besides his present pastorate. He has served for the past year as Moderator of the Synod of Arkansas, Presbyterian Church, U.S. His wife is the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge. They have three children.

Executive Director for the Louisiana Council

Beginning in June the Louisiana Council will have an Executive Director. The position has been accepted by Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a resident of Baton Rouge (where the office is to be).

Mrs. Miller grew up in Ohio and did her undergraduate work at West Virginia State College. She took a M.A. degree in Health and Physical Education from the University of Iowa. She has worked for the Urban League in Chicago and as a physical education instructor at Samuel Houston College, West Virginia State, and Southern University For the past nine years she has operated a real estate and contracting business, building (so we are told) some of the loveliest new homes in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

But Mrs. Miller wanted to help people in a less impersonal way. So she entered the graduate school of Southern University and in June will receive a M.A. degree in Guidance.

Mrs. Miller strikes one as a poised and quietly determined woman. We predict that she will do an outstanding job as Director of the LCHR. And most certainly we wish her well.

Leadership Conferences in Mississippi

Ken Dean of the MCHR has been the prime convener of a couple of meetings which he hopes will get on some sort of regular basis as a Mississippi Leadership Conference. As we get the picture, this is intended to be a Mississippi version of the Southern Interagency Conference.

After discussing the idea with eight or ten of the more active leaders in the areas of race relations and poverty programs, Ken set a date and invited about twenty-five organizations to send representatives. The list included all major civil rights groups, as well as women's organizations and some of the church groups. About 34 people showed up at the first meeting.

The reaction of participants at the initial meeting was good. Besides the obvious sharing of ideas and problems, Ken sees the Leadership Conference as helping to clear up misunderstandings and giving some of the church groups and women's groups contact with the more active civil rights people. Ken thinks this aspect of the idea might be even more fruitful in other states.)

"The most difficult part of this type of program," Ken writes, "is to get an open date."

We are not astonished.

Board, Local Council Leaders Meet in Florida

On May 6 and 7, August VandenBosche brought together his Board and the principal officers of each local council for a conference which included briefing on the financial structure and requirements of the council and program at both the state and local level. Paul Anthony and I went down for this meeting, which was held in Orlando. We felt that it was very helpful toward getting all concerned to "understand the situation." It was also a good way to get a lot of program information and ideas across.

The Arkansas Council is planning a similar meeting for June 10.

A Local Council Program We Like

The Augusta (Georgia) Council on Human Relations has established a listing service for open housing. The plan is to list houses available to be bought, sold, or rented on a non-discriminatory basis. They want only to bring buyer and seller together, of course, and will not be serving as brokers.

The group has secured a small office and a telephone. Volunteers man the phone. A small ad is carried in the classified section from time to time. Besides answering the phone, the volunteers call people who advertise in the paper to see if the unit is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

AJC Publication Ordered for State Councils

Countering Extremism, which gives how-to-do-it help on organizing a community to counter increasing influence by radical-right organizations, is soon to be published by the American Jewish Committee. As promised at our last meeting of the state councils' staffs, we have ordered a number of copies sent to each state council. They will find these useful from time to time.

Don't Forget...

...the Community Leadership Development Workshop at the Sheraton-

Emory Inn in Atlanta, July 24-31. Send in your application, if you plan to go. Let me know that you are going to attend, so that we can plan our next state councils' staff meeting accordingly.

Late News Flashes!

Mr. William C. Allred, Jr., will become Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in July. Mr. Allred, a resident of Greensboro, is a graduate of Wake Forest College and next month will receive the M.A. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, in the field of history. His thesis: "The Southern Regional Council, 1943-1961."

For the past four years Mr. Allred has been employed in the actuarial and contract departments of Pilot Life Insurance Company in Greensboro. He is married and has two daughters, ages 6 and 2.

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held on November 16, 17, and 18 this year. Please mark your calendar. Plans are incomplete, of course, but we hope this year to make presentation of state council affairs an integral part of the meeting, --instead of having it before the SRC meeting.

Ed Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

June 27, 1966

State Council Staff Changes

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has accepted the resignation of Ozell Sutton with regret, but with understanding. He has accepted a position with the Community Relations Service. Ozell will continue to live in Little Rock, but will travel in Arkansas and surrounding states. His resignation comes less than a month after he was named Executive Director upon Nat Griswold's pre-retirement leave-of-absence and after many years of service as Associate Director. As we understand it, Ozell could not love the Arkansas Council half so much, loved he not the prospect of college-educated children more. (Apologies to Will Shakespeare.) His resignation is effective July 31.

The Alabama Council Board of Directors has named Mr. Jerry Roden, of Auburn, Executive Director. At the same time they acted to retain as Associate Director Robert S. Valder, who has been doing a great job for the Alabama Council under the NAIRO Intern program for the past year. They also voted to move the state council office from Huntsville to Auburn. (New address: P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.)

Jerry Roden was President of the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council during 1965. Under his leadership that group grew from about 100 members to more than 300. (It has since increased to nearly 400.) It also developed vigorous programs, including cultural enrichment programs in several rural schools, work on voter education, an adult education class, a six-week lecture series, and sponsorship of four Head Start Centers.

Jerry, who is a Ph.D. candidate in the English Department at Auburn University, resigned as Editor of the Auburn alumni magazine in order to take up his doctoral studies last year. He had held that position for four years, and before that was a field representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Thus he is very well qualified, and we welcome him into the state council tribe.

The Virginia Council has employed Mr. Bailey Wharton as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Wharton is a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia. He has a particular interest in urban problems. In his new position he will be especially concerned with local council organization and program, including efforts at membership enlistment and local fund-raising.

The White House Conference

Most of the state council Executive Directors attended the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on June 1 and 2. Bob Combs, Alice Spearman, August VandenBosche, Frances Pauley, Bob Valder Baxton Bryant, and Ozell Sutton were there -- as well as Paul Anthony, Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, Emory Via and yours truly from SRC.

Poverty Conference in Mississippi

The Mississippi Council sponsored a conference on poverty in Jackson on June 4th. With a modest assist from SRC the MCHR brought in "grass roots" folks, gave them a chance to speak to federal and state anti-poverty officials, and provided opportunity for an exchange of views -- to put it mildly. The people who are on intimate terms with Poverty seemed to have no trouble communicating, despite the fact that they were not, as one put it, "highly-falooted speakers." To your reporter their story was put in a nutshell by a lady poet who remarked, "I can tell you it's been hard. Sometimes our hearts pack solid."

South Carolina Council Begins "Project SPEED-UP"

The South Carolina Council began "Project SPEED-UP" with a week of orientation for participating college students June 5 through 12. SPEED-UP means "Student Project for Economic and Educational Development -- Utilizing the Poor." With a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity the SCCHR is employing 200 students from South Carolina Schools and Colleges for ten weeks, 40 hours per week, in educational and community organization projects all around the state. Besides the help to communities, the employment will enable the students to continue in college.

Alabama School Desegregation Conference Ends Series

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has sponsored a series of state-wide conferences on school desegregation this spring. They were held in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama. After each

conference the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the council on human relations in the respective states, and other state groups cooperated in a nuts-and-bolts session designed to guide local leaders in organization to secure student transfers under freedom-of-choice desegregation plans. Attendance at these conferences averaged about 700, with the larger groups in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

At the Alabama Conference in Birmingham on June 11 some 1,200 people heard Commissioner Howe of the Office of Education reaffirm strongly that the new desegregation guidelines were legal and would be enforced. He did so in the face of daily machinations by Governor Wallace aimed at having the new guidelines voided and non-compliance by Alabama school boards. William Taylor of the Civil Rights Commission also spoke.

We should note gratefully the dedicated labor of the Civil Rights Commission field staff, under Mr. Samuel Simmons, and of Jean Fairfax, Constance Curry, and Winifred Falls of the AFSC staff in preparing these conferences on an almost-weekly basis. And they have commented often on the splendid cooperation from state councils on human relations. A pat on the back all around!

State Council Presidents Meet

On June 17 and 18 the Southern Regional Council brought together in Atlanta the presidents of the state councils for a day of discussion of purpose and philosophy of human relations councils, common problems, future emphases, staff needs and benefits, and the like. Presidents Walter Clancy of Arkansas, Duncan Gray of Mississippi, C. G. Gomillion of Alabama, Joe Hendricks of Georgia, H. Franklin Williams of Florida, and David Scull of Virginia attended. Treasurers G. J. Tarleton of Tennessee and Emery Rann of North Carolina represented their presidents, Martha Ragland and John R. Taylor, respectively. Mr. Frederick Fleming represented Mr. Henry Groppe of the Houston Council.

This was the first time that the presidents had had a conference without staff members present. They felt that it was helpful and asked that it become an annual affair. (It might also be helpful to have two or three hours of discussion on philosophy and direction at a meeting of each state council Board about once a year.)

Paperback Books Project

The first shipments of paperback books have gone out to projects in Auburn, Alabama, and Nashville, Tennessee. Within the next few

days a shipment will be sent to the Selma (Alabama) Interreligious Project.

Proposals for these experimental projects in book distribution are beginning to come in, but so far we have had very few from local chapters of state councils on human relations. This is a disappointment, since such a project seems a "natural" for local councils. Perhaps some follow-through is needed by state council staffers -- checking with local groups to which you have recommended the project.

Notes on the SRC Special Projects

A Director for SRC's Special Project in Criminal Rehabilitation and Prison Reform has been found. Mr. John O. Boone will join the SRC staff in that capacity in July. Mr. Boone is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and has a Master's degree in social work from Atlanta University. For fifteen years he has been employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Currently he is Chief of the Classification and Parole Department of the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. Before transferring to Terre Haute he had worked in the same department of the U. S. Penitentiary in Atlanta.

The Voter Education Project now employs Administrative Assistant Thad Olive and Research and Information Director Marvin Wall and two secretaries (Nobbie Morgan and Pat Franklin) in addition to Director Vernon Jordan. The VEP has funded 61 projects throughout the South. They range from a $200 project by the Lee County (Alabama) League of Women Voters, which taught some 2000 new voters how to use the voting machines, to "umbrella" projects covering several counties and sponsored by groups such as the NAACP in Alabama and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The break-down by state and number of projects is as follows: Alabama, 13; Arkansas, 3; Florida, 1; Georgia, 13; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 3; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 4; and Virginia, 6.

Of particular interest to human relations council folks is the fact that voter registration projects are being sponsored by the Arkansas Council and the Knoxville Council. The Arkansas Council project will conduct a registration drive in 16 counties over a twelve-week period, employing a director and three field representatives. The Greater Knoxville Council's project will cover only Knox County. It will run for eight weeks and will employ a director and five area coordinators.

VEP funds have been concentrated on voter registration prior to this year's primary elections -- and general elections, where important, as in Arkansas this year. Later it will be possible to fund more citizenship education projects. Many local human relations councils should be able to sponsor or assist with these.

Al Ulmer, Director of the Community Organization Project, convened a planning conference on Cooperative Training at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, on June 9, 10, and 11. Participants generally felt that while cooperatives are useful tools and more of them should be developed, a great deal of educational work needs to be done. They came up with some ambitious and far-reaching ideas about getting the necessary administrative and technical assistance. A summary of the conference is being sent to state council executive directors and is available to others on request.

Al (who says he prefers to stay at least a week in a place and dislikes one-day meetings) plans to spend a week in Lee County, South Carolina, in the near future, working on a possible buying club and credit union. Also in his future is a week in Amelia and Nottaway Counties, in Virginia, where the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee has done some preliminary work on credit unions and a study club on consumer education.

Moreland Smith of the Housing and Urban Planning Project thinks a revision of his report, "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," which is now in print will be of interest to the human relations councils. He would appreciate any comments and suggestions. He also would like to know about any efforts at neighborhood stabilization.

A Local Council That We Hope Is As Good As It Looks On Paper

We quote from a summary of the April 30 meeting of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council:

"Mr. Thomas Donnelly reported that the CHAPEL HILL-CARRBORO Council is involved in many activities, some of which are equal employment -- informing domestic workers of their rights under the Social Security program, fair working hours, summer vacations, etc.; education -- the youth group conducts a small scale "Operation Head Start" which includes games and reading for the children each Saturday; voter education -- informing new registrants on voting and government; housing -- bringing to the attention of the proper authorities infractions of the housing code, encouraging renters to keep records of their rent payments. Also, they are working to obtain sewers for some areas of the city, and they have organized a legal aid to handle civil hardship cases and to act as a clearing house for other groups."

Unquote.

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 23, 1966

More Staff Changes

It must be the season as well as our expansion on "all fronts". The staff changes, both in the state councils and SRC, are coming so fast that it is getting difficult to keep up!

The Arkansas Council has named Mr. Elijah Coleman to be their Associate Director. (Nat Griswold has been asked to return to his post as Executive Director until his replacement can be found.) Mr. Coleman has been principal of Townsend Park School in Pine Bluff since 1954. From 1959 through 1961 he was President of the Arkansas Teachers Association. He has also served as Chairman of the Pine Bluff Fellowship, an interorganization association of Negro professional workers for community progress. He is a native of Smackover, Arkansas, a graduate of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, and holds a Master of Education degree from the University of Arkansas. Mr. Coleman is married and has a 15-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter.

Robert Alexander has resigned as Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He has returned to Los Angeles. His successor has not yet been named.

Changes at Southern Regional Council

Sam Adams, Director of Research at SRC, has resigned to take up studies at the University of Wisconsin this fall. He is the recipient of a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship.

Edwyn E. Lewis will leave SRC August 19 in order to return to Miami's sun and sand and a management job with the community action agency of Miami's anti-poverty program.

On the additions side we have Miss Susan Bresler, who will work as an associate to Moreland Smith in our special project on

housing and urban planning. Miss Bresler holds a B.S. in City Planning from the University of Illinois. She has worked as an intern in the planning departments of Champaign and Moline, Illinois, and with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Before coming to SRC she had been employed for a year in the Community Planning Division, Planning and Industrial Development Board, State of Alabama.

As for secretaries, we note the loss of Jerry Gimarc from the Housing and Urban Planning Project and Joan Browning from the Labor Project. Of particular interest to state council folks is the employment of Mrs. Mary Lee McCallister as secretary to the Director of Field Activities. Her experience includes thirteen years as a secretary with General Electric in Atlanta and four years with the American Red Cross in Chamblee.

Books For Equal Education

Books for Equal Education is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled," so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Leadership Training Laboratory at Emory

Most of the state council directors took SRC up on an offer to pay tuition for them to attend a week-long leadership training laboratory at Emory University in Atlanta. The dates were July 24-31, and those attending were Pat Miller of Louisiana, Ken Dean of Mississippi, Jerry Roden of Alabama, Alice Spearman of South Carolina, Will Allred of North Carolina, Bob Combs of Virginia, and Ed Stanfield. Baxton Bryant of Tennessee came, but had to leave after only one day because of a death in his family.

The laboratory was sponsored jointly by Emory University and Georgia State College in cooperation with National Training Laboratories. Focusing on the process of group action and the dynamics of interpersonal relations, the laboratory was designed to make participants more aware of the bearing of personal, human problems on group functioning. The week was harrowing (not to say "hairy") at times, as everybody sought to figure out why everybody else behaved so oddly. Folks leveled as well as reveled with one another. One comes away from such an experience with the feeling that he gained something important -- but that only time will tell just what!

Incidentally, the faculty included two mental health men, one psychologist, one social psychologist, and a consultant in human relations. Seems like the weight given to mental health and psychology says something about somebody's conception of the meaning of leadership in southern communities these days!

State Council Directors Meet

The state council directors met in Atlanta on August 9 and 10. Primary purpose of the meeting was to iron out some communication problems we have had in getting local councils informed of the program help now available from SRC. A six-page descriptive catalogue was prepared and discussed and is now being distributed to the state councils in sufficient quantity to promote the programs extensively in each state. In the process the group had opportunity to clarify many points in conference with the special project directors. Next meeting of the directors is scheduled for September 21 and 22.

Random Notes

...On the morning of August 10 a delegation from the Georgia Council on Human Relations had an interview with Governor Carl Sanders. Among other things they urged him to employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights and to establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office. They pointed out discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They also reminded the governor and, through press coverage, the public that no Negroes sit on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination, and State Scholarship Commission. There may not be immediate results, but this strikes me as a good piece of work nevertheless. We get so accustomed to the southern landscape that even people of good will do not notice so glaring an injustice as the omission of Negroes from practically every state board and agency. Surely one of the most important tasks of every human relations council is to keep nagging officials and the public about this kind of matter-of-fact outrage.

...Speaking of never-ending tasks, I had occasion not long ago to ask Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner, President of the League of Women

Voters of Georgia, how they managed to get objective studies and reports with volunteer workers. Her reply read, in part: "Most local and state Leagues have regular observers at official boards and commissions--at every open meeting--at budget hearings, etc. It is surprising how much one can learn from regular attendance and careful listening to aid in factual evaluation." It occurred to me that if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this "standard operational procedure"?

...Project SPEED-UP roars on in South Carolina under the leadership of Brad Posten, who is the project director. Brad has completed his year as an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the South Carolina Council. He writes, "The project has met with great response from the communities and over 2,000 children and adults are enrolled in the twenty-eight centers."

...We keep finding out about really great things that are being done quietly by human relations councils. Johnny Carlisle of the Youth Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Palm Beach chapter of the Florida Council, wrote the other day, seeking just $150.00 to buy materials for their second "Summer Tutorial and Enrichment Program." Twenty-two young people, including advanced high school students, high school graduates, and junior college students, are tutoring 91 children, aged 4 to 13, who live in the vicinity of Pleasant Heights Baptist Church, which is their center. They have tutoring classes in reading, math, geography, history, science, arts and crafts, and music. And field trips include the zoo, the Junior Museum of Science, Norton Art Gallery, "and other points of interest." All these young folks needed was a little financial assistance and the continuing interest and advice of the council board. Mrs. R. W. Glasner, chapter president, and Mrs. W. Fred Ellington, work closely with them.

...The Virginia Council is putting major emphasis this year on intercultural (multi-ethnic) textbooks for use in public schools. The Council took cognizance of the fact that Virginia's children, Negro or white, could easily graduate from high school, using the texts approved by the Virginia Board of Education, without knowing that Negroes had made any significant contribution to the life and history of America. Further, they discovered that many textbooks are published in two versions: one with biracial illustrations and another lily white. VCHR has just published an attractive printing of its review of Virginia textbooks, including suggested courses of action, and a catalogue of intercultural texts available.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursday. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the S. I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance some have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustments in this formula after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

JES:mlm

cc: SRC Project Directors

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

September 28, 1966

Personnel

The death of Mr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Associate Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, grieved all of us. Mr. Holmes died on September 19. Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council and Vernon Jordan of SRC were among those who spoke briefly at his funeral on September 22.

Frances Dukler has been named Acting Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. Frances, a long-time member of the Houston Council's Board of Directors, has agreed to "fill in" until an Executive Director can be found to succeed Robert Alexander. The state council directors had a chance to meet Frances at their September 21-22 get-together in Atlanta -- and went away hoping she would apply for the job, like permanent.

Paul Wahrhaftig has joined the staff of the Georgia Council. Mr. Wahrhaftig is an attorney, which will probably turn the other state councils green with envy. Paul was born in Oakland California. He was graduated with honors from Stanford University in 1960 with a degree in political science. His legal training was at Boalt Hall, University of California Law School. For two years he practiced in Oakland with the firm of McKee, Tasheiva and Wahrhaftig. He spent last summer with the American Friends Service Committee, tutoring for school desegregation in South Carolina.

SRC Staff Additions

Mrs. Hattie Johnson, who hails from Montgomery, Alabama, has joined the SRC staff where she will work part time as assistant to the Treasurer and part time as secretary in the Labor Project.

William Farmar has come to SRC since the last newsletter to assist John Boone in our Prison Administration and Criminal Rehabilitation Project. Mr. Farmar is from Chicago. He attended the University of Chicago and worked for the Cook County Welfare Department.

Most of the state council staffs have by this time met Louise Cole, who has been administering our Paperback Book Project among other things. Louise has become a permanent member of the SRC staff as a research associate. Born in Pensacola, Florida, she received her B. A. from Newcomb College of Tulane University. In her junior year she studied at the University of Sheffield, England. Despite her natural modesty Miss Cole admits, when pressed, to being a Phi Beta Kappa and a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. After Tulane she took a Master's in political science at the University of California at Berkeley. She comes to SRC after a short stint with Buttenheim Publishing Corporation in New York City.

John A. Pecoul, Jr., came to SRC on a temporary basis September 5. He is working on some research projects and in the field department. John, who is from New Orleans, was valedictorian of his class at Alcee Fortier High School there. He received a B. A. in philosophy from Elmhurst College in 1961, ranking first in his class. In 1964 he was graduated magna cum laude from Union Theological Seminary, second in his class. He has just received his M. A. in political science from Temple University. His wife's name is Ellen.

Project on Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation Making Progress

Staffing of the Penal Reform Project is complete with the employment of Mr. William Farmar, as noted above. With an assist from state council directors research on existing conditions is in progress under the coordination of Dr. Vernon Fox of Florida State University. Before November 1 Dr. Fox and SRC staff members will correlate and evaluate the material and publish a Southern Regional Council Special Report.

Other plans include research on comparative sentencing policies in felony cases with particular emphasis on disparity in length of sentence attributable to race or socio-economic level; technical assistance to state prison systems, especially on racial integration; penal reform programs in Arkansas (one of the worst states in this respect) and Mississippi; wide distribution of information about corrections in fact-sheet or brochure form; and recruitment of Negroes for professional training in the field of corrections.

Women's Meetings on Unequal Justice

With the cooperation of the human relations councils and practically all women's organizations, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, SRC's director of women's work, is conducting a series of meetings in the southern states to arouse and coordinate interest in court proceedings, sentencing practices, etc., in southern courts. The purpose is to prepare women's groups and others to visit courts, observe, report findings, and -- hopefully -- effect less discriminatory administration of justice.

Meetings have already been held in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Mrs. Tilly's schedule for the rest of the fall reads as follows: Virginia, October 19; North Carolina, October 20; Kentucky, October 26; Tennessee, October 27; Alabama, November 2; Louisiana, November 9; Mississippi, November 10; and Arkansas, November 15.

Helpful Meetings in Atlanta

The state council directors are meeting more frequently this year in an effort at better coordination of program and exchange of ideas, as well as professional edification. They were in Atlanta for three days, September 20-22, for a meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference and an overnight meeting of their own.

Highlight of the SIC meeting was a presentation by Dr. Lewis Killian of Florida State University on "The Role of White Liberals in Social Change in the South." There was a reactor panel, and interest was high. Of particular interest was the rather general feeling that white liberals (and moderates), including the Washington establishment, are backing away from civil rights.

At their own meeting the directors had sessions with Samuel Younge, Assistant to the Regional Director for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Bob Thompson, Regional Office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell of the Atlanta Office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Georgia Council Programs

Another helpful feature of our Atlanta meeting was a how-we-did it report by Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council on their welfare research project and their "Know Your Rights" program in cooperation with A.C.L.U. of Georgia.

With the help of the Columbia University School of Social Work and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Georgia Council conducted research on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program in four Georgia counties. A good questionnaire was prepared with expert aid; then 180 families were interviewed. Basically the council wanted to answer the question "Are children in need receiving their rights under the law?" And the answer they come up with is "No." They discovered case after case of arbitrary withholding of aid to which applicants were legally entitled. Although their full report has not yet been published, the GCHR has already secured a lengthy and, on the whole, sympathetic hearing from the Georgia Department of Family and Children Services.

Another Georgia project of particular interest is really a joint effort by the GCHR, SRC, and the Georgia ACLU. It is publication of a booklet titled "Know Your Rights," which tells in simple language and with liberal use of illustrations (by Marge Manderson of SRC) what rights an individual has when arrested by a law officer.

"Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia"

Fully 1,500 people, three-fourths of them laymen, are expected to attend a Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28 and 29. It is planned under the auspices of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with leaders of the statewide religious community.

Among the subjects to be dealt with are "The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community," "The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing," "The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns, "The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set Its Own House in Order," and "Where Do We Go From Here?" Leaders include George D. Kelsey, John F. Cronin, Jacob M. Rothschild, Warren H. Turner, and Carlyle Marney. There will be a special student section with 200 students and 60 seminarians in attendance. Their featured speaker will be Samuel D. Proctor, special assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

RANDOM NOTES

... A memorandum from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights notes that the Senate votes on the minimum wage bill and the 1966 civil rights bill cloture resolution both came within one hour. Minimum wage increase and extension was won; civil rights lost. But the proximity brought out sharply "that the same Senators who support civil rights tend also to support programs for economic and social advancement." Or you might say that people who have no regard for Negroes have, when you get right down to it, no regard for anybody--except themselves, of course.

... The annual meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations will be held in Jackson on October 27. Roger Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, will be the featured speaker.

... The Florida Council's annual meeting will be in Daytona Beach on October 14 and 15.

... The Louisiana Council office has been opened at 7986 Scenic Highway in Baton Rouge. And beautiful it is, too, thanks to the impeccable taste of executive director Pat Miller. I think the attractiveness of the office will say something important to every visitor. Congratulations to Pat and the LCHR.

... I like a paper that Augie VandenBosche of the Florida Council drew up to help answer a question he kept getting, "What can a local council on human relations do?" Augie catalogues and describes a number of roles for the local council: communicator, fact finder, educator, programmer, consultant, cooperator, observer, attitude refiner. We've lost something in translation, here, but it is a neat and useful summary.

... Under the able administration of Louise Cole the paperback books project is looking up. Louise prepared lists of books in several categories -- such as "leisure reading for youth and adults," "leisure reading for children," "Negro history and culture," "reference books," etc. -- and has been distributing them. That seems to be what turned the trick, for requests are coming in with increasing frequency now. Thanks, too, to the state council staffs for helping to get the word out.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Rec'd 8/19/66

CCCO NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 6 Summer Issue

COORDINATING COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

366 East 47th Street Chicago, Illinois

OPEN HOUSING DEMONSTRATORS GREETED BY MOBS

The implementation of the Open Housing Provisions of the Open City declared on July 12, 1966 has met with violent resistance despite Governor Kerner's Executive Order and the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance. Resistance has been encountered in the first communities visited--Gage Park-Chicago Lawn, Belmont-Cragin, Bogan, and Cicero; these particular communities were selected because of their proximity to the present Negro community and the availability of good, reasonable housing.

Between July 14 and July 28 the availability of housing to Negroes was tested in the Gage Park-Chicago Lawn and Belmont-Cragin area. No housing was available to Negroes, although there were empty apartments and houses. (Continued page 3)

WHERE ARE YOU?

The mobs which have attacked peaceful demonstrators are encouraged by your absence and silence. Demonstrate your own convictions by volunteering to help cure the hate and injustice which plague Chicago. If you can drive, walk, talk, cook, or contribute money, then you can help effect the treatment.

Don't be in the mob even in spirit! Volunteer today at your action center: South side - Warren Avenue Church, 3101 W. Warren, 638-2725; West side - Greater Mount Hope Baptist Church, 309 W. 60th Street, 723-1015.

"DON'T BUY" PEPSI CAMPAIGN BEGINS

All attempts at negotiation have failed. Operation Breadbasket began a city-wide economic withdrawal campaign against the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company Friday, August 12.

After having earned major job gains in the major milk industries, Operation Breadbasket's new campaign represents the first of a series of efforts to negotiate with major soft drink industries in Chicago.

Because these major firms find a large income source in the ghetto, but are unwilling to return benefits--such as income for the Negro--to it, (Cont'd p. 5)

WHY WE MARCH
an editorial

We march in order to mobilize the conscience of a nation. We march to make literal and explicit the forces of hate that work (unnoticed by many) on a subtle, but nonetheless injurious level of discrimination. And we march in order to forge for ourselves a powerful tool of non-violence before which blind segregation must always fall. Freedom Marchers have, by their very marches, asked the question "which side are you on?" of Negro and white alike.

Led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Al Raby, the Marchers have proved, by the reactions to their presence, that simple segregationism explains why Chicago is a closed city. That Chicago housing policies intentionally discriminate has been demonstrated by the violence that has been directed toward the Marchers.

But bricks, bottles and epithets are boomerangs. They injure indiscriminately those who discriminate.

And those who hurl them in the name of "community pride" obviously lose that pride and wound the foundation upon which a healthy community, and city, must rest. "Defending one's rights" by wresting from another human being rights that the law guarantees are <u>his</u>, is to violate the rights of <u>all</u> men!

SPEAK UP! SPEAK OUT!

Like other forms of mass media, radio and TV have fads. And now television talk programs are springing up on the stations.

Often program discussions center around some aspect of the problems of urban living, such as housing, unemployment, or credit abuses. Unfortunately, the Chicago Freedom Movement's point of view is too often absent. There simply aren't enough Chicagoans calling to express opinions based on humanitarian grounds!

This is a job each of us could do. The only equipment needed is a radio or television set, a telephone - and lots of patience as you wait for a telephone line.

Keep an eye and ear out for announcements of subjects of particular concern to you. Some of the talk-programs that get many calls are: the Larry Atteberry Show and the Jerry Williams Show.

Surely one way we can influence public opinion is by expressing our own on shows aired far beyond our own communities. Let's speak up and speak out!

* * * * * * * * *

REPORT YOUR LOSS OR INJURY!

If you received any personal injury or if your car was damaged, in a Chicago Freedom Movement demonstration, be sure to file a report with the CCCO Legal Committee, which expects to file damage suits for those cases requiring such action. Even if your insurance covers the damage or injury, please make a report. Contact Robert Hostetter at the CCCO office, 548-6540.

OPEN HOUSING DEMONSTRATORS (cont'd)

Some of the realtors tested simply refused to serve the Negroes by closing their offices, while others just claimed that they had no availble listings. Regardless of their method, all of the realtors tested violated the law. It was decided at this point that the strategy needed to be expanded from shop-ins, vigils, church visits, and picnics to non-violent demonstrations.

The plan of the co-chairmen, Dr. King and Al Raby, was to further dramatize the injustice that the Negro faces in Chicago and to bring creative pressures to bear to help develop a just society. The reaction was overwhelmingly violent. Bottles, rocks, cherry bombs were thrown; cars were burned and vandalized. To date fifty persons have been injured and thirty cars destroyed. Dr. King described it as "the worst hate I have ever seen."

The police have been unable at times to control the mobs and are now calling for peace. But as Al Raby said, "Peace cannot reign until the law is being enforced and upheld."

The threats and acts of violence continue and they are not perpetuated by a few "nuts" but are the general mood of these communities. The leadership has determined to continue until this hate and injustice is cured and the only way to do this is to expose it to the light of day. All of the action projects are dedicated to this and to forcing Negroes, Liberals, Bigots, and Moderates to recognize this, to understand it, and to cure this disease.

CCCO VOLUNTEERS ON THE MOVE

The CCCO Volunteer Group is a growing activist group open to all CCCO workers. The group, organized after the Freedom Festival, now has 75 active members participating in the Action Program of the Open City as well as in their own projects.

At their last meeting the volunteers heard a report from the Rev. Dave Wallace on the Action Program and voted to contribute $55 to provide a bus for the transportation of Taylor residents to the Freedom Rally. They also decided that their picnic would be held in a segregated park as a part of their group participation in the Open City campaign.

The volunteer group is chaired by Mattie Clark and King Frisby. Its main goal is to perform the double function of giving volunteers more information on Movement activities and making their services more effective.

The group meets every second Friday of the month at 7:30 P.M. at the VFW Hall at 366 E. 47th St. A major portion of each meeting is devoted to an educational program. If you wish to become an active participant in the Movement, reserve Friday, September 9th for the next Volunteer meeting.

* * * * * * * *

HOSPITALS DISCRIMINATING?

The Coordinating Council has been asked to help substantiate charges of Chicago hospitals discriminating among patients, employees, or physicians because of race, color or national origin.

(Cont'd p.5)

TAC CALLS RENT STRIKE

The Tenants' Action Council of Old Town Garden Apartments, on the Near North Side, called a rent strike beginning August 1. Daily picketing is going on through August.

Old Town Gardens had remained an all-white building while the surrounding area had become over-crowded and largely Negro. The manager began to integrate the building, and at the same time cut services allowing the building to deteriorate. Rents were raised, accompanied by promises for services that were never delivered.

The tenants are demanding that the New York owners and the part-time manager Sam Lane reverse the trend toward slumism in the building and recognize the Tenants' Action Council as a tenants' union with collective bargaining rights.

Negotiations between the owners, management, and tenants to date have proved fruitless. Minor concessions and promises were made without responsible continuity on the part of the owners and management.

A 15-day rent delay in May and a 20-day rent delay in June also proved fruitless. In July plans were laid for an indefinite strike, beginning August 1, with the goal of obtaining full recognition for TAC as a tenant's union.

Support to TAC and their efforts has come from CCCO, SCLC, the IUD-AF of L-CIO, UAW, as well as neighborhood groups. You can show your support by joining the picket at the Manager's Office any day during August.

KOCO FIGHTS FOR OPEN HOUSING

A major battle is being waged by the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization against the construction of low and high rise public housing at four sites within the Kenwood-Oakland boundaries. KOCO is demanding that no more public housing construction take place until the community is totally informed about a comprehensive plan for the whole area and has a voice in what that plan will be.

KOCO has sponsored several meetings between community leaders and Mr. Swibel, the Administrator of CHA. Having gained no results from him nor from Alderman Holman in their attempt to prevent more segregated housing, KOCO is developing a new strategy.

Within a short time two KOCO representatives will bring 2000 petition signatures to Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the department of Housing and Urban Development, demanding that he reverse federal approval of these plans. KOCO representatives will be visiting all the heads of city departments related to housing matters. KOCO will also dramatize the segregated public housing issue in its area and the entire city. Through direct action KOCO is attempting to help fulfill the Open Housing Declaration of the Chicago Freedom Movement. * * * * * * * *

ARE YOU WELL INFORMED?

To know the plans for the Chicago Freedom Movement's continuing steps, you must attend the mass meetings:

West Side: Mondays - 8 P.M., at Warren Ave. Church, 3101 W.Warren

South Side: Thursdays - 8 P.M.--Greater Mt. Hope Baptist Church--60th Place & Princeton

"OPERATION WATCHDOG" BEGINS

The $195 million bond issues approved June 14 is a lot of anybody's money! In this case, it's your money, to be repaid, with interest, out of Chicago taxes.

Will your neighborhood get the street lights it needs? The sewers? The new "L" stations? Are the bulldozers aimed at your community? Where will the new public housing be located?

To learn these plans in advance, in time for the Freedom Movement to act effectively, the meetings and reports of over 25 City agencies, departments and City Council committees must be watched.

These public bodies meet during daytime hours, once or twice a month, usually for three or four hours, occasionally all day. Volunteers must be able to take reasonably complete and accurate notes. Housewives, college students and retired persons having some experience in note-taking would make good volunteers.

To volunteer--or suggest a volunteer from your organization--leave a message with the name and telephone chairman, at the CCCO office, 548-6540.

* * * * *

FREEDOM DRIVERS NEED HELP

For two years about 20 young people and an old '28 International Harvester Van--the Freedom Drivers and the Freedom Truck--have delivered supplies from the Chicago area to projects in seven southern states. They need non-perishable food, clothing,

(Continued, page 7)

DON'T BUY PEPSI CONT.

Operation Breadbasket has undertaken, with considerable past successes, the breakdown of this pattern of discrimination. Recently, Operation Breadbasket boycotted the Dean-Bowman Milk Company and got 45 jobs averaging $7500 per year.

During the last four months, the Operation has succeeded in getting 224 jobs for Negroes; this represents a total community income of almost $1.8 million.

As examples of the unfair hiring practices within the Pepsi-Cola company, of the 72 clerical and office employees, none are Negro. Of 183 driver salesmen employed, only 24 are Negroes. Job upgrading within the company is minimal. Operation Breadbasket is asking for a specific number of jobs as well as integration in all job categories.

* * * * *

HOSPITALS DISCRIMINATING? CONT.

Dr. Jasper F. Williams, chairman of the Council of Hospitals and Medical Association, has informed us of his belief that Chicago hospitals are not complying with the non-discriminatory edicts of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in federally-assisted programs. To be eligible to receive federal assistance or participate in any federally-assisted program a hospital must be in compliance with Title VI. Data on discrimination is needed; call or send complaints to CCCO.

GREEN STREET ASSOCIATION FILES SUIT

The Green Street Association filed an appellants' brief August 4th in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. This is one phase in their civil rights suit against the Central Englewood Urban Renewal Plan.

At issue is: 1. The urban renewal clearance of 600 housing units to enlarge seven public parking lots and create a shopping mall at the retail intersection of West 63rd and South Halsted Streets. 2.Eighty per cent of the housing that was found to be in standard condition by the U.S. Census of Housing. 3. A Chicago Bureau of Parking survey showing the parking lots are only half to two-thirds used, with one lot closed because of no patronage. 4. That the destruction of sound Negro-owned and occupied housing to benefit private business constitutes a conspiracy to deprive Negro citizens of their rights.

The suit also charges that the practice of relocating displaced families according to race, under programs receiving federal assistance, violates the Federal Housing Act of 1949 and the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution as well as the Civil Rights Act.

The plaintiffs had asked the District court to "enjoin and restrain" the defendant city and federal agencies from proceeding with the project, including acquisition of properties.

* * * * * *

COMMUNITY UNION CENTER OPENS

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, in cooperation with CCCO-SCLC, has opened a Community Union Center at 4002 W. Roosevelt Rd. to organize the working poor. For information call 638-3457.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SILENT

One year ago, in July, 1965, CCCO submitted an official complaint to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It was charged--and illustrated in great detail--that the Chicago Board of Education was violating the Civil Rights Act.

Six months ago, in December, 1965, CCCO filed another complaint charging that the school system was wasting millions of dollars in federal aid. Again numerous examples were cited to document the charges.

Thus far, the federal government has failed to take any real action. It has investigated and investigated, <u>but has not changed a single practice of racial discrimination in the Chicago public schools</u>.

Following is a letter CCCO recently received from U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II, in response to our visit with him in Washington June 1st and our letter of July 20th:

"Dear Mr. Raby:

When you were good enough to stop in at the Office of Education early in June, I told you that I would let you know by August 1 whether I could see any light ahead in our investigation of the complaint you have filed with us concerning discrimination in the Chicago Schools. Specifically, I agreed to let you know by that date whether we could promise reasonable answers to the points in your memorandum citing a variety of situations attested by you as constituting discrimination.

"After the middle of June we pursued further extensive conversations with officials in the Chicago

Cont. Page 7

EXCESSIVE BOND LOWERED

An excessive bond of $7,500--one of many levied against persons arrested on the west side--was reduced recently to permit a defendant to go free on his signature, thanks to the labors of the newly-organized Chicago Human Rights Legal Committee. Attorneys working with SCLC and CCCO met last spring to unite their efforts, a move which has proved very effective.

Legal Committee attorneys Gil Cornfield and Gil Feldman have been involved in negotiating the collective bargaining contract between the West-side Union to End Slums and the Coster and Costellis real estate company. Leo Holt, from the Legal Committee, Mike Meltsner, from the New York based NAACP Legal Aid Fund Inc., and other attorneys have succeeded in getting lowered the excessive bail levied against persons arrested on the West Side several weeks ago.

The Legal Committee also provides legal services for persons arrested in demonstrations and protests growing out of the Summer Action Program. An example of this may be seen in the Committee's plans to file suit for injuries and damages sustained during the recent Gage Park demonstrations.

To carry out this array of activities the Legal Committee needs the services of volunteer lawyers, as well as financial support. Contributions should be sent to: The Chicago Human Rights Legal Committee, 166 W. Washington St., Suite 718, Chicago, Ill. For information about the Committee, call AN 3-6054.

HOWE LETTER (Cont'd)

schools. They have been helpful, and I have been assured that we will be able to get adequate information to give you what is in our view a reasonable answer to the points you have made. We will not have this fully prepared by August 1, but it will be in the process of preparation. "We expect, of course, to be in touch with the Chicago School Board and the General Superintendent first of all. We wish to avoid further public charges and counter--charges, and if there turns out to be what we regard as discrimination we plan to work with the Board of Education to have that body make changes which we think are necessary. If changes are required and are not acted upon by the Board, we would, of course, have to move to formal legal hearing. After we have been in touch with the Chicago Board, we shall give you a formal answer to the points you have made.

"I did want to get in touch with you prior to August 1 about these matters. The memorandum which we will be sending to the Board of Education is now in preparation as the result of visits in Chicago during the last month. Your letter of July 20 has just arrived, but the study referred to has not yet come in. As soon as it arrives, we will include it in our review of the Title I problem.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner
of Education

FREEDOM DRIVERS (Cont'd)

old cars, books, toys, and office equipment. To donate contact: Freedom Drivers, 716 Main Street, Evanston, Ill., 475-4655.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JA 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

December 27, 1966

New SRC Publications

Our mail room is a study in creative disarray these days as the Southern Regional Council is issuing a rash of new publications.

Our Voter Education Project has recently put out a county-by-county list of registration figures covering the whole South, with figures for the white voting age population, Negro voting-age population, number of each group registered, and percentages registered. They have also published an eight-page mimeographed analysis of the November election results, focusing on participation of Negroes and its effect, titled "What Happened in the South, 1966." (The VEP has been responsible for programs through which 100,000 voters have been registered during the past year.)

"School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing" is just off the press. A "Special Report," it tells the dismal story of the South's all-too-successful efforts to avoid significant integration of its school systems. It estimates that ten to twelve percent of Negro students in the South are in schools with whites, with figures like 2% for Mississippi, 2.9% for Louisiana, and 2.4% for Alabama offset by 34.6% in Texas and 21.9% in Tennessee.

"Public Assistance in the South," another Special Report, points out that 21.8% of all expenditures for public assistance payments occurred in the South, reflecting the South's 25.9% of the population. But nearly half of the poor people of the nation are in the South. Another fact brought out is far more is spent in the South on aid to the aged than on aid to dependent children -- despite the fact that there are many more impoverished children than impoverished elderly people. This reflects the political utility of aid to the voting elderly. This report is

loaded with information. For instance, although I suppose I knew it all along, it came as a bit of a shock to me to see from one of the tables provided that, among 50 states and the District of Columbia, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi rank 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, and 51st, respectively, in per capita income! That's what I like about the South -- we're consistent.

And then there is the excellent publication of our Special Project in Housing and Urban Planning, "A Home of Our Own: A Guide for Home Buyers." (In the light of those per capita income figures, that title almost sounds like a cruelty joke!) It has a chapter on the advantages and disadvantages of buying a home, one on what to look for in shopping for a home, another on "Closing the Deal," and a chapter on breaking racial barriers. There is a glossary of terms and a list of helpful pamphlets and articles.

"State Councils' Dinner" at the SRC Annual Meeting

For the benefit of readers who were not there, I want to tell briefly about the "State Councils' Dinner" which was a feature of the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting in November. All of the executive directors and the president or vice-president of each state council were present and seated at the head tables. The program was quite simple, consisting of presentation of the George Mitchell Award (for largest percentage increase in membership) to the Arkansas Council by Mr. Marion Wright and the field activities report. A few statistics from the latter:

"...Membership now stands at approximately 11,500, and increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation for raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members."

"At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately."

"The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends -- an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,00 -- a leap of more than 25%."

December 27, 1966

The Paperback Books Project

It took a little while for the word to get out, apparently, but during the past couple of months we have had a tremendous increase in the number of inquiries about our Paperback Books Project and requests for books. In fact, the demand has been so great that it is necessary to delay further orders until the backlog is diminished and we can assess the situation. It is our hope that the proposals we are receiving, even if we are not able to answer them affirmatively at this time, will help us to secure funds for a renewed and enlarged program in 1967.

Notes on the State Councils

I have let so much time elapse since my last newsletter, and the state councils have been doing so much meanwhile, that I cannot begin to do them all justice. I'll have to mention only a few items of particular interest.

The Arkansas Council has secured a Research Assistant, Mr. Paul Williams, who joined their staff on September 26. Mr. Williams was born and raised in Fort Smith. He recently was graduated from Hendrix College in Conway, where he majored in history and political science. He did the research for the Arkansas Council's "Background Report on Arkansas Prisons" and is working with a penal reform group which the Council helped to set up. He is also working with students and local councils.

I don't ordinarily like to receive unsigned letters, but a recent one was a pleasure. Signed only "A(rkansas)CHR," it said only, "It appears that Human Relations are improving in Arkansas. What about Georgia?" Enclosed was a newspaper clipping about the appointment of Negro lawyer Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., as deputy prosecuting attorney for Pulaski and Perry Counties. Prosecuting Attorney-elect Richard B. Adkisson, in making the announcement, said that Mercer would be the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in history for the two counties and that he probably would be the first Negro deputy prosecutor in the South in modern times. Among other distinctions, Mr. Mercer worked for two years on the staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Council continues to have the luck of the Irish (viz. Baxton Bryant) in their staffing. Not long ago the Inter-County Improvement Association, an organization of approximately 200 Negroes with headquarters in Ripley, made an unusual proposal to the TCHR. They asked to become a chapter and offered to put up $3,000 (cash!) if the Council would find another $6,000 and hire a man to work full-time in rural west Tennessee. The Council

appealed successfully to the Field Foundation and has hired The Reverend Isaac Richmond, Jr., for the job. Mr. Richmond, 28, is a graduate of Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee, with an A.B. in history and sociology. He also has a Master of Religious Education degree from ITC in Atlanta. He has long been active in civil rights efforts.

The Virginia Council instigated and did most of the administrative work for the Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia which was held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28-29. 1,075 people registered for the conference, which was sponsored by all of the major religious groups of the state. Speakers included Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University; Dr. John F. Cronin, assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta; Warren H. Turner, vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York; and Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of the Institute for Services to Education, Washington.

Annual Meetings of the Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia Council

All three of the above councils have had excellent annual meetings recently. I won't try to go into detail about each of the programs, but will risk a generalization based on my subjective impressions from attending the South Carolina and Florida meetings and a reading of the minutes of the Georgia one (which, regrettably, I missed). At all three there were reports from local councils that indicate an increasing amount of involvement and important work on the part of their members. How do you measure interest and enthusiasm, except subjectively? But I came away from the meetings greatly encouraged, with the feeling that there are great many people -- white people and Negroes, poor people and economically comfortable people -- who are willing (yearning, even to work together on the problems of community where they live. If that is so, it bodes well for the state councils on human relations, for, as far as I am concerned, that's what they are all about.

And a Bit of Humor

I guess I got a kick out of this story because of the way Yankee liberals have been hanging back on civil rights lately. (This is a slightly adapted version.)

December 27, 1966

It seems that a white southerner moved to Chicago and was determined to get along with the natives. He walked into a local bar, struck up a conversation with the guy on the next stool, and in due course observed, "If you ask me, all Ku Klux Klansmen are S.O.B.'s." His new acquaintance got up, slugged him, and stomped out.

The southerner rubbed his chin and turned to the guy on the other side. "Man, what a character. But I still say all members of the KKK are S.O.B.'s." Whereupon he also flattens him and walks out.

He picked himself up, ordered another drink, and observed to the bartender, "I wouldn't have thought this was Ku Klux Klan territory."

And the bartender replied, "Who said it was? This is S.O.B. country!"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

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Foundations to which FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTERS should be sent:

Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Paul Ylvisaker
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Carl McCall
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Mrs. Deborah Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

NEWS MEDIA (clip file)

THE SHAPING OF THE TELEVISION MEDIUM

A talk given at the Speech Association of
America's annual convention, in New York City,
December 30, 1965

By Roy Danish

Director, Television Information Office
666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019

May I first express my delight – and I'm sure it is shared by my industry – that you have invited a representative of commercial broadcasting to speak to you today.

It is nearly two decades since commercial television flickered into life in a few thousand homes and taverns. The cabinets have grown smaller and the screens have grown larger, and they have moved from the wings to stage front and center in most people's living rooms and minds. But during the time when millions of families were buying their sets, teachers, for the most part, tended to remain at intellectual arm's length from this newest of the social forces.

There are, of course, ample precedents for this reluctance to accept a new, and perhaps competitive, phenomenon. Socrates frowned on writing just as, a millennium and a half later, scribes and clergy frowned when the first mass medium was born of movable type.

Within your own experience there has been a partial displacement of print media by radio and then television, and I hardly need dwell on the anguished cries of film producers and theatre owners when it became apparent that Milton Berle was going to put the movies out of business. But adjustments were made, and continue to be made as each of the media finds new roles to play to satisfy a population with constantly increasing leisure time to fill.

It has only been in the last very few years that more than a handful of teachers have become involved in the use of television as an adjunct to their conventional teaching methods. Evidence of a growing national interest is being expressed through such organizations as your own and the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Teachers of English. This is in some respects, I suppose, a matter of "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em." But I'm sure that there are more serious and encouraging reasons for the apparent change of heart in many segments of the educational community.

I don't intend today to discuss either in-school broadcasting or other instructional programs broadcast by educational television stations. Most of you know, I think, that the number of educational stations is on the rise and that the use of in-school materials has been proved of sufficient value to encourage additional installations at all grade levels.

I cannot report, however, that general educational television has yet succeeded in finding its way into enough homes each week to justify the very considerable expenditures of money, energy and imagination which have gone into it. But just as its older commercial sister has gone through many periods of change, so, I am sure, will educational television. We are all very encouraged by the recent Carnegie grant for the study of educational television. Hopefully there will emerge guidelines to help the educational broadcaster see more clearly what his objectives might be and how he can achieve them more effectively.

It is difficult to know, in talking with an audience like yourselves, where the obvious leaves off and the useful begins. As some of you know, the Television Information Office operates a special library which concerns itself with the role of television as a social force. Each year there turn to us thousands of writers, teachers, students, legislators, clergymen and others whose curiosity about television cannot be satisfied by the information to be found in critical columns or television listings. From our records, we have learned that place of residence, or occupation, or level of education are not the limiting criteria for this interest in the television medium. For that reason, I must assume that some of you, at least, will be familiar with what I have to say.

DIMENSIONS OF THE MEDIUM

I think it might be useful, however, to review for most of you the dimensions of the medium in terms of its availability and use. This will provide us with, at least, a rough frame of reference through which to look at some of the matters which have their roots in the pervasiveness of the television phenomenon.

It hardly seems possible that in 1946 there were only six stations serving 8,000 families. Today, 54 million homes, and that's 94% of all the family units in the country, are equipped to receive television. Like the two-car family, the two-set or even three- and four-set family is no longer an oddity, and the total number of sets now in use has reached 67 million.

The signals these sets are tuned to come now from 700 stations and their number is – in relative terms – growing more rapidly than the number of receivers. At present 124 stations are under construction, and applications for still another 179 are on file with the Federal Communications Commission. The day is not far off when a thousand or more stations may be operating. Of the number currently operating or contemplated, 823 will be commercial and the remaining 179 educational.

This rapid increase in stations has come about in large part through Federal legislation requiring that all sets shipped in interstate commerce be equipped to receive both VHF and UHF signals. Most of you probably are accustomed to using channels 2 through 13 – the VHF or very high frequency band. Actually, there is a second set of frequencies available, called UHF – that is, ultra high frequency. It accommodates 72 additional channels, making a total of 84.

The earliest channel assignments were almost exclusively in the lower, or VHF band. Most sets could receive only VHF signals and, when attempts were made to introduce UHF in the VHF areas, most people wouldn't spend the 30 or 40 dollars required to modify their sets to receive the new signals. In most cases the result was failure for the UHF station, and many broadcasters who had planned UHF operations turned in their construction permits before they even tried to get on the air. To keep these UHF frequencies from going to waste, the Congress, at the urging of the FCC, breathed new life into UHF with the all-channel receiver law.

Recently, the number of homes equipped to receive UHF as well as VHF has also swelled as a result of the dramatically increased interest in color television. Four or five years ago the penetration of color sets was minimal. But the number of hours devoted to color broadcasting by networks and by some stations has risen sharply and, as people have learned of this new attraction, color set sales have reached an all-time high. In fact, as some of you may have learned this Christmas, consumers are finding that they may have to wait many weeks if they wish a particularly popular model.

The manufacturing industry is, of course, rushing to extend its facilities, but there are still bottlenecks, particularly in picture tube making. All these new sets are, of course, equipped to receive the high band UHF channels. There are now about 5,000,000 color sets in use and there seems to be no reason why next year's output of sets will not be sold as it comes to market. This means that by the end of next year, 8,000,000 or 15 per cent, of U.S. families will have color sets, and therefore UHF receivers. And there are indications that by 1970, 45 per cent of all families will have color receivers. Added to black and white UHF receivers this brings the anticipated total equipped for UHF close to 80 per cent by the end of the decade.

THE INVESTMENT IN TELEVISION

The enthusiasm with which American families set out to buy their first black-and-white receivers and now their color receivers offers a good measure of the interest which this medium holds for the typical viewer. The public's purchases of television sets have already exceeded $27.5 billion (over $2.5 billion in 1965 alone). Those dollars represent an investment for home entertainment and, to a lesser extent, for other kinds of programs as well.

On the transmitting side, U. S. television networks and stations have invested nearly $800 million in equipment and literally billions in working capital, for 46,000 employees, for maintenance and, most particularly, for programs. They are spending hundreds of millions of dollars now to convert to color. All in all, as you can see, there has been a very real show of earnest money at both ends of the signal.

This cash investment is a useful yardstick for measuring the foundation on which rests the modern American phenomenon of total daily television viewing. We can derive an interesting end figure by multiplying the average number of hours during which each family uses its sets by the total number of families which own them. The year-round average is about 5 1/2 hours, and in mid-winter this rises to nearly 6 1/2. Thus we come to well over 300 million family viewing hours daily.

The average figures cannot, of course, be applied to people of all ages. Children, for example, are reported by Paul Witty to spend just over 20 hours a week before their screens. The figure falls off slightly as the youngsters grow up, because teenagers do not usually watch as much as their smaller brothers and sisters. Women tend to watch more than men. And there are, of course, all the individual differences in viewing habits which rest on education, outside interests, the availability of other entertainment and, finally, one's own taste.

No matter what your point of view, however, it is quite obvious that no other medium of entertainment has ever approached television as a leisure time attraction.

The key word here is medium. Television is only that, of course. What we are offered here is primarily a measure of people's interest in entertainment, because, by and large, most television programs are designed to entertain. Considerably fewer hours are set aside for information, religious broadcasting, news, documentaries, and other public affairs presentations than for pure amusement.

The content of the broadcast day, of course, does not remain static. If one could miraculously produce a video tape recording of an entire day's schedule from back in 1949, he would find something very different from what he sees today. Much more time is now given to news and to other non-entertainment broadcasts than 10, 15 or 20 years ago. Gone are the roller derbies, and gone, too, are some of the personalities who probably sold more television sets than any appliance salesman in the country.

VIEWER BEHAVIOR INFLUENCES SCHEDULES

But let's get back to the present, and to a factor which is weighed carefully when programs are planned. The workday and holiday behavior of viewers imposes patterns on the total schedule – patterns which to a large extent set limits on the broadcaster's program decisions.

Your own experience certainly tells you that the evening – except on weekends when important sport events are broadcast – is by far the most popular time for using television. The number of homes tuned in hour by hour is regularly measured, and what we find can be translated into percentages of total homes. Starting in the morning at 7 a.m. and ending in the late evening, we get a curve which is described by these figures – 6 per cent at 7 a.m., 17 per cent at 9 a.m., 24 per cent at 11 a.m., 29 per cent at 1 p.m., 30 per cent at 3 p.m., 40 per cent at 5 p.m., 52 per cent at 7 p.m., 67 per cent at 9 p.m. and 34 per cent at 11 p.m.

Not only does the number of homes vary considerably from hour to hour, but the composition of the audience varies as well. In early morning you find a mixed audience before the man of the family goes off to work – and mixed programming as well, including news and perhaps some material for pre-schoolers. This is followed, until late afternoon, by programs designed primarily for women.

The return of the man to his castle signals the early evening news, and the rest of the evening is given over to entertainment and informational programs which make up the bulk of the schedules until the late news. For those who still haven't had enough, there remain the late night personalities and the late movies until sign-off.

The implications of these changes throughout the day should be clear. In the first place, audiences are smaller by day than at night, and, understandably, yield considerably lower revenues to the broadcaster. Because his fixed expenses tend to remain the same, he must broadcast programs which are at the same time popular and not overly costly. It is for this reason that you see the relatively uncomplicated game shows – uncomplicated in production terms, that is – the daytime dramatic serials and re-runs of movies and off-network syndicated programs.

I should insert here one exception to the rule that daytime programs – excluding weekend sports – can be produced for modest sums. All the rulebooks go out the window when there is, for example, an astronaut launching, the visit of the Pope, or some other event of special interest which warrants full coverage regardless of the hours at which the events are taking place.

Audiences, revenues and program expenditures rise together late in the day when the early evening news comes on. News broadcasts are by no means inexpensive staples. They involve, at the network level, many hundreds of writers, technicians and reporters, to say nothing of the vast communications systems which must be brought into play to bring live reports and film or tape footage of remote events. Locally, they also require producers, newscasters, reporters, cameramen, mobile units and wire services.

To this day the networks and many stations have not learned how to present news profitably, despite the growing demand for information, and the increasing number of hours devoted to it.

TELEVISION'S PROGRAM COSTS

Most Americans are interested in the cost of things – which probably accounted for the long run of a program called *The Price is Right* – and I have some figures which will give you an idea of the investments that are made by broadcasters and ultimately by advertisers in their efforts to reach and hold large audiences.

Television programs are costly. Because they are seen by vast audiences, networks have to pay a great deal of money for the rights to telecast a play, and for stars who appear in it. The efforts of hundreds of persons may be needed to put a program on the air – engineers, stagehands, lighting men, makeup specialists, actors, directors, writers, etc.

A program such as *Bonanza* costs $187,000 – for the program alone. The total cost, which includes the program and the price charged for airtime, amounts to $311,000 for the hour – every week.

A half-hour program such as *Bewitched* costs $72,000 for the program, and an additional $76,000 for time.

A live program is expensive, too. The *Ed Sullivan Show* costs $164,000 for production, and $294,000 including the time.

And even a half-hour live panel program – *To Tell the Truth* – is expensive, costing $119,000 for time and talent.

The combined costs for a news program such as *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* total $75,000 for just 15 minutes.

In living up to their own news standards, networks made a tremendous investment. To pick up the Gemini 7 splashdown, for example, the three networks pooled resources and paid $300,000 just for the equipment and men aboard the aircraft carrier Wasp. Any single space shoot costs each network $1,000,000 – and that doesn't include the money lost through eliminating regular commercial programs.

The coverage of the 14-hour visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations last October 4th cost the networks about $1,000,000 for pooled production, and with the pre-emptions of commercial programs the costs to radio and television totaled about $5,800,000.

To pay for this continuing output of entertainment and news, the broadcaster turns to his only source of income – the advertiser. This year alone it is estimated that national, regional and local advertisers will have spent a total of just under 2 1/2 billion dollars for time and program costs. Each year this figure has gone higher, and it seems likely that by 1970 the figure will have reached 3 billion.

THE NEED FOR MASS AUDIENCES

When he invests millions of dollars, the national advertiser hopes that he will have created sufficiently interesting commercials and bought time wisely enough to engage the attention of tens of millions of viewers. He must think in these terms, since only a very small percentage of his viewers will act on his advice or yield to his persuasion. It is clear, therefore, that to accomplish his purposes, the advertiser must reach audiences as large as can reasonably be hoped for. Although certain types of programs do attract specific kinds of viewers, television advertising, on the whole, like all mass media advertising, tends to be more like a shotgun than a rifle.

If you have watched much television and have any awareness of the number of program changes that take place during the course of the year, you must be equally aware that the broadcaster's reach exceeds his grasp far more often than he would wish. The mortality

rate for both new programs and old favorites attests, on the one hand, to the failure of the broadcaster to provide consistently attractive programming and, on the other, to the corollary fact that viewers have minds of their own and will often turn away from what the broadcaster may think is one of his better efforts. Unfortunately, this is most apt to happen when informational or cultural programs are presented.

The 40 per cent mortality rate for new programs in any given season means that countless hours of planning, of writing and of producing go down the drain each fall and winter, and with them, tens of millions of dollars. I don't cite these casualties and their costs to engage your sympathies. The networks and stations and independent producers who run the entrepreneurial risks involved in program development recognize that they are in an extremely hazardous business, despite which in most cases they go right back to work on new ideas for the coming season.

THE TALENT GAP

This ritual disaster, which befalls so many every autumn, points up a fact only those in the business of theatrical presentation seem to recognize – and I would include here Broadway and Hollywood producers as well as television producers. It is quite simply that the combined appetites of television, the theatre, the moving pictures and even to some extent the print media, are so great that there does not exist sufficient talent to fill all the hours on television and moving picture screens and all the stages that ring Times Square.

There was a time when traveling repertory groups and even home-grown red barn players could satisfy many local theatre buffs. But first the moving pictures, and most recently television, have conspired to raise the national level of appreciation for well-produced and well-acted performances.

It is here at this upper level of achievement that the talent shortage makes itself felt so bitterly. A few simple statistics may make clear the dimensions of the problem. In a given season, perhaps 90 plays will come to Broadway and these will involve a total of no more than 200 or 225 hours. This year Hollywood put 165 films into production. The last time a figure of this magnitude was achieved was in 1961, when 187 films went into the studios. The 1965 product, therefore, will account for some 300 hours of material, roughly half the amount that was produced in any year during the heyday of the moving pictures in the late '40's and early '50's.

Now, compare these totals with what is required for television. If we limit ourselves to only a portion of prime time, let's say two hours per evening, then the requirements of three networks amount to 42 hours a week – or nearly 2200 hours per year. I need hardly remind you that no Broadway season, and no moving picture season, has ever produced more than a very small percentage of real hits. Much theatrical product, whether for the stage or the screen, has been passable, but a very considerable portion has been slated for the junk heap.

The television problem is no different, but it is further complicated by the fact that, as a family medium, certain themes – which have been acceptable for the stage and have, increasingly, become acceptable for moving pictures – are simply not usable for broadcasting.

Another factor that must be weighed is the opportunity for the recoupment of investment. In the case of moving pictures this can be extremely tempting because of long runs, reissues and the revenues that accrue from overseas distribution. A long-running play can return to its backers many times the amount of money they invested. By December 1965, for example, *Hello Dolly* had already grossed over $7,500,000.

In the case of television, however, even though off-network reruns and foreign distribution offer good returns for some kinds of programs, the bait is not nearly as attractive, and the amounts of money which can be invested in any given production must be limited by the reasonable expectation of return.

A further hampering factor is the shortness of time available for the preparation of television presentations. To illustrate, a moving picture may take weeks, months or even years to produce. A Broadway play may take a year or more to write, and will then require four or five weeks of rehearsal followed by four or five weeks out of town.

But a typical television entertainment program measures rehearsal time in days, and requires of its busy writers that they turn out their work in two or three weeks. Little time is available for the endless rewrites and for the doctoring which have saved many a film and stage play from oblivion.

I have belabored these difficulties because I think it's important to base one's expectations on reality. It often seems to me remarkable that so many good things are done on television. They come off as well as they do because of the enormous talents that are poured into them, and there is no doubt that all media would be better served if there were more such talents available.

I think it's important to keep in mind that no one sets out to produce a bad Western or situation comedy or documentary. There are failures because too often the talent shortage takes its toll at either the conceptual or production level, despite the best intentions of those responsible for the original idea.

"A MODEST PROPOSAL"

There is, of course, an obvious solution to the problem – or what at first may seem an obvious solution. One can simply limit the number of broadcast hours each day and this would quite obviously have the effect of limiting the demands which television now makes on its program sources. If you think about this for a moment, however, you will agree that it is really no solution at all.

In the first place we are now much too far along in the game to turn our backs on the millions of viewers who have become accustomed to the nearly total availability of some form of television programming. For many housewives, television has become an indispensable companion, and there are, of course, many people whose working schedules are not nine to five.

Because different types of programming are required to meet a variety of needs during the day, and because the size of the available audience changes hour by hour, cutting the total number of hours would probably not relieve the tremendous demand for certain kinds of talent, and I'm afraid we would not have advanced our cause very far. Undoubtedly, there would be fewer programs which are of marginal popularity, but it does not seem to

me that we could count on having a significantly greater number of programs which achieve real excellence.

Incidentally, many of these factors which I have ticked off in relation to talent availability have direct bearing on the question of pay television, which has been suggested by many as the way to meet certain special needs of limited sectors within the total viewing population. I am convinced, as are many others, that there is practically no talent which has been left untapped in the search for usable broadcast materials. The fact of paying for programs would not bring into being a new corps of writers, actors and producers, without whom, of course, new kinds of programming would be impossible. From experiments which have already been made in Canada and this country, it would appear that the only programs people will pay for regularly are movies and sports.

TELEVISION WILL NOT STAND STILL

Much of what I have said may seem to you a special pleading for the status quo. It is not meant to be so, and even if it were, it would be a pleading in what must be a lost cause. In the 20 years since television began its emergence as a major communications force, it has already undergone far too many changes to offer any promise of standing pat.

A simple comparison of the most popular programs of ten years ago with those which find favor today makes this abundantly clear. Who would have dreamed 15 years ago that an hour or even an hour and a half of news would be presented by most stations each evening? Could we have envisioned the tremendous technical capability which has made possible the coverage of events ranging from the national political conventions to the astronaut launchings? Who but an electronics scientist could have foreseen the globe-girdling Telstar relays?

Two factors have worked together to make some of these changes possible. Greater financial resources have led to better equipment, which permits technical accomplishments that were far beyond the industry's reach even half a dozen years ago. And world events have heightened interest in information generally and have made it possible to hold the attention of viewers with programming which would have gone almost unnoticed in the past.

The very nature of the audience itself is undergoing slow modification. To the extent that education conditions one's tastes and needs and preferences, the rising level of formal educational achievement suggests the possibility that there may develop a greater acceptance of certain kinds of program material which have in the past enjoyed very limited popularity.

I have already spoken of the increasing competition which will grow out of the increasing number of stations in operation. It would be pleasant to infer from this the promise of new and marvelous program developments. However, given the limited supply of first class talent, the tastes and program preferences of most viewers, and the economic facts of broadcasting life, I don't think we have cause for great optimism. But certainly there will, as always, be innovation – not so much because there are more stations as because someone, somewhere has had a fresh idea.

This year, for the first time, we have seen the large-scale development of mass audience participation, in programs about automobile driving, citizenship and health. Similar programs have been produced by local stations to deal with problems such as urban

transportation. More are being prepared by networks and stations, and just how long they will be intriguing to viewers remains to be seen. They may come and go as other program types have, or they may find a permanent place within the total schedule.

The advent of color, like the earlier development of larger screens, promises greater educational and entertainment values in the kinds of programs which can best capitalize on this new dimension in presentation. But the shaping of a medium in terms of its content and the levels of tastes which it expresses rests not with the medium so much as with its users.

It is no accident that so little of your daily newspaper is devoted to news and so much is devoted to entertainment. It is the reader who has made that decision. And it is equally the reader or the viewer who has shaped general and special interest magazines as well as moving pictures and the stage.

The challenge which the broadcaster must face and has always had to face is how to meet the quite clearly defined desires of the majority, while spicing his schedule with innovations that may find mass audiences in their turn.

TELEVISION'S EFFECTS ON VIEWERS

Now some words of caution – or perhaps they will seem reassuring to some of you. There has been much speculation about the effects of television and many claims have been made about its capacity to uplift or degrade, to inform or confuse, to create new attitudes or reinforce old beliefs. A careful reading of existing research makes it clear that there is still much to learn, but we have begun to recognize that the viewer himself largely determines the effects of the medium.

When we are exposed to mass media – and I would include here print as well as visual media – each of us sets out to protect his preconceptions. First, we select what we will see. Then, we perceive selectively by blocking information or even emotional content which is undesirable to us. Finally, we tend to remember only what we can fit comfortably into our previous notions, the content that reinforces our views.

A perfect example of this occurs during most election campaigns. We listen to the candidates we prefer in order to reinforce our belief in them. We listen to the opposition far less often, and generally to scoff or criticize. The importance of the Great Debates in 1960 was, first, that they broke down the selective exposure factor. But second, and more important, the reinforcement factor came into play, and caused many regular Democrats to shift from near neutrality about Kennedy to a more active acceptance of him. In other words, they found support for their underlying belief that the Democratic candidate was worth working for, or at least voting for.

Contrary to the belief of many of television's supporters and detractors, it doesn't sell goods by converting people from one point of view to another. Instead, it offers them ways to achieve whatever they already desire, although in some better or faster or safer or more economical or easier way.

Even children, whom we think of as little blank slates, are by no means putty in the hands of the broadcaster. The psychologists who have worked in this area seem to agree that television works on the child only through a welter of other and more powerful factors: the family, school, friends and church.

THE TEACHER'S AND CITIZEN'S OPPORTUNITY

Where does all this leave you as teachers and as citizens? It seems clear to me, first, that you have an immediate opportunity to join in shaping this new medium. The challenge you face is that of encouraging in your students an appreciation of what is good. On you rests part of the responsibility for helping your students to develop useful critical attitudes.

Louis Forsdale, professor of English at Columbia University's Teachers College, has spoken of the need for teachers to raise the level of literacy in the new media, as well as in print. He suggests that the medium of television be studied as a medium, and not just as an audio-visual tool and notes that in Scandinavia schools are required to give at least one hour's instruction per week about film and/or television. He recently said, "We study literature, not to create professional writers... we study music, not to create professional musicians. And we should study television, not to create television professionals, but to raise our students up the ladder of literacy in this new medium."

Every day you face young people who have shared with each other, and perhaps with you, the common experience of watching television the previous evening. Will you let that shared experience go by the board, or will you seek the means – as many of your colleagues in the Social Studies and English fields are doing – to put it to good use as grist for your own mills?

Are there programs on the air that are particularly useful? Let the broadcaster know about them.

Do you want the counsel of broadcast professionals? Most will be glad to help.

Are your students realistic about the career opportunities which television offers? Go to the professionals for guidance.

Do you need more advance program information than you're able to find in your local newspapers or other listings? Let us, at TIO, hear from you.

There is much to be done by all of us to improve television *and* teaching. To get on with our jobs, we must take advantage of every opportunity that comes our way. Television will be shaped far more by its viewers than by broadcasters. You can play your part in that process, and we hope you will.

# # #

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THE PRESS

MAGAZINES

Middle-Aged Meliorists

"You appear to be publishing a middle-aged magazine for middle-aged readers," scoffed one reader after a look at the advance galleys of a new quarterly, *The Public Interest*. On thinking it over, Editors Daniel Bell, 46, and Irving Kristol, 45, took the crack as a compliment. "Young people tend to be enchanted by glittering generalities," they wrote in their first issue last fall; "older people are inclined to remember rather than to think; and middle-aged people, seasoned by life but still open to the future, do seem to us—in our middle years—to be the best of all political generations."

Concrete Critics. With their second issue, which appeared last week, Bell and Kristol continue their reasoned dialogue with reasonable middle age. Articles range from the obsolescence of U.S. public schools to the trend toward small business in the U.S. economy to the theoretical and practical relationship between men and computerized "thinking" machines. First-rate social critics in their own right, Bell and Kristol have years of experience editing and contributing to such magazines as *Commentary*, *Encounter* and FORTUNE. They hope that *The Public Interest* will provide politicians with the latest insights of the intellectual community, while giving intellectuals an understanding of the process of government.

Friends since their undergraduate days at the City College of New York, where they both developed a boundless disdain for ideologies of both the right and left, the two editors emphasize fact and information in their magazine, avoid simplistic political stances. "Too many intellectuals," writes Kristol in the current *Public Interest*, "express decided views on automation, disarmament, urban renewal, and all sorts of other matters on which they are inadequately informed." Adds Bell: "If the function of the intellectual is to criticize, I say to the intellectual: specify—translate ideas into concrete programs."

No Carping. Like most other "little" magazines, *The Public Interest* is not likely to become self-supporting in the near future. But Bell and Kristol, who now rely on backing from Wall Street, and other friends, are pleased by the early response; they estimate a circulation of 5,000 or more at $1.50 a copy. A professor of sociology at Columbia University, Bell commissions most of the stories, for which the authors are paid a token $100; Kristol, executive vice president of Basic Books, does most of the editing. Their magazine, they hope, will re-create some of the atmosphere of 19th century England when intellectuals took a passionate interest in their government, and were not satisfied merely to carp contentiously from the sidelines. "We are not interested in the ordinary exposé," says Kristol. "We are incurable meliorists. We think that the people in Washington are doing as good a job as anybody can. They would do an even better one if they were given all the information."

ALFRED STATLER — WALTER DARAN

IRVING KRISTOL — DANIEL BELL

The best of all generations.

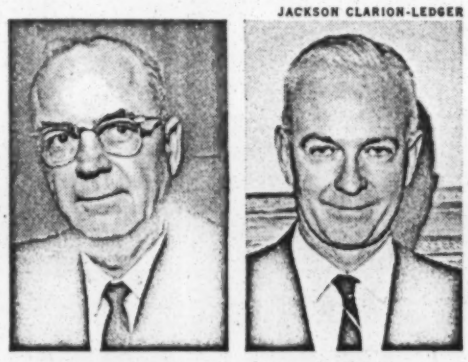
NEWSPAPERS

Dixie Flamethrowers

After learning that Senator Robert F. Kennedy was planning to address the University of Mississippi Law School in mid-March, Columnist Tom Ethridge of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger expounded on Southern hospitality. "It is hoped that Mississippi authorities can guarantee the safety of Senator Kennedy when and if he visits Oxford," Ethridge wrote. "Or is it really possible to guarantee anyone's personal safety here or anywhere else? There are men in our state who might take fantastic risks to get even for the 1962 military occupation of Oxford by federal troops. We do not predict an attempt on R.F.K.'s life, but merely suggest that it could happen with no end of unfortunate repercussions for our state and people."

For the Jackson press to show such solicitude for the health and welfare of a Kennedy was novel indeed. The biggest papers in Mississippi, with a combined circulation of 120,000, the morning Clarion-Ledger and the afternoon Daily News indulge in more Yankee-baiting and race-baiting than any other papers in the South. During the Watts rioting, Ethridge wrote: "What the cops need . . . are plenty of flamethrowers . . . Nothing could stop bloodthirsty savages quicker than reducing them to cinders."

JACKSON CLARION-LEDGER



TOM HEDERMAN JR. — BOB HEDERMAN JR.

The second coming of Babbitt.

Jested Daily News Editor Jimmy Ward on the front page: "Did you hear about the Negro marine who is serving his country well in Viet Nam? He received a telegram on the battlefield which read: 'We regret to inform you that your mother and father were killed "in action" in Los Angeles.' " When a Mississippi anti-poverty program folded, Ward bade farewell to the "slew-footed, unsoaped ragtag of human flotsam who were roaming Mississippi to create hate and provoke a killing."

Unabashed Boosterism. Many Southern papers now cover local racial news with considerable accuracy and balance. The Jackson papers, which were founded in the 1800s, have not changed their attitude in half a century. Bob Hederman, who publishes both papers, and his cousin Tom Hederman, who edits the Clarion-Ledger, are descendants of the powerful Jackson family that bought the Clarion-Ledger in 1920, took over the Daily News in 1954, and has always quickly crunched any competition. The Hedermans also own the Hattiesburg (Miss.) American, a sizable chunk of local real estate and an interest in TV and radio in Jackson. They are quite content with things as they are in Mississippi—which does not mean they believe everything they read in their own newspapers. On the contrary, they are considered to be reasonably malleable Mississippians who go along with segregation because that's what the community seems to want. To them, the newspapers are, above all, a highly profitable business venture.

In addition to championing segregation, the two Jackson papers practice a boosterism that would make a Babbitt blush. The Clarion-Ledger regularly runs a Page One color photo of a local maiden or matron gushing something like "It is patio time again." The Daily News runs a front-page cartoon of a donkey named Hinny who brays verse on behalf of some local cause: "It's the first night for football in the high schools of the state/ And ol' Hinny hopes each one'll win its game—won't that be great."

Too Close to Criticize. Exasperated at not being able to get to see Governor Paul Johnson, Los Angeles Times Reporter Jack Nelson asked the Clarion-Ledger's political reporter Charles Hills why he didn't raise some "hell" with the Governor. "Oh, no," replied Hills, "I worked so hard for him in the campaign I can't afford to criticize him now." When it comes to past political figures, however, the papers are less sensitive. "Speaking of John Wilkes Booth, history may have done him wrong," Tom Ethridge wrote recently. "Mrs. Lincoln had accused Honest Abe of flirting with a cute actress in the play he was watching. There was an argument. Mary Lincoln drew a .44 derringer from her handbag and fired the fatal shot. John Wilkes Booth happened to pass the presidential box at that moment. Being a true Southern gentleman, he gallantly took the rap for the first lady."

Court Upholds Plea by Negroes For Voice on TV License Renewal

3/26/66 NEWS MEDIA

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 25—The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled today that Negro citizens in Jackson, Miss., must be given a hearing on their charges of racial discrimination in broadcasting by a local television station.

The ruling was described as "a very sweeping decision" by Henry Geller, general counsel to the Federal Communications Commission. It was the first court ruling requiring the commission to allow members of the public at large to challenge renewals of broadcasting licenses.

It is expected to have implications far beyond the racial charges in Mississippi.

The charges against station WLBT-TV included assertions that it carried disproportionate amounts of commercials and entertainment. Thus, the decision opens the door for challenges by viewers to stations' programming.

Previously, the commission refused to allow members of the public to dispute a station's license renewal except when electrical interference or economic injury was alleged.

Accordingly, the commission declined to order a hearing in 1964 when two Mississippi civil

Continued on Page 59, Column 4

JOIN Vietnam Peace Parade, 94th & 5th Ave. Sat. 12:30 p.m.—Advt.

NEW YORK TIMES, SATU

U.S. COURT BACKS NEGROES' TV PLEA

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

rights leaders, Aaron Henry and Robert L. T. Smith, and the United Church of Christ opposed WLTB's application for a three-year renewal of its license. The church is a national Protestant denomination with a large membership in the area.

Among the charges was a complaint over an editorial rights leaders, Aaron Henry broadcast at the time of the University of Mississippi integration crisis in 1962 that declared:

"The word of the hour, the word of the day, the word of the years is: Never!"

There were also complaints that the station's weather reports occasionally ended with the prediction: "Tomorrow, cloudy with demonstrators."

The complainants also contended that the station discriminated against local activities of the Roman Catholic Church.

When no other party appeared to oppose the license renewal, the F.C.C. voted 4 to 2, in favor of a one-year probationary renewal.

Since then, radical changes have been made in its racial programming.

Courtesy Titles Used

Negroes are now addressed as "Mr." and "Mrs." on the air. Negro ministers are now included among those broadcasting devotionals, and Negro youths participate in a Saturday afternoon high school show called "Teen Tempo."

The decision today left it to the commission to decide whether the station should be credited with these changes when the hearings are held.

The opinion by Judge Warren E. Burger said that the F.C.C. had misconstrued a Supreme Court decision of 1940 by granting "standing" in contested license renewals only to those who were economically involved.

F.C.C. Theory Ruled Out

In the 1940 case, the Court granted such standing to persons who were affected economically.

"The theory that the commission can always effectively represent the listener interests in a renewal proceeding without the aid and participation of legitimate listener representatives," Judge Burger said, "is no longer a valid assumption which stands up under the realities of actual experience."

"Unless the listeners — the broadcasting consumers — can be heard, there may be no one to bring programming deficiencies or offensive overcommercialization to the attention of the commission in an effective manner," he said.

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"Unless the listeners — the broadcasting consumers — can be heard, there may be no one to bring programming deficiencies or offensive overcommercialization to the attention of the commission in an effective manner," he said.

The decision today gives the commission broad discretion to decide who from among the public shall be allowed to participate in hearings. It mentioned civic organizations, professional societies, unions and churches as groups that should be heard.

'Pious Hope' Deplored

The court chided the commission for its "pious hope" that WLBT might mend its ways if it were given a one-year extension. It suggested that the commission might have taken the station off the air and opened the channel to new applicants.

The other judges joining in the unanimous opinion were Carl McGowan and Edward Allen Tamm.

According to Mr. Geller, the full commission will decide whether to appeal the case to the Supreme Court, based upon his recommendation, which should be prepared in about three weeks.

Any decision to appeal would be subject to a final determination by Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, he said.

If the commission decides not to appeal, the hearing should get under way in about three months, he said.

The Lamar Life Insurance Company of Jackson owns WLBT-TV and was also a defendant in the appeal.

A spokesman for the station said that no comment would be made until officials had an opportunity to study the decision.

MOBILE NEWSPAPER SOLD TO NEWHOUSE

NBMS MEDIA 10/8/66

MOBILE, Ala., Oct. 6 (AP) —Controlling stock in The Press and The Register, Mobile newspapers, has been acquired by S. I. Newhouse of New York.

Mr. Newhouse, owner of a chain of newspapers including two others in Alabama, purchased 53 per cent of the stock from the McGowan-Aldridge voting trust. The proposed sale of the stock of the Mobile Press Register, Inc., was announced in June.

Terms of the multimillion-dollar transaction, which was closed Wednesday, were not announced. The company also publishes The Sunday Press Register.

Kenneth R. Giddens, Mobile television and radio executive, earlier had acquired 50 per cent of the stock in WKRG television and radio stations of Mobile from the newspaper company.

The Federal Communications Commission said the stock was being purchased for $2.25-million. Mr. Giddens already owned 50 per cent of the WKRG stock.

Mr. Newhouse announced in Mobile that no policy or personnel changes would be made in the afternoon Press and morning Register.

R. B. Chandler is publisher of the papers, William J. Hearin is co-publisher, executive vice president and general manager, and George M. Cox is executive editor and secretary.

The Mobile company owns The Mississippi Press in Pascagoula. Mr. Newhouse also owns controlling interest in The Birmingham News and The Huntsville Times, both Alabama evening dailies.

HOUSTON'S SHACKLED PRESS

by Ben H. Bagdikian NEWS MEDIA

AMONG the most fervent declarations about American institutions are public testaments to the need for freedom of the press, and no one pronounces these with more passion than the press itself. From standing mottoes on page one, in prose and poetry across editorial pages, and in unrelenting rhetoric from publishers' conventions comes the message: the democratic process is founded on the rock of free and independent newspapers.

Most of these calls imply the danger of control by government. Some suggest other threats, from welfare statism to public apathy. Over the years, among the most insistent alarmists of the internal threat to freedom has been the Houston *Chronicle*, the largest paper in Texas and at one time the property of Jesse Jones. But so far in this decade the greatest contribution the Houston *Chronicle* has made to the maintenance of native American institutions is to conduct a continuing and depressing demonstration on how not to operate a free paper in a free society, and to remind its brethren in the trade that the most immediate threat to a free press in this country is their own conflict of interest.

In the 1950s the *Chronicle* was an unabashed mouthpiece for the city's aging oligarchy, dull, jingoistic, reactionary, and falling behind its competitors. Brought in to rejuvenate the paper in 1960 was William P. Steven, a professional editor (moderate Republican) who reversed the paper's dying tendencies and looked at the *Chronicle* as though it were being published for the whole community. In addition to this heresy, he was pretty radical: he supported higher education, Lyndon Johnson, and civil rights. So last September he was fired by the oligarchy. It was the most spectacular story in American newspapering that week, reported in all major Texas dailies, the wire services, and national newsmagazines. But in the *Chronicle's* account of its change — the conservative team of the 1950s was put back in charge — Steven's name did not appear, and he became an unperson in the manner of fallen political gods in the Soviet encyclopedia. The paper began shifting back to the right.

When a big and powerful newspaper fires its hard-driving editor, then changes hands only to reverse the change a few months later, that's news — but barely so to the newspaper in question. Mr. Bagdikian, Washington-based author and reporter, needed weeks of intensive querying and checking to get at the facts about the policies and the goings-on of the owners of the Houston CHRONICLE. *The results have great relevance to the state of the free press.*

Three months later the oligarchs agreed to sell the *Chronicle* to the Houston oil millionaire John Mecom as part of an $85 million package that included hotels, banks, office buildings, and a laundry. The deal would change the commercial power structure of the sixth largest city in the country, but the *Chronicle's* bland story was one eighth as long as the one in the opposition *Post*. After Mecom moved in, the paper continued its rightward shift and changed largely by playing up its new proprietor's interest in oil, horse and automobile racing, and providing spectacular coverage of his daughter's wedding.

On June 7 of this year the Mecom deal collapsed, and the *Chronicle* reverted to the oligarchy, along with the laundry. Apparently the deal fell through over disagreement on the final price for the biggest bank in the package. The *Chronicle* did not report that the deal had been canceled, let alone why, presumably on grounds that it was none of the public's business. Readers were not even told that they had lost a newspaper proprietor. Mecom's name, like Steven's before him, was merely dropped from the masthead and replaced by that of Jesse Jones, who has been dead ten years. If Houstonians depended on their biggest paper, they would not know that their community had undergone a profound change, even though the paper was part of that change. And they would not know that their leading newspaper, the most prominent Texas representative of that crucial institution of a free and independent press, was being bought and sold like an anonymous link in a string of corporate hot dogs. On the basis of that record, the *Chronicle's* readers will probably have to rely on rumor and gossip to tell them what happens next to their newspaper.

Among the depressing morals to be drawn from the turbulence in Houston is the reminder that the American press has hardly begun to think about, let alone solve, a fundamental problem of conflict of interest. The press has been vigorous about pointing to conflict of interest among politicians, occasionally exposing men and agencies in government who let private profit interfere with their public duty. Newspapers were particularly noticeable stressing the horrors of conflict of interest and payola in broadcasting. At infrequent times a few papers will even expose individual reporters or editors who compromise their reportorial objectivity by taking money, favors, or glory from news sources. But they have been virtually silent about a major source of conflict of interest in journalism: the danger that the publisher of a local paper will have a financial interest in an enterprise that should be reported objectively but is not.

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(over)

For example, the group that controlled the *Chronicle* last year also controlled a large bank in town which experienced a bitter stockholder struggle that was reported in the *Wall Street Journal* and on page one of the opposition *Post*, but never mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

So it was typical that when the *Chronicle* was sold last December, along with the same large bank and downtown real estate, Houstonians depending solely on the *Chronicle* would have known nothing of the event unless they had caught the final edition of the December 6 paper, and even there they would have been limited to a twelve-and-a-half-inch story. Six months later when it was "unsold," the readers were told nothing. The *Post* had three chaste paragraphs forty-eight hours later.

The *Post* has not always compensated for the deficiencies of the *Chronicle*. It cooperated, for example, in keeping out of print in Houston the name and fate of the discharged Steven. Competition does not necessarily produce good newspapers. There are too many cities where it seems to produce the opposite — Boston, San Francisco, the afternoon papers in New York City — and a number of places where monopolies print good newspapers — Louisville and St. Petersburg. Competition merely increases the odds that news will be printed and public questions asked and investigated. There is no longer competition in 96 percent of American cities with papers, and in the remaining 4 percent the tide of monopoly seems to move on inexorably, as it has in Houston in recent times.

UNTIL 1964 there had been three papers in the city. For years, the best one was Oveta Culp Hobby's morning *Post*, staid, occasionally enterprising, but never as vigorous or as authoritative as one would expect from the only morning paper in the country's sixth largest and remarkably rich city. There were two afternoon papers. The Scripps-Howard *Press*, a wretched paper, was a flamboyant, superficial jab in the civic rib cage. The other was the *Chronicle*, reactionary and stingy with the news, for years the voice of its early owner, Jesse Jones, and after his death, of his fiscal trustees.

In 1960 the *Press* had a circulation of 102,000. The *Post*, with 218,000 and the only staff exhibiting signs of metropolitan-caliber ability, grew slowly to dominance in the city. The *Chronicle* had a circulation of 205,000, but it was out of sympathy and out of touch with large segments of the community. John T. Jones, Jr., the titular head of the *Chronicle*, decided it was time for a change. Jones, the favorite nephew of Jesse Jones, is tall, slender, slow-speaking, with a facial resemblance to his uncle except for a contemplative quality.

John Jones decided to change the *Chronicle* to a paper for a modern metropolis, which Houston desperately needed. For years the city had been wracked by ideological wars of the most primitive kind, most dramatically in its educational system. The schools were dominated by citizens who regarded sympathetic mention of the United Nations in the classroom as Communist indoctrination, racial integration as an alien plot, and who eschewed such forms of federal aid as school lunches but grasped it in the form of federally supported military training for high school boys.

Jones's instrument for the awakening of the *Chronicle* was William P. Steven, a man of heavy build and hearty voice, with a national reputation for rejuvenating newspapers. He had started out in his native Wisconsin, had edited in Tulsa, and had enlivened the Minneapolis news scene. He is of that breed of newspapermen who possess instinctive rapport with their generation, a drive to go where the action is, and an immunity from the contagion of bureaucracy and ultrarespectability.

Like his friend Lyndon Johnson, Steven is a calculating plunger. (Years ago he told a *Time* magazine reporter that his editing philosophy is "Plan now, print later," but it came out in *Time* as "Print now, plan later" and continues unchangeable in the corridors of *Time* as a famous Steven quote.) He parted with the Cowles management in Minneapolis largely because young John Cowles had risen to the point of editorial leadership, and a good newspaper can stand only one leader at a time. It is typical of Steven's shrewd enthusiasm that he found his next job by compiling a list of all the papers in the country with three characteristics: big enough to pay him a good salary, dull, and with an editor over sixty. There were eight. In each case he arranged for a friend who knew the owners to let the publisher know Steven was a good man and available. One of the papers was the *Chronicle*.

In September of 1960 John Jones and Steven spent a day and a half talking in a room of the Rice Hotel in Houston. Jones wanted Steven to do for the *Chronicle* what he had done for papers in Tulsa and Minneapolis, make them interesting and make them grow. The two men liked each other. As they approached a decision, Steven told Jones, "You know, John, there is one thing that troubles me about working in the South that you ought to know. I feel that integration is an essential fact in the demonstration of democracy. I think it is necessary for the full development of the economy. And I think it is the only way to make our foreign policy mean anything in a world of mostly dark skins. Outside of that, I have no strong feelings on the matter."

As Steven remembers it, Jones replied, "The *Chronicle* supports the law of the land. The only trouble I'll have with you is that you may want to talk about it too much."

The *Chronicle* stopped being dull and archaic. Emphasis moved from columnists of the far right, like Paul Harvey and Fulton Lewis, Jr., to those of the center, like James Reston and Max Freedman. The paper subscribed to the Los Angeles *Times*–Washington *Post* wire service and the New York *Times* News Service (after the *Times* service appeared, conservatives in town began calling the *Chronicle* their *Pravda*).

Almost at once Steven began building the local news staff, which was suffering from inbreeding, age, and malnutrition. Top reporters at the *Chronicle* in 1960 were getting $120 a week, and he raised their salaries to $165. He attracted bright young journalists from outside to the paper. One

photographer, Ted Rozumalski, became the only man ever to be named twice as national Photographer of the Year. Reporter William Porterfield won an Ernie Pyle Award in 1963. Saul Friedman was named a Nieman Fellow at Harvard. The staff began doing a series of articles on urgent local problems, among them sympathetic accounts of the nature of racial relations in the city (there are 300,000 Negroes in a city of a million). Much attention was devoted to the need for faster development of higher education. The *Chronicle* withdrew its support from the conservatives on the school board, pressed for televising of school-board proceedings against the bitter opposition of conservatives, and won.

Steven spent money, but he also saved some. For years it had cost the paper $100,000 to publish a 6 A.M. edition merely to get an extra 7000 circulation in the fight against the *Post*. Steven scrapped that edition. In 1964 the *Press* finally gave up and sold its assets to the *Chronicle*, which then became the largest paper in Texas, with 254,000 circulation.

The opposition *Post* began to perk up. It brought down William Woestendiek from the highly successful Long Island *Newsday*, and its national and foreign news improved. The changes were long overdue in a city with four universities (total enrollment 25,000), a large petrochemical and shipping community with global rather than parochial interests, and the huge NASA space center.

For the first time, urgent issues could be discussed openly without destructive recrimination. The pre-Steven *Chronicle* spoke for the financial lords of the territory and their eccentric politics, and everyone knew it; the most dangerous political radicalism it had entertained was to support Governor John Connally, even though he is, in a manner of speaking, a Democrat.

A man who lived and worked in Houston during the Steven period said, "You have no idea what a difference it made that the *Chronicle* changed. It wasn't dangerous to be a Johnson Democrat anymore, or to support minority groups, or speak in favor of Medicare. Before, if you supported these things, they made you feel like the village crazy man."

The nature of this change is implied in the award given Steven in October of 1964 by the Houston chapter of the American Jewish Committee "in recognition of his constructive and effective labors in guiding the Houston *Chronicle* toward accomplishing the information of our populace and the improvement of opinion in Houston."

It was typical of the new role of the paper that on September 2, 1965, Steven and his counterpart on the *Post*, William Hobby, Jr., spent much of the day conferring with Houston Mayor Louie Welch over an alarming local development. It was during the Watts rebellion in Los Angeles, and though Houston Negroes showed no sign of hostility, hysterical whites had bought out all the guns in a number of stores and were mounting armed patrols of neighborhoods. Steven put in continual calls for his boss, John Jones, and for his managing editor, Everett Collier, but, oddly, could not reach either one.

Steven arrived home tired and worried, but his wife, Lucy, an alert and articulate blonde, insisted that he shake his concern and join a family celebration. It was a gay evening. But by eleven thirty Bill and Lucy were in bed reading when John Jones called and said that he was coming right up. Bill assumed that Jones wanted to talk about the racial tension.

Just before midnight, Mr. and Mrs. Jones arrived at the Steven home in the fashionable southwest of Houston. Bill and Lucy were in bathrobes and over an initial drink made friendly small talk. Then Jones blurted out: "This is the hardest thing I ever had to do. Bill, they had a meeting today, and they got you."

As Bill and Lucy Steven reconstruct it, the conversation went like this:

Steven: Who is "they"? And what do you mean, they got me?

Jones: You know. The Endowment.

Lucy: Who?

Jones: The trustees.

Lucy: What do you mean, they got Bill?

Jones: You're all through, Bill.

Lucy: Why? Why?

There was no direct answer. Much later that night, Jones said: "Bill, you had a vision. They don't want a vision; they want a voice."

The Endowment is The Houston Endowment, Incorporated, a tax-free charitable foundation started by Jesse Jones in 1937 with a gift of $1,050,000. Jesse Jones, banking, lumber, and real estate millionaire and a government administrator under Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt, died in 1956. Today his Endowment calculates its assets at $168 million. Others think it is $400 million, but no outside audit has ever been made.

Under the law, the Endowment exists solely to support charities. But its primary impact on the community is as a powerful, tightly held corporate force. It has an important interest in thirty-two corporations, a majority interest in twenty-five, including half a dozen banks, three hotels, several downtown office buildings, real estate, and the Mayfair House hotel on Park Avenue, New York. Through its communications properties it has been the major controller of political and social intelligence in the city of Houston. At the start of the counterrevolution that swept Bill Steven out of his job, the tax-free foundation owned 100 percent of KTRH Broadcasting Company, a major station in the city, 31 percent of a local television station, and 100 percent of the Houston *Chronicle*.

From 1951 to 1964 the Endowment had an income of $97 million and gave $19 million in charity. When Representative Wright Patman of Texas began investigating abuses by some tax-free foundations, the Internal Revenue Service momentarily revoked the Endowment's foundation status but later restored it.

Four men and one woman controlled probably the largest single corporate force in the city. John Jones used to be a sixth trustee and chairman of the board, but he resigned last August, in order, he said, to buy $3 million worth of broadcasting properties from the Endowment without conflict of inter-

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est. The remaining five trustees are all related to Jesse Jones by blood, marriage, or former business association. They are J. Howard Creekmore, president, a former bank employee of Jones's; Mrs. Audrey Jones Beck, granddaughter of Jesse; John Beck, her husband; J. Hurt Garrett, a former employee of Jones's and now senior vice president of the Texas National Bank of Commerce, second largest bank in the city, controlled by the Endowment; and W. W. Moore, former associate of Jesse Jones's, now president of Bankers Mortgage Company, a holding company owned 97 percent by the Endowment.

There is special irony in the episode. Reformers of newspapers have long dreamed of ownership by a foundation that would be immune to commercial attitudes and pressures. But as it unfolded in Houston, foundation ownership produced a list of almost every pitfall in business domination. This does not necessarily negate the idea of foundation support, but it would seem to for foundations run by men who are essentially corporate administrators with control of operating businesses. For example, the *Chronicle* represented only one twentieth of the Endowment's total assets. Even if the newspaper never showed a profit, this would be tolerable to the total economy of the foundation. It served the trustees instead to have the paper protect the property and politics of its owners and do it more effectively by overwhelming its competing papers, which it did by consistently cutting its advertising rates secretly for big advertisers, keeping its monthly subscription rate abnormally low, running exorbitant editions to help put one competitor out of business and dominate another. The owners of the *Chronicle* had another convenience: they held notes for some time on the owners of the *Post*.

The chief evil of the Endowment's ownership is the same as that of any business conglomerate possessing a newspaper: the paper is always in danger of becoming a means to the parent corporation's nonjournalistic ends, a handmaiden rather than a detached reporter.

A second danger is that such ownership is ideological. A man who controls a dozen nonjournalistic businesses usually has nothing in his experience telling him he is obliged to make his property available to the ideas of others. The owners of the *Chronicle* seemed to find any such notion of obligation intolerable, and Steven insists he was fired because of that intolerance. "The conservatives won," he says.

As he cleaned out his desk, Steven got a call from President Johnson, who wanted to know what was going on. "Mr. President," Steven said, "we carried every precinct but the right one." He meant that the paper had support from the community but not from the boardroom of the Houston Endowment in the Bankers Mortgage Building. It was from here that the counterrevolution was mounted. First the foundation trustees dissolved the board of the *Chronicle*, which had included Steven, replacing him with their new editor, Collier, who had been a columnist during the paper's reactionary period in the 1950s. Then they loaded the paper's board with members of the foundation board — Creekmore, Garrett, Moore, and John Beck.

Jones seems to have been a powerless witness to the wreckage of his paper. He has said that he was told to take it or leave it.

There was almost unanimous indignation among the new hierarchy of the paper at reports that politics of the paper had anything to do with the firing. I tried to ask all the trustees, but most of them were unapproachable. The receptionist for Mr. Moore at Bankers Mortgage brought back the message "He knows what you want, and he won't see you." But I found the number two man on the board less bashful. J. Hurt Garrett has his office on the executive third floor of the Endowment's Texas National Bank of Commerce (the biggest bank it controls). He is an elderly jowl-faced man reminiscent of veteran overseers of New England textile mills.

"We didn't like their editorial policy, that's all," he said. "They had everyone up in arms. Nobody liked it. I never heard anything but complaints about it. . . . It was all this racial desegregation business. Things were all right in Houston before they came down. But all this racial business — nobody liked it. And I don't like all this Johnson stuff, and all his civil rights, too. I know that Jones and Steven are friends of Johnson, but all we got was complaints about the paper's policy on that."

Mr. Garrett sounded quite credible. When he said of the paper's policy, "Nobody liked it," presumably he meant nobody on the third floor of the Texas National Bank of Commerce. Two thirds of Harris County voted for Lyndon Johnson in 1964. And when he said he heard nothing but complaints, this, too, sounded plausible. My guess is that he does not subscribe to a Houston weekly called *The Forward Times*, which goes mostly to the Negro community, and which ran almost a full-page editorial on the firing of Bill Steven, saying:

> A strong positive force that has quietly but effectively gone about the business of helping Houston Negro citizens move up into new heights of dignity and opportunity has been fired from his position.
>
> Not many Negroes were personally acquainted with William P. Stevens [*The Forward Times* made a common error of putting a terminal "s" on the name], but most were well aware of the fact that for the last four years The Houston *Chronicle* had shifted from a staunchly conservative newspaper to one that openly advocated school integration and printed editorials that warmed the heart of the depressed and disadvantaged.
>
> What the Negro citizens did not know was the man responsible for all this change was William P. Stevens, backed by John T. Jones, Jr. What they may not have realized recently, when a front-page announcement was run in the *Chronicle* announcing that a new editor had been hired was that the old editor, William P. Stevens, had been fired. . . . It is an ominous warning of things to come or to say the least it is an indication of the end of a short, short era.

The editorial referred to the possibility that people in Houston might not know that Steven had been fired. On September 3 the *Chronicle* ran a large story on page one on the new appointments but omitted any mention of Steven, and of the Endowment, which made the changes. Over at the *Post* a story about the firing was prepared but killed by the top brass.

So the news of Steven's discharge had to travel by underground: two church newsletters (one said "truly disturbing," another "a tragic mistake"), two weeklies (*The Forward Times* and the conservative weekly, *Tribune*, which ran a straightforward news story). Later someone mailed out thousands of reproductions of stories in national papers and newsmagazines on a sheet entitled "News all over the U.S. but not in Houston."

JOHN MECOM, the new owner of the *Chronicle*, inherited all its problems, and some of them were even magnified. Under the previous ownership, when a columnist in the *Chronicle* had mentioned in print that there was a plan to study a downtown air terminal, the head of the Endowment, Howard Creekmore, personally called the paper in anger. The Endowment also owned the Rice Hotel, where most of the airlines have their offices. A new downtown terminal was not encouraged in the *Chronicle*.

Under Mecom the Rice Hotel was still owned by the owner of the *Chronicle*, who still had a controlling interest in the bank. In addition, Mecom has worldwide oil, industrial, hotel, and banking interests, and in the Houston area he owns the Warwick Hotel, the Reed Roller Bit Company, the Keystone Drug Company, a building construction firm, a half interest in a huge industrial complex on the Houston Ship Channel, and 20,000 acres of land, some of which he is using to construct 5000 homes and high-rise apartments. The possibility of a conflict of interest was as inherent under Mecom's ownership of the *Chronicle* as it was under its previous owners. But the Houston Endowment had been under pursuit by the Department of the Treasury and by Congressman Patman. Patman was digging deeper into the Endowment in the summer and fall of 1965, compiling an impressive record, only partly publicized at the time, of the Endowment's large-scale corporate dealings and its modest indulgence in charity. Patman proposed and even the conservative Treasury agreed that there ought to be a law limiting the right of tax-free foundations to control operating businesses.

During this period, the foundation was looking for a suitable buyer, Steven was fired, and Creekmore decided that John Mecom was the man to buy the *Chronicle*. Why did they pick him?

Collier's explanation is: "The trustees of Houston Endowment were determined to keep these properties in the hands of someone who has the same deep love of this community and the same concepts for its betterment and progress that Jesse Jones had." The trustees no doubt felt they were expressing "the same concepts for its betterment and progress" when they fired Steven for being too liberal, too pro-Negro, and too militant a reporter of the town.

Mecom is pro-Johnson in a Texas sort of way, but he is not an ideologue. He maintained an office in the *Chronicle* and ran the same kind of paper the post-Steven editors did under the Endowment. The paper remained to the right of the Steven paper. Three months after Mecom took over, its columnists on domestic affairs were William White, Henry J. Taylor, Raymond Moley, Les Carpenter, Marianne Means, Victor Reisel, William Buckley, James Reston, Max Freedman, and David Lawrence. Four of these (White, Freedman, Carpenter, and Means) are close friends of Lyndon Johnson's. The only nonconservative among the remainder is Reston, and he appeared less frequently than before. Liberal cartoonist Herblock no longer appeared. The paper dropped Ralph McGill and Whitney Young, and conservative columnist David Lawrence was run twice as often as before.

Almost a year after Steven was fired, a series of articles on the Negro community, criticizing among others the slum landlords, had not been published. Reporter Saul Friedman, who has since gone to Detroit, had worked on the series four months. It was ready for publication when Steven was discharged.

On a number of urgent local issues the editorial page went blank. It decided, in an abrupt change, that the televising of school-board sessions was not important. When Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach made a major speech urging the city to complete its racial integration willingly and without rancor, the *Chronicle*, whose editorials under Steven had not been reticent about giving opinions, merely suggested that readers look at the speech. Another editorial recommended that readers look at a certain column of William White's. An editor told a subordinate, "That will be a signal to President Johnson that we're still with him." The new *Chronicle* apparently hoped to send esoteric signals to the President that would go undetected by the owners and the readers.

WHEN the Houston Endowment fired Steven, an indignant citizen of Houston wrote to the White House: "The time has come to license newspapers — to assure that they will use their licenses for the benefit of the public and not just for special interests."

Licensing of the press is, of course, unconstitutional and unwise. But newspapers ought to worry about how often the idea appeals to a frustrated public. There is almost nothing a community can do about a local newspaper that fails in its primary duty. Starting a new metropolitan competitor is too much like a man dissatisfied with his automobile trying to start a new General Motors. He might have done it fifty years ago but not today. Nor is there any effective way he can reach owners who choose to remain unresponsive.

The country's newspaper proprietors, the vast majority enjoying a monopoly, preside over an institution that should be the most sensitive detector of change in society. But among major American institutions, newspapers have been the least responsive to upheavals in civilization since World War II. Government, education, religion, and much of corporate life have adapted to altered conditions in economic and social life, but newspaper owners have clung to the past. They seem to be reminded of their special status under the First Amendment only when someone suggests changes in the second-class mailing privilege or the payment of standard wages to delivery boys. Their response to the notion of the press being accountable to the public is

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to bar reporters from sessions of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. In addition, the dangers of news monopoly are increasing.

The basic answer to this vacating of responsibility is for owners to include in their corporate hierarchy, their directorships, and their wills some meaningful representation in the public interest, quite divorced from simple property interest.

In the absence of that there are methods by which a paper ownership can establish working communications with its own community. The editor, publisher, and owner of one of the best papers in the country, Barry Bingham, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, has proposed local press councils in which community representatives would regularly sit with the paper's hierarchy to adjudicate complaints and public issues. No one has been trampled in the rush to try it.

Because there has been little evidence of publisher interest in creating some method of public accountability for the press, the government may have to step in. The least that can be done is to take away the "they" of ownership of newspapers, the usually faceless controllers of the community's news. The Post Office requires users of the second-class mailing privilege to list each year all parties who own one percent or more of the stock in the publication. But at present, there is no distinction made between a one percent owner and a 99 percent owner. And the listing, usually published in the paper in early October, is meaningless because it lists only the holders of record, often trustees and third parties acting as executors of wills.

Although a few newspapers offer stock publicly, there is no good reason in law or logic why newspapers should not file for public scrutiny, under postal law, the same information the Securities and Exchange Commission requires of 4500 companies who trade their stock in the open market. The SEC requires the filing as a public record of the names of all officers, directors, and holders of 10 percent or more of stock. Each of those persons in turn must file their holdings in any other traded firm in which they are an officer, director, or holder of 10 percent or more of stock. The present postal requirement was passed to prevent the use of government mailing subsidy by parties using the cover of education and news for propaganda or concealed advertising. The present listings do not usually tell the Post Office or the readers who the beneficial owners of newspapers are or what other financial interests they have that might constitute a conflict of interest and a distortion upon the news.

Newspapers have generally supported the idea that policy-making federal officials should disclose their financial holdings and sell those that might conceivably tempt them to influence their work for their own benefit. The American newspaper is almost a branch of public administration. It is the most important single instrument of information in a society peculiarly dependent upon public knowledge and public opinion; for its own future and the national good it needs to be as free as possible, and it needs to assure increasingly dubious readers that it is free.

12/5/65 THE NEW YORK TIMES, SU

Negro Woman and Four Whites Vying for Congress in Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA

Special to The New York Times

RALEIGH, N. C. Dec. 4 — Five candidates, including the first Negro to run for Congress in North Carolina since 1901, are seeking the Democratic nomination for the First District House seat left vacant by the death of Representative Herbert C. Bonner.

Mr. Bonner, a Democrat who was chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, died Nov. 7. A special primary to pick the Democratic nominee to succeed him has been scheduled for Dec. 18.

The Republican nominee is Dr. John P. East, 34 years old, a political science professor at East Carolina College in Greenville, who was the only candidate from his party to file for the office.

A Republican party effort to secure an injunction prohibiting the special election until after North Carolina's Congressional districts are realigned met with failure. A panel of three Federal judges ruled earlier this week that the Congressional districts must be reapportioned but declined to interfere with the special election.

Special Session Planned

The First District now embraces 15 counties in the northeastern part of the state.

The judges ruled at the same time that North Carolina's House and Senate must be reapportioned. They gave the state until next Jan. 31 to do this.

Gov. Dan K. Moore has said he will call a special session of the General Assembly in January to take action.

Of the five candidates seeking the Democratic nomination in the First District, State Senator Walter B. Jones, 52, of Pitt County, is regarded as easily the leader although there are prospects that a runoff may be necessary to determine the nominee.

Mr. Jones ran against Congressman Bonner in 1960 and lost by a vote of roughly 27,000 to 19,000.

The Negro candidate is Mrs. Sarah E. Small, 38, of Williamston. She is a housewife and a local civil rights leader. She is president of the Williamston unit of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and an eastern field representative for the Congress of Racial Equality. She is the mother of five children.

Mrs. Small's campaign is being run by Floyd McKissick of Durham, national chairman of CORE, and Golden Frinks of Edenton, eastern field director for the S.C.L.C. Their aim is to secure enough votes to give the Negroes a voice in the second primary if one is needed. There are about 103,000 registered voters in the 15 counties of the First District and about 20,800 of these are Negroes.

There has been no Negro candidate for Congress from this state since George Henry White of Edgecombe County was defeated in 1901.

The other candidates in the First District race are Roger R. Jackson, 37, of Hertford, a former state legislator who resigned as executive director of the Chowanoke Area Development Association to make the race; Dr. O. Woodrow Pittman, 49, of Hertford, an optometrist, and C. Don Langston, 51, of Pitt, a banker. Of these, only Mr. Jackson has had previous experience in political campaigns.

Escalation

Background

NORTH CAROLINA

2/25/66 Ark. Gazette

North Carolina Looks At Speaker Ban Again

By RICHARD SPONG
Editorial Research Reports

Washington.

Academic freedom is having a relapse in North Carolina. The speaker ban law repealed by the state legislature last November is, in effect, about to be reinstated by the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina.

The law, rushed through the state legislature in the closing hours of the 1963 session without a record vote, outlawed as speakers on the campus of a state-supported institution known Communists, those who advocate the overthrow of the United States or state constitution, and anyone who had taken the Fifth Amendment in any state or federal proceeding. The legislature in November grudgingly amended the law to allow "infrequent" and "rare" appearances of Communists and extremists on occasions that would "clearly serve the advantage of education."

The way to controversy and collision was opened when a small group of Students for a Democratic Society invited a known Communist theoretician and another leftist to speak on campus barely three months after the law was amended.

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EARLY THIS MONTH the executive committee of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina decided that the speakers should not be allowed to appear, and that the university should have a new set of rules on controversial speakers. The full board is expected to ratify that decision on Monday.

North Carolina is the only state where the legislature completely controls the board of trustees of the state institutions. The 170 members of the legislature nominate candidates and then vote upon them. North Carolina is one of the few states where legislators can elect themselves to the board.

With 102 members, the UNC board of trustees is by far the largest in the country. Gov. Dan K. Moore is one of five governors who are also chairmen of their states' university boards of trustees.

Harry Golden, columnist and best-selling author, in a letter to the liberal student Daily Tar Heel observes: "The Governor and the Board of Trustees do not seem to understand * * * that the reputation of North Carolina as 'the most progressive state in the South' is due entirely to Chapel Hill and the accomplishments of its presidents and faculties across the past 35 years!" Less emotionally, Golden suggests that other scholars, educators, scientists, and poets may feel too uncomfortable to speak on the Chapel Hill campus "knowing that they would not have been invited if Gov. Dan Moore had not first declared them kosher."

★ ★ ★

Although the invitation of the speakers by a small and unrepresentative student group is generally admitted to be brash, the UNC faculty and student body are pretty well lined up against a ban by trustee rather than legislative fiat. The old question of accreditation raised by the speaker ban law may well be revived. As a further irony, Duke University President Douglas M. Knight has approved the appearance on the nearby campus of the Communist spokesman, Herbert Aptheker.

The Daily News of Greensboro suggests that only by returning authority to the embarrassed university administrators can the university be removed from politics and made "self-respecting and worthy of continued respect beyond our borders."

6 classes beginning
Monday, March 7 from
7:00 to 9:00 PM

North Carolina

CURB ON SPEAKERS EASED IN CAROLINA

NYT 3/1/66

Campus Heads Get Power to Rule on Communists

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 28—Administrators of the University of North Carolina regained the power today to allow or reject campus speeches by Communists and other controversial leftists.

By an overwhelming vote, university trustees approved a set of speaker regulations that makes the chancellors of the university's four branches, rather than the trustees themselves, the ultimate arbiter on campus speaking invitations.

The chancellors had not had control over campus speeches since 1963 when the North Carolina Legislature banned Communists and two other categories of leftist speakers from state-supported institutions. Last November, the Legislature repealed the ban but gave regulatory control to the trustees.

Short of Student Demands

In view of persistent controversy over the speaker question, today's action was regarded as a significant victory by the university president, William C. Friday, and his chancellors. But it fell short of what student leaders and the American Association of University Professors had requested.

Both the professors and the students opposed giving anyone —chancellors included — the right to ban speakers.

Under the new regulations, certain types of speakers may only be invited by "recognized" student groups, and these groups must file an application with a joint student-faculty screening committee.

The speakers covered are known Communists persons who advocate the overthrow of the state or Federal constitutions, and persons who have pleaded the Fifth Amendment when questioned about subversive activity.

The screening committee that considers such speakers is to submit its recommendation, under the new procedure to the chancellor.

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The screening committee that considers such speakers is to submit its recommendation, under the new procedure to the chancellor.

This procedure could put the four chancellors in the center of controversy. If they fail to approve an application, they risk touching off protest demonstrations or a lawsuit from students who contend that any form of speaker ban is unconstitutional.

If the chancellors allow Communists or other controversial speakers to appear, they will erase much of the student and faculty opposition, but they will almost certainly be criticized sharply by some legislators and by state leaders of the American Legion and other organizations.

Early Test Likely

The test may come this week. Paul Dickson 3d, president of the university student body at Chapel Hill, said today that a new student organization, the Committee for Free Inquiry, would apply "immediately" to invite Herbert Aptheker of New York, a leading theoretician of the Communist Party in the United States, and Frank Wilkinson, chairman of the American Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Only three weeks ago, the trustees executive committee canceled student invitations to the two speakers.

In urging the trustees to put the speaker question into the hands of his chancellors, Mr. Friday said:

"We believe that one of the most effective means we have of combating doctrines of suppression and false ideologies is by meeting them squarely in open debate through direct confrontation."

He was supported in speeches by Gov. Dan K. Moore, the university chancellors and several trustees. He was opposed by Thomas J. White, a trustee who is also a state senator from Kingston. Mr. White predicted that the chancellors would approve all speaker applications submitted to them.

"If the trustees wash their hands of this control over speakers, as Pilate washed his hands of the blood of Jesus Christ, there will be no restraint over Communist speakers,' Senator White said.

His was the only audible "no" when the new regulations were put to a voice vote.

The speaker question has been one of the most persistent controversial issues in North Carolina since the ban was voted by the Legislature in 1963.

After the Sotuhern Association of Colleges and Schools Inc., threatened to revoke the accreditation of the university branches and 11 state supporteed colleges, the Legislature revoked the ban and gave the trustees the power to regulate speeches by the three categories of speakers.

There has been no threat of accreditation revocation since then, although the power to regulate speakers remained in the hands of the trustees until today.

NORTH CAROLINA

Gas, Hoses Halt Negro March

A.S 3/11/66

HERTFORD, N.C. (UPI) — Police and state troopers used tear gas and fire hoses Wednesday night to scatter 200 bottle-throwing Negroes who tried to march downtown without a parade permit.

Three troopers were struck by flying objects and one patrol car was damaged, but apparently no one was seriously hurt.

Police arrested 30 Negroes, who posted $50 bond and were freed, when they started the column up the street in violation of a city ordinance requiring permits for parades. After the arrests, the Negroes started to march again and firemen, who had high pressure hoses already connected to hydrants, sprayed the oncoming crowd.

Bottles and bricks flew from the crowd and riot-helmeted troopers fired two tear gas grenades into the marchers. The Negroes scattered and then attempted to reassemble but troopers with four-foot night sticks quickly dispersed them.

The Negroes were protesting hiring policies in this historic coastal city of 2,011. They had been boycotting merchants in Hertford, in extreme northeastern North Carolina, and Perquimans County for some time.

BBB President Dies

ALPINE, N.J., March 10 (UPI) — Hugh R. Jackson, president of the Metropolitan New York Better Business Bureau, died Wednesday of a heart attack at his home here. He was 53.

Hertford Situation Quiet

NORTH CAROLINA

Demonstration Called Off; Conference Substituted

8/11/66 Salisbury Evening Post

HERTFORD, N. C. (AP)—Negroes took their employment demands to the conference table today after suspending demonstrations in this northeastern North Carolina town.

Negro leaders agreed Thursday night to discuss their complaints with white leaders and called off a scheduled protest march after it had proceeded only one block from the First Baptist Church.

KKK RALLY

Meanwhile, the Ku Klux Klan scheduled a rally tonight near Edenton, 15 miles southwest.

Authorities used tear gas and fire hoses to disperse 200 Negroes parading without a permit Wednesday night and hosed about 150 high school pupils who held a protest march Thursday.

Thirty persons were arrested Wednesday night but were released on $50 bonds each. None was arrested Thursday.

Thursday night, about 40 helmeted state troopers watched about 200 Negroes march a block, kneel and pray, and return to the church. About 100 whites also had gathered but there were no incidents.

David Coltrane, chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, and Charles Dunn, administrative assistant to Gov. Dan Moore, talked with Negro leaders for an hour Thursday night.

DEMANDS SOUGHT

Civil rights leaders told the marchers they would try to get "four of five of our 14 demands" for the present.

They are seeking employment of Negroes as policemen, deputy sheriffs and store clerks.

Before the brief march, a two-hour mass meeting was held in the church.

Gov. Moore had urgently requested" the Negroes to postpone the demonstrations and take their differences to the local Good Neighbor Council, established Wednesday in Perquimans County.

"I believe that differences can only be settled around the conference table by responsible citizens and not in the streets," said Moore who dispatched Coltrane and Dunn to Hertford.

The governor's remarks were made in response to a telegram from the Rev. F. H. Legarde, a regional director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The telegram, which also was sent to President Johnson, said:

"Last (Wednesday) night in the exercise of our constitutional rights more than 200 Negroes marched for freedom, jobs and justice in Hertford, N. C. We were stopped by the local and state police powers. Thirty were arrested, the rest hosed down with water and shot with tear gas. . . .

"We call upon you to help us gain our freedom, by enforcing our rights to peaceful and nonviolent protest as guaranteed under the First Amendment. . ."

Five FBI agents and additional state patrolmen were on duty in Hertford Thursday night.

North Carolina 8/18/66

The social fraternities of Pi Kappa Alpha and Sigma Nu at East Carolina College in Greenville were suspended until September, 1967, by ECC President Leo Jenkins as the result of wild parties . . . A "Festival of Textiles" at Springs Cotton Mills' Crandall Finishing Plant at Wagram drew 90,000 persons as the new $25 million facility was dedicated . . . Former Gov. Luther Hodges, head of a committee studying the method of selection of University of North Carolina trustees, expressed "shock" at a public hearing at the paucity of suggestions advanced on the issue . . . Controversial Frank Wilkinson was barred as a campus speaker at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill by Acting Chancellor J. Carlyle Sitterson, but he later spoke to hundreds of students from an off-campus sidewalk.

Cooley Facing A Rough Fight

3/13/66

By RAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., March 12—Congressman Harold D. Cooley of Nashville, dean of the Tar Heel delegation in Washington, probably will have to fight for his political life this year. ....

NORTH CAROLINA

Indications are that James C. Gardner, a Rocky Mount businessman who is in his early 30s, again will be Cooley's Republican opponent. Two years ago, Cooley defeated Gardner by only 5,083 votes out of 141,857 cast.

Gardner is stepping down as state Republican chairman, but so far has declined to reveal his political plans. He has left little doubt, however, that he will be a GOP candidate.

Professional pollsters, employed by the GOP, scanned Cooley's 4th district and also conducted a statewide poll.

WHILE THE pollsters' findings haven't been made public, the results in the 4th district brought jubilation to Republican ranks, since they indicated Gardner would have an excellent chance of beating Cooley, who has held the seat 32 years.

In the statewide survey, the pollsters found that any Republican opposing Sen. Jordan would have an uphill battle. but they also found that any one of three Republicans —Gardner and Congressman Charles R. Jonas of Lincolnton and James T. Broyhill of Lenoir—would give Jordan a close race.

The statewide poll indicated, too, that President Johnson's popularity has declined in the state. Of the voters asked to choose between LBJ and Republican George Romney of Michigan, 42 per cent said LBJ, 29 per cent Romney and 29 per cent undecided.

AGAINST BARRY Goldwater in 1964, LBJ collected 56 per cent of the vote in North Carolina.

The poll produced interesting findings on the 1963 speaker ban law (the original one, not the amended one now on the books). Legislative defenders of the law always have contended that the sentiment for it in the state is "overwhelming."

The poll showed that only 52 per cent of those questioned, a bare majority, favored the original law; 30 per cent favored its outright repeal, and 18 per cent favored an amendment or were undecided.

Four Democrats Predict Tobacco Tax, Liquor By The Drink

Will Reapportionment Make State More Liberal?

NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS 4/30/66

BY JAMES ROSS
Daily News Staff Writer

North Carolina is going to become a more liberal state politically because of reapportionment, four Democratic politicians predicted here Friday.

The four politicians were Sixth District Congressman Horace R. Kornegay, State Sens. Ed Kemp and L. P. McLendon Jr., and Hubert Seymour Jr., a candidate for nomination to the U.S. Senate.

Here are some of the things they foresee as products of the congressional redistricting and legislative reapportionment carried out by the General Assembly last January:

- Larger state appropriations to help meet the needs of urban areas.
- A tax on cigarettes, and other tobacco products.
- The legal sale of liquor by the drink.
- Modification of state laws relating to homosexual offenses.
- A law putting North Carolina on Daylight Saving Time in the summer months.
- Free bus transportation for city children who live one and one-half miles, or more, from the school they attend.
- The involuntary retirement of two or three incumbent congressmen who will find themselves in the same district with another incumbent in 1968.

Kornegay, Kemp, McLendon, and Seymour gave their views in panel discussions at A&T College, where the 31st annual meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers is in progress. The meeting will continue through today.

* * *

KEMP AND McLENDON, discussing legislative reapportionment, agreed that the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision that brought it on was overdue.

McLENDON

KEMP

"And I think the district court's decision in the Drum case will be highly beneficial for the state as a whole," McLendon said. He was referring to the suit brought by Renn Drum Jr. of Winston-Salem to force reapportionment and redistricting in North Carolina.

"The one-man, one-vote decision was the most significant step in democratic government taken in this century," Kemp said.

The effect of reapportionemnt was to shift the center of political power from the coalition of small eastern and western counties to the Piedmont, Kemp said. He predicted there will be a shift of 20 seats in the 120-member House and five seats in the 50-member Senate in the 1967 General Assembly.

"That is really a gain of 40 House seats and 10 in the Senate, because you're taking them away from the conservative small counties and giving them to the large, urban areas," Kemp said.

Kemp said the "classic example of the abuse of power" on the part of the small county coalition was its refusal to provide bus transportation for city school pupils on the same basis that transportation is provided for students in rural schools.

A WOMAN in the audience asked Kemp how he could justify a state tax on food and no tax on tobacco. Kemp replied that he had never tried to justify it.

"I don't know how soon it will come, but I'd stake my life that North Carolina is going to have a cigarette tax eventually," Kemp said. "If the threat of lung cancer won't stop people from smoking cigarettes, I doubt that a 5-cent tax will."

McLendon said the General Assembly did a responsible job in reapportioning itself, although he said it left Guilford the most under-represented county in the state. Guilford, he said, should have three senators instead of two.

Kemp was critical of the job the General Assembly did in redrawing congressional districts.

"Congressional redistricting was a travesty from start to finish," Kemp said. "They started out on the theory it was the legislature's duty to protect incumbent congressmen. That premise precuided any real redistricting."

KORNEGAY

SEYMOUR

Kornegay, discussing congressional redistricting, at an afternoon panel, agreed that the Geeral Assembly wound up with congressional districts of "strange, even amazing, geographical shape."

Kornegay pointed out that the federal court permitted the redistricting to stand for this year, but ordered the General Assembly to redraw congressional districts in 1967.

* * *

"It is my feeling that some radical changes will have to be made in 1967," Kornegay said. "The General Assembly will have to achieve closer equality of population in the congressional districts."

THE COURT was critical also of the new districts because some were not compact and because some counties in some districts were not contiguous.

"That language, 'compactness and contiguity,' had never before been used in a reapportionment decision, so far as I can find out. I think it may be significant," Kornegay said. "The real squealing will come when they try to make the districts compact.

"I see no way to avoid putting two, or perhaps three, incumbends in the same district in 1967."

Seymour said congressional redistricting has caused a good deal of confusion, but predicted that the change will make new ideas more acceptable.

"And this shift of political power to the urban centers will bring a shift to more emphasis on solving the social problems related to urbanism," Seymour said.

* * *

THE SHIFT of political power to the Piedmont may not be permanent, Seymour said. He said eastern North Carolina is industrializing rapidly and may before the end of this century have as many inhabitants as the Piedmont.

And now that the Piedmont is gaining the political power it has been asking for, it has the responsibility of sending qualified men to the legislature, Seymour said.

Judge Uncorks the Bottle; Liquor Board Will Appeal

5/1/66

NORTH CAROLINA

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N. C., April 30—North Carolina's State Board of Alcoholic Beverage Control has decided to appeal the order of a Superior Court judge that uncorked the liquor bottles.

Judge H. L. Riddle, Jr. of Morganton enjoined ABC agents from enforcing a ruling by the state attorney general that liquor may be consumed legally only in the home.

Riddle decreed that legally purchased liquor may be consumed from the "brown bags" in restaurants and in bottle clubs in the 41 (of 100) counties that are wet and in the 38 wet municipalities in otherwise dry counties.

The judge's action created unalloyed joy among the restaurant operators, while dry forces said they hope the State Supreme Court will reverse Riddle.

RIDDLE MADE his order applicable only to Mecklenburg county, where the test case originated, and to the State ABC Board.

The State ABC Board, in turn, instructed ABC officers employed by county and city ABC boards to refrain from arresting public drinkers. In addition, State ABC Director Ray Brady has asked local law enforcement officials to do likewise.

In dry counties and municipalities, citizens will still be liable to arrest for "brown-bagging" and drinking in bottle clubs.

It is expected that the State ABC Board's appeal will be filed in the State Supreme Court in September. A ruling on the appeal isn't likely before October.

One main reason the liquor rhubarb arose was that the state's high court has never been called upon to interpret the liquor laws, admittedly a hodgpodge because legislation legalizing liquor sales was superimposed upon a bone - dry prohibition act adopted in 1923.

BUT THE current legal status of the dispute makes it certain that Tar Heel tipplers will be undisturbed through summer's gin-and-tonic season. Whatever the State Supreme Court's decision, it is unlikely to prevail for more than a few months.

The General Assembly meets in February, and there was a strong movement for the updating of the liquor laws before the present furore developed.

Riddle's order was explicit, and barred liquor only at athletic contests. It said in part:

"**THERE IS NO** violation of the criminal laws of the State of North Carolina when members of bona fide private clubs maintain on their private premises in individual private lockers small quantities of alcoholic beverages, for the sole use from time to time for such persons on said private premises, so long as such members lawfully acquired the alcoholic beverages, and had sole control over the private lockers and its contents and the said alcoholic beverages were kept for the sole use of the member and not for the sale, exchange, distribution, or division among the members of the club or other persons."

Judge Riddle, an Episcopalian, was appointed a special Superior Court judge by former Gov. Terry Sanford.

NORTH CAROLINA
AC 5/7/66

Supreme Court's Whims Rule Nation, Senator Asserts Here

The Supreme Court "amends the Constitution under the guise of interpreting it" and can make it conform to the views of a majority of its members, Sen. Samuel J. Ervin, D-N.C. told the Atlanta Bar Association Friday night.

Sen. Sam Ervin

"If judges are to substitute their personal notions for the provisions of the Constitution, we will see an end to a government of laws," he continued.

By DIANE THOMAS

Ervin, son of a lawyer and a former practicing lawyer himself, also attacked the idea that Supreme Court justices can overrule past Supreme Court decisions, saying, "This is the stuff of which judicial oligarchies are made."

Criticism is the American way, Justice Fortas says here. Page 9.

Ervin listed many Supreme Court decisions which he said enncroached upon the constitutional powers of Congress and others which he said invalidated state action and state legislation.

The recent South Carolina vs. Katzenbach decision, in which the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was declared constitutional, was "incompatible with the constitutional doctrines of equality and indestructability of the states," he said. The decision "authorizes due process at its shabbiest."

"Laws are designed to furnish rules of conduct for government and people," he stated. "As a consequence, a law is destitute of value unless it has sufficient stability to afford reliable rules

Continued on Page 3, Column 4

Court's Notions Rule Nation, Says Senator

Continued from Page 1

. . . and unless it can be found with reasonable certainty in established legal precedents."

The Senator asserted that recent Supreme Court decision had cast a cloud over the stability of our laws, and that justices had all too often forgotten established legal precedents.

He concluded by quoting George Washington:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. . . . But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

The Atlanta Bar Association's Annual Banquet ended with the announcement of officers for 1966-67. They are: Woodrow Tucker, president; Robert L. Foreman, Jr., 1st vice president and president-elect; W. Stell Huie, 2nd vice president; and William W. Cowan, secretary-treasurer.

Members of the Executive Committee include: Byron Ackeridge, A. Paul Cadenhead, Robert Lyle, Samuel F. Lowe, Jr., M. K. Pentecost Jr., and Ben L. Weinberg Jr.

Prison Director Attacking Problem of 'Sex Predators'

5/8/66

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH, N. C., May 7—V. Lee Bounds, state prison director in North Carolina, is mounting a "multiple attack" on the problem of homosexual and other sexual assualts on prisoners by fellow inmates.

This problem was described by Bounds as "the greatest evil" in the prison system today.

"The notion that we can't keep peace in our prisons is appealing to me, as is the notion that we cannot protect one inmate from another," he said.

Bounds said the "multiple attack" will include changes in equipment and changed procedures for personnel to keep the "predators" among the criminals from making homosexual assualts on prisoners, particularly the youthful offenders.

HE SAID THE State Prison Department will ask the 1967 General Assembly for a multi-million construction program to provide more single cell facilities, thereby reducing the number of cells occupied by more than one man.

In most of the prisons, common dormitory space is utilized as sleeping quarters for all of the prisoners.

On an experimental basis, Bounds is going ahead with the construction of individual metal cells. They will be installed on a trial basis in the Polk Youth Center for youthful offenders in Raleigh.

"We are also investigating the feasibility of closed-circuit television and other electronic devices to see what we can do to get better surveillance of the inmates," Bounds said.

HE SAID HE is asking commanders of prison units in the field to encourage custodial officers to move inside the dormitory sections where prisoners sleep.

"The whole climate of fear has got to be expiated," he said. "The notion that custodial officers cannot enter the dormitories at night — that it is forbidden territory — is abhorrent to me."

Added Bounds, who for many years was the prisons expert for the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill before Gov. Dan Moore named him to his present position last year: "I am confident that an adequately informed public will not permit these conditions to continue.

"WE WANT more and more people from the free community to become aware of our problems and involved with us in seeking solutions."

The individual cells planned for the Polk Youth Center are not like solitary confinement cells. A steel wire mesh allows plenty of light.

A prisoner will have in this cell his own bunk, table and chair, and a place to store his valuables. He will be able to leave his cell without the help of a guard.

But he will be able to lock himself in the unit so that only a prison guard with a key can get to him. Any other inmate bent on a sexual or homosexual attack who seeks to enter will create noise that, in turn, will alert the guards.

Under the twisted but stern code of the prisoners themselves, occupants of the individual cells might be stigmatized, or even subject to attack during the daylight hours when they mingle with the rest of the prison population. Even if the experiment doesn't achieve all that is desired, it will be, said Bounds, "at least a beginning."

New Chancellor of UNC Faces Legislative Battle

5/15/66

By JAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N. C., May 14—J. Carlyle Sitterson, 55-year-old native of Kinston, is the new chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

UNC trustees, following the recommendation of President William Friday, named Sitterson to succeed Dr. Paul F. Sharp, who quit early this year to become president of Drake University.

Sitterson, a balding fellow who always walks as if he were bending into a slight breeze, stepped up from the position of acting chancellor on the campus that has been his home since he entered UNC as a freshman in 1927.

In 1955, Sitterson was named dean of the College of Arts and

NORTH CAROLINA

Sciences and also dean of the General College. Five years later, he became Kenan professor of history, and in 1965 he was appointed vice chancellor of UNC.

SITTERSON'S bright academic career was embellished, during his tenure as acting chancellor, by an impressive administrative performance in a tough situation several weeks ago.

He was on the hot seat as the final arbiter in a dispute over the proposed appearance on campus in Chapel Hill of Herbert Aptheker, a Communist, who was invited by the students.

Sitterson barred Aptheker. To some extent, he also calmed the students, who now are turning to the courts in an effort to overturn the legislative in-fighting when the General Assembly Convenes next February.

IN ADDITION to carrying UNC's colors in the biennial joust for a larger share of the tax dollar, Sitterson will join President Friday and others in trying to head off a big push by East Carolina College, a state-supported institution in Greenville, to become an independent university.

ECC President Leo Jenkins has been stumping for university status in speeches throughout the state. Such status, he is saying would help rural Eastern Carolina to an economic and a cultural boom, and remedy an acute shortage of professional and technical personnel.

In addition, State Sen. Robert Morgan of Harnett County, the president pro tem of the 1965 State Senate and chairman of ECC's board of trustees, has been leaving political footprints all over Tar Heelia.

RUMORS of advance vote-trading abound. FCC partisans are said to be advising Piedmont legislators they'll support liberalized liquor laws in return for support of university status for East Carolina College.

Gov. Dan Moore, a UNC alumnus, is on record as opposing ECC's ambitions to become an independent university because that would go counter to existing state policy which holds the state support adequately only a single, multi-campus university.

East Carolina has made it clear that it doesn't want to become the fifth campus of UNC (Other campuses: Chapel Hill, Greensboro, Raleigh and Charlotte). And the tempo of the politicking strongly suggests that the Greenville institution's backers feel they must win their goal next year or not at all.

Moore and Scott Courteous But Attitude Stays Wary

5/22/66

By RAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Journal-Constitution

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH, N. C., May 21—A former North Carolina Superior Court judge, who has it made, and a dairy farmer, who is on the make, are being publicly polite to each other these days.

But the former judge, Gov. Dan Moore, and the dairyman, Lt. Gov. Robert W. Scott, are garnishing the courtesy with an attitude of wariness.

The reason is that Scott plans to run for governor in 1968, and the Moore administration may be expected to field a candidate in opposition to him.

Relationships between the governor and lieutenant governor vary, of course, according to the personalities and political loyalties of the occupants of those offices.

ONLY ONCE in recent years has there been a sense of real hostility between the two. After he was elected in 1952, the late Gov. William B. Umstead gave his No. 2 man, Lt. Gov. Luther H. Hodges, the cold shoulder.

A quiet, reserved type, Umstead couldn't abide the go-go Hodges, who popped in on various state board meetings to learn about government. Umstead died in November, 1954, as the school desegregation situation was rushing to a climax.

When he moved up, Hodges' homework produced a smooth transition. Umstead's death also focused unaccustomed attention on the office of lieutenant governor, never considered a political steppingstone.

The lieutenant governor presides over the State Senate and is an ex officio member of the State Board of Education. Except for those duties, the office is largely ceremonial.

SCOTT, 37, represents a more liberal faction of the Democratic party than does Moore. The son of the former governor and U.S. senator, Scott vowed to make the lieutenant governorship a "full-time office" when he was elected in 1964.

During his 16 months in office, Scott has made more than 300 speeches, but Gov. Moore hasn't used his ambitious No. 2 man as a stand-in. Recently, Scott expressed the view that his successor should be given additional statutory duties.

Scott also thinks that the $2,100 annual salary (he also gets $3,000 a year for expenses) should be increased. Lieutenant governors, he said, are pressed financially unless they have independent incomes.

GOV. MOORE recently headed a team of state officials that made a week-long tour of the provinces to give local people pep talks about progress. Afterwards, he was asked at a news conference whether he had considered leaving Scott in charge during his absences.

Moore replied that when he's away from Raleigh, he's in constant contact. "We don't lock up the office when I'm out of town," he said.

A reporter persisted with another question: Does Moore think the lieutenant governor is playing an active enough role in government?

With nimble diplomacy, Moore said, "The lieutenant governor has certain duties prescribed by law, and he is carrying out those duties. I think Mr. Scott is doing a good job in performing those duties."

As governor, Moore let it go at that. As a judge, he might have added, "Call your next case."

NORTH CAROLINA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 23, 196

4 Carolina Rivals Vie for House Seat

Special to The New York Times

RALEIGH, N. C., May 22 — North Carolina Democrats and Republicans will pick nominees next Saturday for the House of Representatives and for one United States Senate seat.

All incumbents are expected to be renominated except Representative Ralph J. Scott, Democrat of the Fifth District, who is retiring for health reasons.

The contest to succeed Mr. Scott has stirred the most interest in what has been a relatively dull campaign.

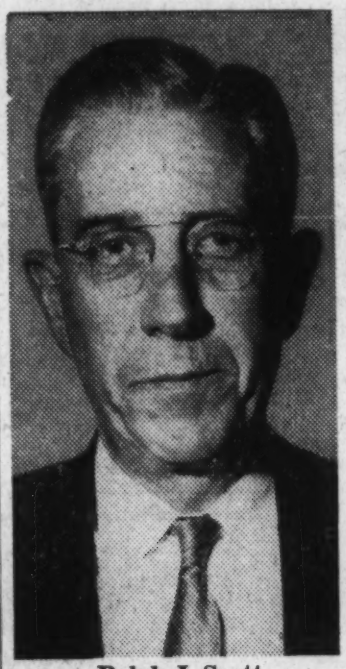
Four strong candidates are running in the Fifth, including Smith Bagley, 31, of Winston-Salem, wealthy grandson of the late R. J. Reynolds of the tobacco industry. Mr. Bagley, according to expense accounts filed with the Secretary of State's office here, is spending money freely in an effort to win the Democratic nomination and has obtained support of both liberal and conservative elements.

Others running include two members of the State House of Representatives, William Z. Wood, 42, of Winston-Salem, and Nick Galifianakis, 37, of Durham. The other candidate, Harold Thomerson, 51, is Mr. Scott's administrative assistant.

If no candidate wins a majority, a runoff election will be held.

In the Fourth District, Representative Harold D. Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, is opposed by two candidates. One is Bill Creech, 40, a lawyer who resigned as chief counsel for the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to run for the House seat. The other is Columbus M. Tart of Raleigh, a school teacher who is politically unknown.

Mr. Creech has enlivened the race by accusing Mr. Cooley of benefiting from what he called a "Dodd-type" testimonial dinner last year. Mr. Creech said the dinner had been staged by sugar lobbyists while a sugar quota bill was pending before Mr. Cooley's committee. Mr. Cooley has scoffed at this and listed the names of many prominent Democrats from the district who participated.



Ralph J. Scott

Mr. Creech has also run advertisements stressing his connection with Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The ads have been built around a statement made in the Senate two years ago by Senator Ervin praising Mr. Creech for his work as committee counsel.

Mr. Cooley has been campaigning actively and stressing his seniority in Congress and his committee chairmanship.

Six of the other eight incumbents were renominated without opposition. They are Democrats Walter B. Jones in the First District, L. H. Fountain in the Second, Alton Lennon in the Seventh and Basil L. Whitener in the 10th; and Republicans Charles R. Jonas in the Eighth and James T. Broyhill in the Ninth.

In the Eighth District, T. Lamar Caudle of Wadesboro and John Plumides of Charlotte are seeking the Democratic nomination. Mr. Caudle is trying to make a political comeback.

He once headed the Justice Department's tax division and was convicted and sentenced to two years in Federal prison for using his influence to block prosecution of an income tax case.

He was paroled in 1962 after serving six months of the term, and was pardoned by President Johnson in August, 1965.

Democrats David N. Henderson in the Third and Roy A. Taylor in the 11th Districts have opposition that is regarded as minor.

In the Third District, Mr. Henderson is opposed by S. A. Chalk Jr. of Morehead City, James A. Walker and Don Howell. In the 11th District, Mr. Taylor is opposed by Bruce (Bozo) Burleson, a former wrestler.

In the Sixth District, Representative R. Kornegay is opposed by James Keplinger of Greensboro for the Democratic nomination.

Senator B. Everett Jordan is opposed by Hubert Seymour, 41, a lawyer from Greensboro. This campaign has generated little interest and Mr. Jordan is an easy favorite.

The only Republican contests are in the 10th District, where there are three candidates for the Congressional nomination; and in the 11th District, where there are two candidates. The winners of these races will enter the fall campaigns against the Democratic incumbents.

In the 10th District, the three candidates for the Republican nomination are Terry Parker Wallace and Donald W. Wirick, both of Gastonia, and W. Hall Young of Minneapolis.

In the 11th District, the two Republicans are Joe Sam Schenck of Canton and W. Scott Harvey of Asheville.

BEVERLY LAKE'S VOTER BLOC FAILS TO DELIVER DURHAM

6/5/64

NORTH CAROLINA

By RAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., June 4 — The son of Greek immigrants will square off June 25 with an heir to the Reynolds tobacco fortune in a second primary contest for the Democratic nomination to Congress from the 5th district.

The runoff between Nick Galifianakis, 37-year-old Durham lawyer, and Smith Bagley, 31, of Winston-Salem, promises to be a torrid affair and presently the odds are fairly even. They seek the seat being vacated by retiring Rep. Ralph Scott of Stokes county.

In the first primary, former state legislator Galifianakis posted a lead of nearly 4,000 votes over Bagley, the second high man, by collecting more than 75 per cent of the votes in Durham county. Two other Winston - Salem candidates, William Z. Wood and Harold Thomerson, managed 18,000 votes between them and were eliminated.

These 18,000 votes are up for grabs and the maneuvering to get them began before the ballot tabulations were completed.

IN THREE other congressional campaigns, Democratic incumbents triumphed and only one was breathing heavily afterward: Congressman Harold D. Cooley of the 4th district, dean of the Tar Heel delegation, with 32 years in Washington, who turned back challenger William A. Creech of Raleigh by better than 7,500 votes.

Easy winners were Congressmen David N. Henderson of the 3rd district and Horace Kornegay of the 6th district.

U.S. Sen. B. Everett Jordan of Alamance county swamped his opponent, Hubert Seymour of Greensboro, by a 4-1 margin.

One facet of the Galifianakis - Bagley campaign may have significant implications for the future of North Carolina politics. The Lake People's Association, named for two-time loser, segregationist I. Beverly Lake, in the gubernatorial sweepstakes, gave its first endorsement: to Bagley.

THE IDEA was to cut into Galifianakis' big Durham vote. The Lake people failed to deliver, although Durham was considered Lake country. This lent support to the theory that the association may be washed up as an effective political force.

Formed after Lake lost the governorship for a second time in 1964, the association hoped to provide the swing vote in campaigns large and small. Then Lake was removed from the political arena when Gov. Don Moore appointed him to the State Supreme Court.

The Bagley endorsement was calculated to indicate whether the association could function without the active leadership of its father-figure. The tentative answer is, "No."

FURTHERMORE, Lake's former law partner, Eugene Boyce, ran sixth in a seven-man field for four seats in the N.C. House of Representatives allotted to Wake County.

Another interesting result of the first primary campaigning was the resurgence of the more liberal, Sanford-Bennett wing of the party in State House races. This wing gets its name from former Gov. Terry Sanford and his campaign manager, Bert Bennett of Winston-Salem.

Bennett was without opposition for the Democratic nomination for one of Forsyth County's two seats in the State Senate. Hargrove (Skipper) Bowles, Sanford's chief fund raiser, led the House ticket in populous Guilford. These examples were repeated throughout the state.

Now the intraparty jockeying will begin in preparation for the statewide races in 1968.

6/19/66

Top Moore Aide Criticizes Slow Action Against Klan

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., June 18—One of Gov. Dan Moore's principal political lieutenants is miffed because the chief executive isn't moving with greater alacrity against the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.

Malcolm B. Seawell, former state attorney general, told a meeting of law enforcement officials in Chapel Hill that existing state laws can be used to disperse the klan.

One of those laws prohibits "secret political societies," and was adopted by the 1953 General Assembly shortly after some klan uprisings in southeastern North Carolina.

In the early part of this year, Moore appointed a Committee on Law and Order, one of the primary purposes of which was to keep an eye on the klan. As chairman, Moore named Seawell.

NORTH CAROLINA

SEAWELL'S role as chairman, plus his strenuous campaigning for Moore's election in 1964, has added much interest to the current disagreement.

Several avowed klansmen ran unsuccessfully for public office in the May 28 primaries. Asked at a news conference if this didn't make the klan liable to legal action under the 1953 law, Moore said the klansmen admitted their affiliation with the hooded order.

"There was nothing secret about that," Moore said, adding that individuals, not organized groups, commit crimes.

In his Chapel Hill speech, Seawell said whether the klansmen were known publicly or were unknown had nothing to do with the issue. Seawell said, too, that the klan as an organization was subject to the law.

"We either become servants to the law or slaves to the lawless," Seawell said. In an apparent reference to Moore's favorite piece of real estate, the "middle of the road," Seawell said, "There is no middle ground."

AFTER SEAWELL'S speech Moore was moved to issue a statement reiterating, "I do not believe the klan serves any useful purpose in North Carolina."

Seawell has been urging that the state seek the revocation of the klan's charter to do business as a "fraternal . . . charitable" organization, on grounds its activities have been at variance with its stated purposes.

Balked thus far by the man who issued the charter, and thus can revoke it, Secretary of State Thad Eure, Seawell now has taken the tack that the 1953 law should be employed.

Both Moore and Seawell are former superior court judges. Seawell in 1960 had an unsuccessful run at the governorship. Tempermentally, Seawell is much more aggressive than his former colleague on the bench.

Experience also colors the disagreement between the two men. In the early 1950s, Seawell was right in the middle of the klan resurgence when a number of klansmen were sent to prison. He compiled evidence on the nightriding floggers of that era.

FROM HIS BASE in the mountains, which were free of klan activity, Moore learned little about the KKK. He now regards it more tolerantly than does Seawell.

What disturbs many Tar Heels is the possibility that Moore's stance may lend new encouragement to the klan in North Carolina.

Survey Brings Agitation To Upgrade Negro Schools

7/17/66

By JAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., July 16 — The first full report on North Carolina's state-supported Negro colleges is a new goal of the State Board of Higher Education.

Watts Hill Jr. of Durham, the board chairman, said he has been assured that the State Board of Education will make available all of its data on the subject.

The decision to make the full-scale study followed a survey by Prof. James Wallace of N.C. State University of the scores made by college seniors on the National Teachers Examination.

Wallace's survey showed that the average scores made by students at all white colleges in the state were higher than the averages at any of the Negro colleges.

DUKE UNIVERSITY seniors made the highest average score, followed by seniors at the University of North Carolina. The lowest scoring bracket was populated entirely by seniors from the Negro colleges whose principal business is preparing teachers.

Some six weeks ago, the

NORTH CAROLINA

State Board of Education adopted higher minimum scores prospective teachers must achieve before obtaining their teachers' licenses in the state.

Negro educators blamed the low level of financial support for the poor showing of Negro seniors. Dr. Kenneth Williams, president of Winston-Salem State College, a Negro school, said, "Negro schools have never been supported properly and adequately from the first grade through the colleges . . . I don't see how anyone would be surprised at the results."

WILLIAMS SAID the Negro schools have received only about one-third of the state support accorded white schools. Negro professors holding comparable degrees are paid less than white professors.

The State Board of Education has always kept secret the result of the prospective teachers' scores on the National Teachers Examination. Prof. Wallace was the first man to penetrate the barrier.

Before the "separate but equal" doctrine was ruled invalid by the U.S. Supreme court, North Carolina had a pat answer to questions about how Negroes fared under the old system. It was this:

Negroes have much more modern public schools than the whites, and the average pay of Negro school teachers is higher than that of whites. That's true, so far as it goes.

THE TREND of legal opinions led to a construction boom for Negro schools as the state sought to give substance to the "separate but equal theory" in what was a belated admission that Negro schools weren't equal.

The average pay of Negro teachers is higher than that of whites because Negroes generally have longer tenure in the top job available to members of that race, and because more Negroes hold master's degrees.

The trouble was that a master's degree offered by a Negro school, because of the lack of adequate appropriations, often didn't equal the bachelor's degree offered by a white school. Now that faculties are being integrated, however, holders of "cheap" diplomas will be teaching white children.

5,000 Klansmen Dismayed As Negroes Join Indoor Rally

NORTH CAROLINA AC 8/15/66

RALEIGH, N.C. (UPI) — Five thousand Ku Klux Klansmen turned out for an enormous indoor rally Sunday and, to their noisy dismay, were joined by a small band of Negroes in the balcony.

The disgruntled klansmen roared so loudly when they spotted the Negroes that their Grand Dragon, Robert Jones, had to come out on the stage of Memorial Auditorium and request them to "hold it down."

Not content with integrating one of the biggest Klan rallies seen in the South, the Negroes began shifting around in the balcony, further upsetting the klansmen. Every time the Negroes, accompanied by a few white integrationists, changed seats, the klansmen around them moved.

"Get out of here and go home," bellowed the klansmen.

A force of hundreds of policemer standing by for the rally, instructed to make arrests for any violation, arrested at least four persons in and around the auditorium.

Roscoe Creed, police said, was charged with "insulting, offending, worrying and annoying Robert Richardson by calling him a 'white nigger' in a public place." Richardson is a student at North Carolina State University.

The auditorium would hold only 3,000 of the klansmen and women, and the other 2,000 had to gather in front of the building. A couple of Klan leaders scrambled out of a second story window and stood on a balcony to address those outside.

When the group of Negroes and whites in the balcony began moivng to other seats, a contingent of Klan security guardsmen marched up to the balcony, surrounded the integrationists, and filled up the rest of the seats around them.

Local authorities were apparently determined to avoid anything like a smaller Klan rally here two weeks ago, when the Klan security men allegedly used strong-arm tactics to clear public sidewalks and parks.

Police Chief Tom Davis ordered his men to arrest "anyone and everyone involved in any law violations."

At the state military center on the edge of the city, a 220-man company of National Guardsmen stood ready to foll to the auditorium in eight trucks if needed. Chief Davis ordered his entire 189-man force to work, and more than 100 state patrol cruisers from across the state were parked at patrol headquarters here.

Sanford Stays Uncommitted; Expected to Oppose Ervin

8/21/66

By JAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH, N.C., Aug. 20 — Among the rank-and-file supporters of former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, it is taken for granted that in 1968 he will oppose U.S. Sen. Sam Ervin's bid for reelection.

As a shrewd politician, Sanford is aware of the importance of timing and he knows it's too early to show his hand.

To the inevitable question about 1968, Sanford has a stock reply: "I take things as they come."

After U. S. Sen. Willis Robertson and Rep. Howard Smith, two leading old guardsmen, were defeated in Virginia, Sanford told newsmen he thought those results were the continuation of a trend.

As part of the trend, he cited the contest in a sister state, South Carolina, where youthful former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings toppled U.S. Sen. Donald Russell.

SANFORD naturally hopes the trend exhibits staying power. He was 49 this month. Sen. Ervin will be 70 in September.

Time should work to Sanford's advantage in another way. Ervin publicly supported Gov. Dan Moore in 1964, and if the Sanford-Ervin battle materializes in 1968, Moore naturally will be backing Ervin.

But in that year, Moore will be in the final year of his administration, and that is when a governor's popularity traditionally reaches its lowest ebb.

Also, Moore has shown little inclination, to date at least, to try and build a political organization. This has disturbed a number of his closest supporters, who believe Moore's influence will be diluted still more by an apparent indifference about the political tomorrows.

ERVIN HAS proved a potent vote-getter, but he hasn't tried to set up any type of formal organization. Sanford, on the other hand, has kept virtually intact the organization, with emphasis on youth and participation by women, that put him in the governor's office.

Although Sanford was a strong and early supporter of the late President Kennedy in 1960, he hasn't been identified with the Lyndon Johnson forces. Sanford has sharply criticized the jury provisions of the 1966 civil rights act.

Another campaign in 1968 will have an effect on the race for the U. S. Senate. That is the campaign for the governorship. The candidate with the heftiest advantage now is Lt. Gov. Robert W. Scott, 37.

SCOTT AND Sanford may be expected to follow the usual format. Each will proclaim that he is conducting his own campaign, and isn't meddling in any other. Whatever the two candidates say about it, their campaigns will be entwined in the hustings.

Sanford managed the successful senatorial campaign of Scott's father, Kerr Scott, and the nucleus of Sanford's support in 1960 was the bloc of "branchhead boys" who carried Kerr Scott to victory. The magic of the Scott name, imparted to it by Kerr, made Robert the lieutenant governor. In 1968, young Scott may find he needs Sanford's disciplined organizaun as mucn as Sanford needs Scott.

Sanford, meanwhile, is helping his Tar Heel image with his foundation-supported "Study of the American States," designed to strengthen the individual states and increase their influence.

Storm of Criticism Greets Proposal for Cigarette Tax

9/11/66

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH, N.C., Sept. 10—A storm of criticism engulfed a report of the North Carolina Tax Study Commission as soon as its contents were made public by Gov. Dan Moore.

The highlight of the report was a recommendation that the state impose a two cents per package tax on cigarettes to offset a revenue loss that would be caused by giving manufacturers a tax credit on their inventories.

Imposition of the cigarette tax, in the only state that now is without such a tax, would produce $10 million annually. Among the strong voices raised in opposition was that of Lt. Gov. Robert W. Scott.

Gov. Moore studiously avoided endorsing this or any other of the recommendations in the report.

FINANCIAL relief proposed for the cities and counties was put on a do-it-yourself basis as follows:

—Counties would be authorized to levy, on a local option basis, a one per cent local sales tax, the proceeds from which would be divided between the counties and the municipalities.

—Cities would be authorized to tax motor vehicles up to a limit of $10 per vehicle per year. The present limit is $1.

Except for the cigarette tax and the do-it-yourself proposals, the report was largely a reshuffling of existing tax revenues. If adopted, the net gain to the state would be $1.1 million annually.

IN THE unlikely event each of the 100 counties imposed the one per cent sales tax, their collective revenues would rise by $37.1 million yearly.

In the equally unlikely event all of the cities shared in the local sales tax levy, and if all of the cities imposed the maximum tax of $10 per vehicle, collective municipal revenues would increase $24.1 million annually.

Local governments now receive the proceeds from the tax on manufacturers' inventories, a tax the state's industry-hunters say has handicapped them. The report wouldn't interfere with local revenues, but would have the state absorb the loss (to be recouped via cigarette taxes).

Under the recommendation, manufacturers would be allowed to deduct 50 per cent of the inventory tax paid when they pay their corporate income tax.

CITIES AND counties lambasted the proposed local option sales tax, contending the 3 per cent state sales tax should be increased statewide, with the extra one per cent being returned to local governments.

Under local option, one county would be loath to add the tax since a neighboring county might forego it, and thus siphon off trade.

The outlook for adoption of the report by the 1967 General Assembly is dismal. Gov. Dan Moore, in fact, may oppose most of it.

Few believe that the cigarette tax has any chance of survival. If it fails, the rest of the report probably will join it in limbo.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NO NECKING IN PEWS, HE WARNS

RUTLAND, England, Sept. 10, (UPI)—Rec. Anthony Gracie has threatened to cancel youth club meetings at St. Mary the Virgin church unless teen-agers stop necking in the pews.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

DUKE LAW SCHOOL BREAKS WITH BAR

NORTH CAROLINA

State Lawyer Had Refused to Admit Negro Graduate

12/15/66

Special to The New York Times

DURHAM, N. C., Dec. 14 The Duke University Law School revealed today that it had broken off relations with the North Carolina Bar Association because the association has refused to admit as a member a Duke law graduate, presumably solely because he is a Negr

The Law School said this meant the association would be denied the use of the school's facilities and that the Duke law school no longer would participate in the association's continuing legal education program.

Agrees on Procedure

William F. Womble, president of the association, said he regretted that the action had been taken. He said he was particularly sorry about the La School's decision to leave the education program, because the program is open to all lawyers in the state, whether they are members of the association.

Mr. Womble said he agreed "with the proposition that all applications for membershipi n the North Carolina Bar Association should be considered and voted on without regard to race. However, he said he could not say whether this was the deciding factor in this particular case because association board members passing on applicants for membership were not required to explain their votes. He said the association which eliminated its "white-only" provision at its last annua meeting, has had no Negro members and has none now.

The student in question is Eric Michaux of durham, who was graduated from the Duke Law School in 1966, passed the Bar emamination and was admitted to practice before the North Carolina Bar, the lawyers' professional organization. The North Carolina Bar Association, a different group, sponsors social events in addition to the continuing education program.

Dean F. Hodge O'Neal in announcing that the Law School faculty had adopted a resolution severing relations with the association, said the faculty belived Mr. Michaux's exclusion from membership in the association would be an obstacle to his professional advancement. He added that the school felt it had the same responsibility to Negro students as it had to all other students.

No Inquiries Made

In its resolution, the faculty said the association ha d made no inquiries at the school regarding Mr. Michaux's character or legal qualifications, and "under these circumstances, we can only infer that his application was rejected solely because of his race."

Dean O'Neal said conversations with association representatives had supported such a belief, leading to the decision to sever ties.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

Needs Outreach Growing Surplus

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., Sept. 3—North Carolina has entered the current fiscal year with a surplus of $79.6 million.

Although the surplus may reach the $100 million-$150 million range by next June 30, it's unlikely that the cushion will do much to relieve the money problems which will confront the General Assembly in February.

The primary reason is that educational needs are multiplying faster than the surplus dollars. All the while the cost of maintaining other state services at the present level is increasing.

Gov. Dan Moore reported the surplus developed because $31.8 million in appropriated funds were unspent during 1965-66.

THE UNSPENT funds are due largely to vacant positions in state government that remained unfilled.

Not until July 1, 1967, will the true surplus be known for the next biennium. This firm figure will be the crucial one as the General Assembly adopts its two-year budget.

NORTH CAROLINA

Whatever it is, educational requests will far exceed it. The public schools, already beset by a teacher shortage, will be clamoring for higher teacher pay.

In addition, institutions of higher learning report that the need for capital improvements — buildings — is so great as to constitute a crisis. A legislative move to float a capital improvement bond issue is considered certain.

IN RECENT sessions, the General Assembly has tended to provide dormitories on a basis that lets the students pay for them through higher rentals. Educators say that system already is pricing some students out of the market.

Rep. David Britt of Robeson County, unopposed candidate for Speaker of the 1967 House, pinpointed another source from which will come requests for higher appropriations: the state prison system. Britt said "a certain emergency exists" in the system now.

He referred to the prison system's plan to seek three new 500-men prison complexes which will include single cells and other construction features to curb a major problem: homosexual assaults by and on inmates.

As House speaker, Britt will appoint the committees in the lower chamber and thus will be in a powerful position to influence the course of legislation.

HE TOOK note of agitation for an increase in the state's legal interest rate of 6 per cent. Britt isn't sold on the idea. "South Carolina has a seven per cent rate, and money is hard to get there," he said. "Even in California, which doesn't have a limit, the story is the same—they're sweating just like we are."

While money, as usual, will be one of the thorniest of legislative problems, it won't monopolize the session starting early in February. The Assembly, for example, is under a federal court order to redraw the congressional district lines again.

Education Forces Launch Drive for Fund Increase

By JAY JENKINS
Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NORTH CAROLINA

RALEIGH, N. C., April 2—North Carolina's organized public educational forces are launching their biennial campaign for increased legislative appropriations for the schools.

Gov. Dan Moore is taking a wait-and-see attitude. The state's fiscal condition at the time the 1967 General Assembly convenes in February will influence his stance.

The United Forces for Education (UFE), composed of educational and allied agencies, has outlined a legislative program that calls for a hike of between $135 million and $140 million in the 1967-69 biennium over the spending level for the current biennium.

The UFE sketched its program before it had compiled exact percentages of increase for such items as teacher pay. I did so because timing is a factor.

CANDIDATES FOR the General Assembly meet in the May primaries, and the UFE wanted to outline its goals so the office seekers may be forced to take a stand on them.

The school package was sugar-coated by the assertion that the UFE spending proposals can be financed without any tax increase. Normal economic growth, the UFE asserted, will pay the bill.

While the UFE focuses its concern on the secondary schools, it served notice that it also will support a capital improvements bond issue for the state-supported institutions of higher learning.

The sum of $100 million has been most frequently mentioned in the growing talk about a bond issue. In 1961, under former Gov. Terry Sanford, a $61-million-dollar bond issue that contained $34 million for the colleges, was defeated, largely because earlier in that year Sanford extended the sales tax to food.

MAKING IT PLAIN that he is keeping an open mind on the bond issue, Gov. Moore cited some statistics he said often have been overlooked. The 1965 General Assembly, he said, appropriated $36 million for capital improvements. This total was swelled to $132 million by federal grants and foundation gifts, he added.

But only 4 per cent of the $132-million construction program has been completed, Moore said. "So we have a sizable construction program in being now."

In support of its ambitions for the public schools in the next biennium, the UFE said that North Carolina is losing rank in per-pupil expenditures and in teacher pay.

IT IS PROPOSED that the teacher salary schedule be increased from the present $4,234-$5,856 range to $5,000-$8,500, at an estimated cost during the biennium of $90 to $95 million.

The UFE also asked $11.2 million to extend the terms of teachers by three days, with corresponding term extensions for principals and supervisors. If this is approved, 116 union school principals and 77 senior high principals would be employed on a 12-month basis.

Another proposal would reduce class size in the first three grades from one teacher to 27 pupils to 1-26, and in the elementary and high school grades from 1-30 to 1-29.

Still another item in the package calls for state-supported, pilot kindergarten projects. Another would give city pupils school bus transportation under the same conditions it's afforded to rural children.

HE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1966.

OEO.

POVERTY PROGRAM IS G.O.P.'S TARGET

~~PRO CONGRESS~~

Dirksen and Ford Charge Fraud and Ask Inquiry

3/4/66

WASHINGTON, March 3 (AP) — Republican Congressional leaders said today the Administration's antipoverty program had been marked by politics, fraud, waste and other abuses and called for a special investigation.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois and Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan said they would introduce legislation to create an investigating committee of six Senators an dsix House members drawn in equal numbers from both parties.

"A thorough, honest investigation of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's handling of the antipoverty war is long overdue," said Mr. Ford, the House minority leader.

Jim Kelleher, deputy director of public affairs of Office of Economic Opportunity, replied:

"I think one of the great successes of this program is that the Republicans have discovered the poor. Up to now everything they have found has come from old newspaper clippings and involved incidents we uncovered, investigated and corrected."

Dirksen Cites Cost

Mr. Dirksen, the Senate minority leader, said that $2.3-billion would have been spent on the program by July 1 and the Administration was asking for $1.7 billion more for the next fiscal year.

"For these vast sums the American people and the poor have gotten a very shabby product," he said.

The two leaders read their statements, approved in advance by the Senate-House Republican Leadership Conference, at a news conference.

Mr. Dirksen said the antipoverty program had been marked "by political favoritism and too often has become the tool of political machines."

He also said there has been "political infighting" by local Democratic politicians for control of community action program funds.

"They want the money to build political machines, not to reclaim and dignify human lives," he said.

Mr. Dirksen also said that "mass creation of extravagant Job Corp centers, a lack of discipline and purpose have resulted in disillusionment, rioting and vicious gang rule."

He said the Job Corps budget last year had averaged $7,800 for each enrollee, "almost twice the cost of sending a boy to college."

Lawyers for Poor Call on Shriver To Set Aside a Special Aid Fund

3/4/66 QE.O.

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 3 — Lawyers who advise Sargent Shriver on the legal services program of the antipoverty campaign demanded today a $50-million fund plainly marked for that work so, they said, they would not have to kowtow to community action agencies.

The National Advisory Committee of the Office of Economic Opportunity adopted a resolution to that effect after members from all over the country, had complained about delays in financing proposals.

Some of the lawyers thought the regional offices of the office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Poverty agency, were responsible for the delays. A majority, however, seemed to agree with E. Clinton Bamberger Jr., the director of the legal services program, that the local agencies, made up of local people, were dawdling because they preferred to spend antipoverty money on other types of programs.

Some Funds Exempted

Currently, $20-million is marked for the legal services program. Half of that comes out of discretionary funds of Mr. Shriver, director of the poverty agency. Grants made out of such funds are not charged to a state or community's general allocation.

Mr. Bamberger said that the quality of some proposals for legal aid programs had not been good and that that had led to delays.

"A community action agency isn't going to work very hard for a legal services program when there is something else they want to do," he said.

Prof. Soia Mentschikoff of the University of Chicago's Law School said that a legal services proposal presented to the Chicago community action agency eight months ago was still lying there. She said that other proposals carrying political overtones caused controversy and held up everything, including legal services for the poor.

Procedure Stipulated

Under present rules, a legal services proposal has to go through a community action agency or its proponents have to make out a convincing case for by-passing.

The resolution for $50-million in discretionary funds for the coming fiscal year was offered by Theodore Voorhees, president of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association.

Edward Q. Carr, director of the New York Legal Aid Society said he would make every community action agency show why it did not need a legal services program. The knowledge that the anti-poverty program exists is dampening other legal aid programs, he said. Municipal officials, for example, tell petitioners to take their problems to Washington.

"This committee, and you, Mr. Bamberger, got to generate a hell of a lot of heat behind this program," said Mr. Carr.

O.E.O.

POVERTY PROGAM FALTERS ON COAST

~~Poll Problems~~

Vote for Policy Board Small Despite Big U.S. Drive

3/4/66

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, March 3—One of the largest antipoverty programs in the nation is smarting from a tacit rebuff by the people it was designed to help.

A final check of ballots indicated today that less then 1 per cent of 400,000 eligible "poor" turned out to vote last Tuesday for representatives in the administration of the program.

Although a similar lack of interest had been displayed in poverty-program elections in other cities, officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity had hoped for better results here, particularly because of the program's link with the Watts riot of last August.

The Federal Government appropriated $61,000 to stage the election of seven persons to the 23-member policy board of the county's Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency. The agency's program for the year ending in July totaled $41-million, 40 per cent of it allocated to the riot area.

A corps of 600 volunteers was organized to familiarize people with the election. The balloting, originally set for Feb. 8, was postponed three weeks for additional promotion time. On election day, 25 chartered buses helped get people to 154 polling places.

The familiarization campaign included the distribution of 100,000 newspaper-size leaflets in Spanish and, in the suburb of Pasadena alone in the preelection week, 25,000 pieces of literature.

Only 2,659 people voted to select seven representatives from among 54 candidates. The winners comprised Mexican-Americans and three Negroes. Poverty program beneficiaries divide about evenly between these two ethnic groups.

The votes cost the Government more than $22 each.

The turnout of less than 1 per cent compared with 2.4 per cent in a recent election in Philadelphia, and 6 per cent in Hartford. A program official termed the result "not a setback but a disappointment."

A Few Factors

Officials cited the following presumed factors in the small turnout:

¶While other cities defined one poverty area and allowed all residents to vote, Los Angeles, with a dozen concentrations of poverty scattered over the 5,000-square-mile county, limited the voting to persons with annual incomes of less than $4,000 and to heads of households over 18 years old and single persons over 21.

"That income stipulation may have been a psychological mistake," a program aide conceded. "People were reluctant to classify themselves that way, even though they welcome assisitance. It would probably be the same if you held an election in a middle-class area and set a borderline at $10,000 or $15,000. Many people would balk at identifying themselves in any particular bracket."

¶A view by "the poor" that because they were allocated less than a third of the board votes, their opinions wouldn't get much hearing.

¶A belief that one candidate was as good as another.

¶A traditional apathy about elections as a middle-class institution.

The election was inadvertently scheduled on the day that county welfare checks were due.

Mayor Samuel W. Yorty, who has contended that the poor should hold majority representation on neighborhood project-development boards rather than minority representation on the countywide board, called the election a "costly farce."

O.E.O. 3/11/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

Job Corps' Costs in '65 Doubled Early Estimates

Outlays for Enrollee Totaled $11,251, Instead of $6,000

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10—The Job Corps component of the antipoverty program last year cost nearly twice as much as the estimates given to Congress six months ago.

Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, brought out the new data at a House Education and Labor Committee hearing today, implying as she did so that the Office of Economic Opportunity had given her misleading figures as recently as a week ago.

Officials of the antipoverty agency, said, however, that current costs of the Job Corps centers had been reduced far below those of 1965. For all centers, the annual cost in 1965, the first year of operation, was $11,251 for each enrollee. For men's urban centers the cost was still higher.

Last September, in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, Sargent Shriver, director of the office of Economic Opportunity, estimated the cost at $6,000.

Optimism Voiced

Wray Smith, Director of Urban Centers, said he was certain that cost would be brought down to $6,600.

The figures include capital outlays, such as construction or rehabilitation of dormitories. These costs are spread over 15 to 18 years for bookkeeping purposes.

Last fall, Mr. Shriver put the amortization period at 10 years for construction and five years for equipment. The longer the spread of amortization the lower the annual costs look.

The New York Times
Representative Edith Green

Mrs. Green asked Mr. Smith if about a week ago he had given her on the telephone a figure of $640 a man a month as the all-inclusive cost of men's urban centers. Mr. Smith agreed that he had.

The Oregon Democrat then asked in a stringent tones if that figure had omitted three cost items as well as capital outlays. Mr. Smith affirmed her statement and added, "I misspoke myself."

Mrs. Green added the missing items and arrived at a total of $9,120, which is roughly midway between last year's costs and pro rata estimates for a six-months' period ending next June 30.

Comparison of Costs

Mrs. Green then compared these costs with the $484 that she said was the national average expenditure per pupil in the elementary and secondary schools of the county.

Shrive Projections Queried by Rep. Green at Hearing

She asked whether the Job Corps costs for 20,000 young persons could be justified, or whether the Government should turn to alternatives.

Mr. Shriver said he might agree if the Job Corps were the only antipoverty program, but there are others, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, he said.

Mr. Shiver's experience today differed from the bouquet atmosphere he enjoyed on his first day of testimony last Tuesday, although his majority support of the committee was not seriously threatened.

Representative Augustus F. Hawkins, Democrat of California, criticized Mr. Shriver's statement on Tuesday that he was considering cutting off funds for election of representatives of the poor to community action agencies.

Mr. Hawkins asserted that the O.E.O. had accepted "stupid" ground rules for the Los Angeles election on March 1. The poor in Los Angeles, said Mr. Hawkins, believe the O.E.O. is not on their side.

G.E. to Run Women's Center

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP)—An agreement has been reached with the General Electric Company for operation of a Job Corps Center for Women in Clinton, Iowa, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced today.

The antipoverty agency also said General Precision Equipment, Inc., would be the new contractor for operation of the Breckinridge Job Corps Center at Morganfield, Ky.

KANSAS CITY POOR BAR POVERTY PLAN

Elected Delegates Say U.S. Proposals Will Not Help

By DONALD JANSON
Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo., March 12—Kansas City's poor, given a greater voice in the antipoverty program, expressed wide-ranging reservations this week about Federal help planned for them.

A council elected from the heart of the Negro slum section rejected all 13 community-action proposals presented Wednesday at a board meeting of the Human Resources Corporation. Councils from the eight other poverty areas supported the proposals only in part.

The corporation is an agency established last year to guide the Federal antipoverty program here. So far it has failed to get the program off the ground; it has not even accepted the more than $2-million offered by the Office of Economic Opportunity as a starter.

In December the board dissolved itself following charges by the poor that they lacked an effective voice in planning and authorizing projects. Last month elections in four areas increased representation of the poor on the board.

Proposals Brought Back

This week 13 proposals tabled in last year's impasse were resurrected.

Miss Loretta Johnson, elected representative of the central city povery area told the board that her 11-man council liked none of the projects.

"We feel that these programs won't really help the poor," she said.

She also attacked a plan to staff the programs with professionals.

"We feel you could take these salaries and divide them five or six times and get nonprofessionals to do the same job," she said.

Mrs. Leona P. Thurman, who practices law in the slum area, said the poor feared the funds would never filter down to them.

Chester E. Stovall, executive director of the corporation, said in an interview later in the week that most staffing for the projects would be from the ranks of the poor but that the programs proposed would have to be headed by trained lawyers, social workers, teachers and home economists.

'Upward Bound' Goes Down

The programs would provide legal aid, catch-up education, child care, and job and home-making training. An "upward bound" program would pay the cost of summer classes at the University of Missouri and Rockhurst College to help high school juniors and seniors from culturally deprived neighborhoods qualify for college scholarships.

Miss Johnson was particularly critical of "upward bound."

"We don't want any part of it," she said.

She said parents in her area did not want to expose their children to advantages they might never be able to afford.

"We don't want to give children this little taste of honey," she asserted, "only to have it taken away when the summer's over."

Finds No Precedent

Board officials were nonplussed.

Mayor Ilus W. Davis, president, warned that opposition meant missing a golden opportunity to acquire Federal financing.

"Never before," he said, "have 28 people sat down at a table in this city with $2-million handed to them on a platter to help the poor."

Nine of the 28 now are representatives of the poor themselves.

A corporation spokesman noted later than one of the nine, Miss Johnson, represents an area where Saul D. Alinsky is beginning a separate effort to organize the poor to better their lot.

Mr. Alinsky is head of the Industrail Areas Foundation, which has organized slum neighborhoods into political forces in several cities. He began a 30-month Kansas City Project last week. Here as elsewhere he has attacked the Federal antipoverty program as ineffective.

The Human Resources Corporation board will meet again March 23 to hear written reports from each poverty area council and vote on the 13 proposals. Mr. Stovall predicted their acceptance despite this week's adverse reaction.

Norwalk College to Open Stratford Branch in Fall

Special to The New York Times

NORWALK, Conn., March 12—A branch of the Norwalk Community College will be opened this fall in Stratford as a result of a two-year campaign by a committee of 80 Stratford citizens.

The State Board of Education approved the Stratford project and a projected branch of the state community college system in Middletown at a meeting last week. Norwalk Community College became part of the state system on Friday.

The Stratford college will at first use a Stratford school building, with classes being held from 3:30 P.M. to 10 P.M. Plans will be made to open this coming September with 150 full-time students and at least that many studying part time. The new unit will offer a complete curriculum.

OEO. N.Y.T

TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1966.

POVERTY PROGRAM PLANS NEW GOALS

Agency Expected to Stress Job Finding in Its 3d Year

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14 — Hearings being held now on the anti-poverty program's needs for its third-year indicate which experiments look shaky and the changes that may be made. The House hearings resume tomorrow.

When the Government started the program of 10 components in 1964, the designers agreed that it was largely experimental and subject to reshaping as experience indicated.

Looking shakiest is the experiment of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in designing projects in their communities.

Next, there is the prospect that the thrust of the campaign against poverty will be redirected from a self-help experiment to a public employment program if Representative Adam Clayton Powell successfully insists that the Government hire everyone it trains, if private industry does not.

Third, the fate of the Job Corps is uncertain because of unexpectedly high costs.

Innovation The Keynote

A virtue of the campaign against poverty, it was said at the start, was to be innovation. The campaign was not intended to provide instant relief. It was intended to show the poor how to avoid the relief rolls and to leave their children something better than a legacy of poverty.

"Maximum feasible participation" of the poor was to be one innovation on this point, Sargent Shriver, the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, told congress last spring:

"The experts said the poor are apathetic, inarticulate, incapable of formulating demands, designing programs, assisting and diagnosing their own needs. They were wrong. The poor are only waiting for the opportunity to be heard on a subject only they understand."

In the year since then only about 12 cities have used the available open election process to choose representatives of the poor. Most mayors resisted the organizing of the poor, which such elections imply, because they saw it as a threat to their power. They brought pressure in Washington.

Last November there were reports that the Budget Bureau, a powerful arm of the White House, had told Mr. Shriver's agency to de-emphasize participation of the poor in policy matters and to emphasize jobs. Mr. Shriver's response sounded like a denial but actually was not.

No matter, the de-emphasis on participation started almost immediately. The Office of Economic Opportunity never put into writing any suggested figures on "maximum feasible participation." However, it had been saying orally that it expected representatives of the poor would comprise at least one-third of each community action board.

When cities such as Atlanta admitted far less than a third of its board, Mr. Shriver said that the process of participation was "evolutionary." His agency's oral interpretation of participation then dropped to 25 per cent. Then it approved a Cleveland election that gave the poor 20 per cent of the places on the board.

Last week Mr. Shriver said he was disposed to cut off funds for elections because the turnout had been small. But he noted that only 3 per cent of the eligible persons turned out in New Jersey to elect delegates to a constitutional convention.

Unless outside organizations such as the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty can provide the necessary contervailing force, the election procedure may disappear from the anti-poverty 2program. The mayors then will be free to adopt controls, such as those in Chicago, where an upside down system permitted the director of a neighborhood center, a paid employe, to discharge a member of the center's advisory council.

On the problem of jobs, Mr. Shriver said he expected to channel 46 per cent of his new budget into jobs or training for the poor. That would be an increase over current programing. Mr. Powell, a Democrat of Manhattan, who is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, said the figure would have to be 60 per cent.

Last week a House hearing was told that the residential training centers for the Job Corps last year cost more than $11,000 for each enrollee, compared with $484 for each student in the nation's public schools. This prompted Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, to suggest that Mr. Shriver's agency start looking around for alternatives to the Job Corps.

Bright Pink Pigeon Seen

BISHOP'S STORTFORD, England (UPI)—Ornithologists here conducted a thorough but vain search through their textbooks after spotting a bright pink pigeon here recently.

OEO Names Coordinator To Erase Bias

AC 3/20/66

OEO

The Office of Economic Opportunity Saturday announced the appointment of a former Florida NAACP official as a regional coordinator in Atlanta to assure nondiscrimination in the war on poverty.

Robert W. Sanders will supervise compliance with OEO nondiscrimination regulations for the organization's Southeastern office.

The office here has responsibility for Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida.

Mr. Saunders is a former field representative for the NAACP in Florida and was a reporter for the Cleveland Call & Post newspaper.

He was one of seven regional coordinators appointed, according to the announcement from Washington.

THE COORDINATORS will be "objective fact finders" to help insure compliance with OEO's nondiscrimination regulations in employment and services for poverty war agencies and their service contractors, the OEO said.

Other coordinators and their new offices are: Mrs. Charlotte Lewis, San Francisco; Franklin D. Ducheneaux, Kansas City, Mo.; Gregorio E. Coronade, Austin, Tex.; Georgie E. Pitts, Chicago; Vance E. Clark, Washington, D.C., and Steve W. Duncan, New York.

Also named was a contract compliance officer to serve at OEO headquarters and to assure that "all OEO contractors are nondiscriminatory in their employment and services."

The compliance officer is Ruby Burrows, a Howard University law graduate and former aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass.

ISSUES RULING
Sargent Shriver

U.S. Opens Poverty Unit Books

AC 3/24/66 OAZO

By NAN ROBERTSON

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, — Local poverty agencies across the nation were ordered Wednesday to open all their books upon demand for public inspection.

The sweeping directive from Washington includes all financial records, applications for federal money, minutes of public meetings and complete details of signed contracts.

The ruling signed by Sargent Shriver, director of the anti-poverty campaign, also states that community action agencies in about 700 cities must make available upon request that the names, job descriptions and salaries of all local poverty program employes.

PUBLIC HEARING

The directive further rules that any anti-poverty agency with a federal grant shall hold public hearings no later than 30 days after "any person or group" in the community asks for such a meeting. The request may be denied only if three-quarters of the local governing board present vote that it is "frivolous" or "repetitive."

In addition to public hearings, open hearings shall be mandatory from April 15 on for any new applicants for federal support.

Shriver's instructions, made public while he is on a holiday in Kenya, go far beyond an amendment written into the Economic Opportunity Act last year by Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.

PUBLIC ACCESS

That amendment included provisions for "reasonable public access" to local poverty records and books and "reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups."

There were indications last November that Washington might take this step. At that time Javits wrote Shriver, saying that this "might well slow down unduly the rate of applications" and was "not the intent of the Congress."

Shriver replied Dec. 15 that he shared Javits' "resistance to any procedure which would unduly slow down the process of getting a program underway."

The fear is that anti-poverty boards will be exposed to considerable public harassment by opponents of poverty programs.

OEO NYT 3/31/66

POWELL ASKS RISE IN POVERTY FUNDS

Cites 'Uncountable Billions' Being Spent in Vietnam

By NAN ROBERTSON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 30—Representative Adam Clayton Powell announced today he would ask Congress for $7-billion for next year's poverty program instead of the "timid," "wrist-tapping" sum of $1.75-billion sought by the Johnson Administration.

The Manhattan Democrat said that while the United States "spends uncountable billions of dollars to pursue a victory-less war" in Vietnam, "we are shortchanging our own citizens with a heartless stinginess."

Mr. Powell is chairman of the Education and Labor committee, which has jurisdiction over the program, said that at present it was "too small, with too few dollars to help so many."

Mr. Powell offered his own 10-point plan that he said he considered "the irreducible minimum" for an "effective crusade against poverty."

Instead of a bold assault on the problem, he said, "we are wrist-tapping this scourge with a timid, fragmented skirmish."

His first point was an amendment to raise the poverty budget to four times what President Johnson has asked.

"In 1967, we shall spend $4.4 billion in economic assistance to foreign countries," he said. "I submit we can and should and must spend that much and more for Americans."

"To prevent local officials from emasculating the anti-poverty programs to preserve their selfish political interests I shall offer an amendment that unequivocably bars any use of the veto over any community action program by any mayor, city council or local governing body.

"Mayor cannot veto Social Security, mayors cannot veto Medicare, mayors cannot veto unemployment compensation.

"I intend to see that they cannot veto programs of 90 per cent Federal funds when their cities only supply 10 per cent matching funds."

Mr. Powell said he would offer "with particular pleasure" an amendment that completely abrogates the right of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is headed by Sargent Shriver, to "prescribe any kind of loyalty or security test based upon any set of spuriously collected files."

His reference to vetoes referred to widespread charges that Mayors and other top city officials are fighting to gain control of poverty money and projects to increase their own political power.

Program officials reply that a veto is "automatic," since a local poverty program cannot get under way unless the community furnishes 10 per cent of the money.

The New York Times

SEEKS MORE FUNDS: Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Manhattan Democrat, said he will ask for $7-billion next year in antipoverty appropriations.

Mr. Powell said he had told Mr. Shriver in a long conversation this morning that he was "unalterably opposed" to a Mayor's veto, automatic or not, and that he would propose full Federal funding of local community action programs.

The second Powell amendment refers to new morality requirements and harsher loyalty standards issued this month for tens of thousands of persons who will be hired in all future local poverty projects.

Mr. Shriver said today, however, that such instructions from his office are "not cast in concrete" and could be changed.

Mr. Powell indicated that his committee would support him on the loyalty-security issue, and noted that "we got rid" of a similar clause in the Higher Education Act.

He also proposed that funds for community action projects be doubled. The Administration is now asking $914-million for these projects.

Mr. Powell said that the $7-billion figure was based on estimates from his staff and some of the nation's "best economic experts," including Leon Keyserling, Michael Harrington and Saul Alinsky. Mr. Alinsky is a sociologist.

Mr. Powell made his 10-point program public today in a news conference called in the hearing room of the House Education and Labor Committee, which he heads.

In answer to a question, Mr. Powell predicted violence again this summer in the Watts District of Los Angeles, "in Brooklyn more than Harlem" and "Newark, the worst."

Official Fired By Poverty Unit

OEO
AC 4/17/66

By WAYNE KELLEY

Atlanta's antipoverty agency has fired the director of its Neighborhood Youth Corps for out-of-school youngsters after an investigation and charges of "incompetence."

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. (EOA), announced Saturday, in a statement released by Administrator Charles O. Emmerich, that NYC Director Irving C. Gordon was dismissed Friday from his $10,350 job.

The action followed "a week-long evaluation" by two top EOA officials who recommended "that Mr. Gordon be terminated for incompetence," the EOA statement said.

The NYC program to provide part-time employment and job training for out-of-school youths from 16 to 21 "has suffered for some time," the statement added.

A TOTAL OF 873 job openings were available under the program kicked-off in Atlanta last August, but the number of youths employed as of March 31 was only 605, an EOA spokesman said Saturday.

The evaluation of Mr. Gordon came after seven of nine profes-

Turn to Page 24, Column 2

FIRED

Continued From Page 1

sional staff members working for him signed a protest petition.

The petition asserted that Mr. Gordon, one of several top Negro officials employed by EOA, "was unable to gain the confidence of his professional staff and to direct the program," said William Terry, personnel officer for the poverty agency.

The NYC director was given an opportunity to resign his post, but declined to do so, Mr. Terry said.

Mr. Gordon was not immediately available for comment. But an EOA official said Saturday, "I have been told he plans to appeal his discharge, and I'm sure he will."

THE EVALUATION of Mr. Gordon was made by Mr. Terry and Dr. Tillman Cothran, deputy EOA administrator for programs. Dr. Cothran is the highest ranking Negro employed by EOA.

Both officials recommended to David R. Beecher, EOA associate for operations, that the NYC director be discharged, the EOA statement said.

"Mr. Gordon has been unable to reach many underprivileged youths who could have profited by the NYC jobs and training opportunity," Mr. Terry and Mr. Cothran were quoted as saying in the EOA release. "The majority of Mr. Gordon's top staff has registered a protest against his administration of the program."

MR. BEECHER has asked John H. Calhoun, an official of the EOA neighborhood services organization, to temporarily take over the NYC post. Mr. Calhoun is a Negro and has been well known in Atlanta political circles for years.

There has been internal friction in the NYC out-of-school program ever since it began eight months ago, reliable sources report.

The program was budgeted approximately $1 million for its first six-months operation and spent considerably less than that.

"We are going to lose some money, I'm afraid, if we don't fill those spots," Mr. Terry said.

The U.S. Department of Labor allocates funds for the out-of-school program, he pointed out, and "probably will direct a reduction in the number of remaining job opportunities here if we do not fill all these jobs."

THE EOA BOARD of directors on Sept. 15, 1965, voted to request 690 more NYC jobs for Atlanta. This would boost the total of jobs available to 1,563.

Underprivileged youths from poor families can make a minimum wage of $1.25 per hour for up to 25 hours a week under the program.

Many of the jobs initially opened were with the city sanitation department and have been hard to fill. EOA officials say some of the job openings have been reshuffled to make them more attractive.

DEMOCRATS ALTER PLANS ON POVERTY

OEO

House Labor Panel Majority Maps Cut in Funds for Community Action

4/28/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27 — Leading House Democrats have agreed on amendments that will alter the face and character of the Great Society's campaign against poverty.

They are the majority of the Education and Labor Committee. They have been meeting secretly and will be ready in a few days to confront the Republicans with a Democratic consensus.

The changes are aimed straight at the Community Action Program, which Sargent Shriver last month called "the prime offensive weapon in the war on poverty."

It is one of eight major programs superintended by Mr. Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity. Politically it is by far the most explosive program because it is the only one that requires "maximum feasible participation" by representatives of poverty areas in the selection and design of local projects.

The issue of policy participation by the poor has generated "ugly problems of the political establishment," in the private language of one House Democrat who is supporting the changes.

"Extremist groups have seized it as a forum for dissent," he said.

Less than $600-Million

So, while the total war on poverty funds is expected to equal, or exceed, the requested $1.75-billion, the unrestricted funds for community action probably will fall below half the requested amount of $600-million, exclusive of Project Headstart.

In addition, there will be a ceiling of $12,500 on salaries paid with Federal funds, if these views prevail. That limitation would not apply to the antipoverty program generally, but only to community action officials in the field.

State and local governments could supplement these salaries as they wished, but the general expectation ist hat few local agencies would do that and an exodus of talen would follow.

A year hence, local governments would have to put up 20 per cent of the cost of community action programs, instead

Continued on Page 30, Column 3

OEO

DeKalb Approves Poverty War Fund

AC 6/25/66

The DeKalb County Commission voted Tuesday to appropriate $14,898 to support the war on poverty.

The sum, which represents the county government's commitment to the anti-poverty program in DeKalb, will be used to rent office space, pay telephone bills and provide group insurance for the administrative staff in the program.

It was authorized just as federal officials in Washington were reportedly getting ready to act on DeKalb's application for $151,198 in government funds to start a four-part anti-poverty program.

The DeKalb Economic Opportunity, Inc., requested the funds last March to provide a neighborhood help center in Stone Mountain, a county-wide adult education program, a Head-Start program in Decatur, and a four-man central administrative staff.

Officials expect approval of the application within the next few days.

In other action, the commission:

1. Set license fees at $5,000 plus 4 per cent of gross receipts to permit several private corporations to set up community antenna (CATV) television systems in DeKalb.

2. Authorized an agreement to accept $53,401 in state funds to pave a .832-mile-long, 60-foot-wide road leading to an industrial park in the Miller Road to Panola-Stone Mountain Road area.

3. Approved contracts submitted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to provide a grant to develop open-space land at the old Decatur Water Works property.

The site will be used partially for several baseball and football fields and 20 tennis courts.

DeKalb EOA Will Receive $155,294 in Federal Funds

OEO

AC 5/26/66

By ART PINE

DeKalb County's Economic Opportunity Authority was given final word Wednesday that it would receive $155,294 in federal funds to fight the war on poverty.

The grant will provide $4,096 more than EOA officials originally asked for—but it may already have saved the program from the poor house.

Regional officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which processed the application, said the $4,096 difference was the result of "arithmetical errors and minor changes" the government spotted in DeKalb's 23-page application.

According to the program outlined by DeKalb, officials said, the organization would require $155,294 to do the job instead of the $151,198 it first requested.

Mrs. Margaret Lewis, chairman of the DeKalb EOA, explained that the formal application was "prepared in a hurry" and local officials may have made some typographical errors.

"We had to get the application finished in two weeks," she said. "Fortunately, the OEO had two full months to look it over."

The grant includes:

1. A total of $64,273 to establish a neighborhood health center in Stone Mountain, where EOA staff members could counsel low-income families.

2. Another $52,611 for a county-wide adult education program, offering evening courses leading to a high school equivalency certificate. The program would enable high school dropouts to complete entrance requirements needed for vocational training schools.

3. The sum of $11,910 for continuation of the Decatur "Head Start" program, comprising summer enrichment classes to give underprivileged children the cultural background that they will need to compete with middle class youngsters in the first grade.

4. Finally, $54,348 for a four-man central administrative staff, including a director, three program assistants and a secretary.

The DeKalb EOA had requested only $64,023 for the neighborhood center and $13,733 for the Head Start program.

The federal grant brings the total war chest on poverty in DeKalb to $188,142. That figure includes $14,898 appropriated Tuesday by the county commission, $14,865 from the DeKalb school board, $1,685 from the city of Stone Mountain and $1,400 from the city of Decatur.

As soon as the grant was announced Wednesday, Mrs. Lewis made public the appointment of Peter S. Jones, former DeKalb County purchasing agent, as administrator. Jones, purchasing agent since 1962, resigned March 4 after a running controversey with DeKalb Commission Chairman Brince Manning.

Jones, 59, spent several years in South America as a senior foreign service officer and served as a parttime State department consultant in Atlanta.

The DeKalb application, prepared by Mrs. Lewis and state OEO consultant Mrs. Hellice Clark, received praise from members of the regional OEO staff—the federal agency which flatly rejected DeKalb's first proposal submitted more than a year ago.

One high OEO official, who declined to be named, said privately he thought the DeKalb program was "one of the best I've seen anywhere" because its board of directors includes so many underprivileged persons.

"The DeKalb EOA certainly goes far to give representation to the people it's supposed to serve," he said. The board includes 30 members representing 10 civic associations, many from Negro communities throughout the county.

Approval of the grant, announced through the office of Rep. James A. Mackay, climaxed one year and three days of controversy, charges of foot-dragging, and later a last-ditch effort to get the poverty program on its feet.

Last year the regional OEO flatly turned down DeKalb's application, terming it "too broad in scope" and poorly planned.

A few months later, EOA board chairman J. N. Burnett resigned suddenly amid speculation he found the job "frustrating" because he did not feel he could get proper cooperation from the county commission.

Last fall, after Mrs. Lewis assumed the chairmanship, the commission decided to complete the highly complex application at any cost, and debated whether to hire a private consultant, seek state help or join Fulton County's poverty program.

In February, DeKalb approached the state OEO for help, and Mrs. Clark was assigned as a consultant. The application was submitted March 4—three days after the federal deadline.

GOP Group Charges Scandal, Asks Dismantling of OEO

OEO

AC 5/29/66

WASHINGTON, May 28 (AP)—Abuses, scandals and mismanagement are destroying the antipoverty program, say a group of House Republicans who want new legislation to solve the problems of the poor.

They urge dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which runs the program, enlarging the role of state and local governments, and tightening congressional control over spending of antipoverty funds.

Eight of nine Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee joined in assailing the present program and presenting an alternative.

Their views are expressed in a 100-page dissenting report on a bill approved by the committee's Democratic majority to carry the antipoverty program into its third year. The GOP report foreshadows a bitter fight when the bill comes to the House floor next month.

In place of the committee bill, which would authorize $1.75 billion for the coming fiscal year, the Republicans offer a program they call the Opportunity Crusade, which would continue the present programs, but with redefined goals, standards and administration.

IT WOULD authorize $1.4 billion in federal money and call for partial matching of funds by local and state agencies to produce a total of $1.98 billion for the various programs.

They would place the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps in the Labor Department, adult education programs in the Office of Education, and leave only the Community Action Programs and the Domestic Peace Corps in the OEO.

The report accuses the Democrats of "one of the sorriest exhibitions of political partisanship . . . that Congress has ever witnessed" in drafting the pending bill.

The Democrats wasted $200,000 Congress appropriated for an investigation of the antipoverty by taking only a superficial look at it, says the report. They then conducted brief hearings loaded with favorable witnesses and worked on the bill in private party caucuses from which the GOP members were excluded, the dissenters assert.

THE RESULT, the report says, is a bill that fails to correct widely publicized weak-

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SCANDAL

Continued from Page 1

nesses and abuses and leaves the OEO free "to stumble into another year of operations without the restraint of congressional directives."

The Republicans deal harshly with the present operation of the Job Corps camps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Community Action Programs under the OEO.

The Job Corps camps, residential centers for training young men and women, have become places of internal terror and danger to nearby communities because of haphazard screening methods, they report.

"The philosophy of Job Corps officials is so ridiculously soft and confused that they will excuse almost any behavior by an enrollee," they say.

The report cites numerous examples of what it calls corruption, scandal and abuses in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provides jobs in public agencies for youths living at home.

And the communitywide programs aimed at specific local problems, it says, comprise "the most confused, mismanaged and ineffective effort of the entire war-on-poverty program."

The report is signed by Reps. William H. Ayres, Ohio; Albert H. Quie, Minn.; Charles E. Goodell, N.Y.; John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Dave Martin, Neb.; Alphonzo Bell, Calif.; Glenn Andrews, Ala., and Edward J. Gurney, Fla.; of the Republican committee members, only Rep. Ogden R. Reid, N.Y., did not join in the dissent.

SENATE UNIT ADDS TO POVERTY FUNDS

OEO

Kennedy Brothers Attach $570-Million to Program

NYT 8/24/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 — The Senators Kennedy succeeded today in adding about $570-million to President Johnson's antipoverty budget.

Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, is expected to propose $300-million more in the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee. His brother, Edward M., Democrat of Massachusetts, joined him in today's amendment.

The subcommittee on employment, manpower and poverty completed work today on the anti-poverty bill. Chairman Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, said he would try to get full committee action this week and then seek Senate action before Labor Day to avoid a possible civil rights filibuster.

The subcommittee action raised the antipoverty budget for the 1967 fiscal year from $1.75-billion to $2.32-billion.

Health Aid Proposed

Edward Kennedy proposed raising the Administration bill by $100-million to finance health services in poor neighborhoods. That was agreed to in principle. The language of his amendment was not before the committee.

Robert Kennedy led a move to add $200-million for Head Start, a project for pre-school poor children. That will go to the full committee without recommendation. The subcommittee included both these items in its $2.32-billion.

Robert Kennedy also moved to add $300-million for what he called "special Impact programs." That led to a dispute with his Republican colleague from New York, Jacob K. Javits. A Javits associate said the language of the Kennedy proposal did not make clear that the program would aid the ghettos as Senator Kennedy said it would.

Democratic sources said that Senator Javits threatened a filibuster in the closed meeting, whereupon Senator Kennedy withdrew the $300-million amendment with the intention of renewing his proposal in the full committee.

Salaries Limited

The subcommittee, instead of writing a specific dollar ceiling on salaries financed by Office of Economic Opportunity funds, inserted an amendment limiting salaries to those paid for comparable work in the area, unless the O.E.D. director makes a finding of necessity for paying above these ceilings.

The subcommittee also adopted several Javits amendments to combine Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps centers in certain situations, in addition to the existing separate structure for these programs. It also voted to co-ordinate these and other manpower training programs so there would be a joint system of counseling for young people who enter any of these programs.

The antipoverty bill adopted by the House Education and Labor Committee, which is still awaiting floor action, stays within the President's budget but reduces funds for community action programs and earmarks much of these funds for specific programs.

The Senate subcommittee would give the antipoverty agency $944-million for community action, instead of the House committee total of $832-million, and would also give the agency more flexibility in allocating funds to various community action projects.

The subcommittee restored to the Job Corps the $228-million in the President's budget. The House committee had cut it to $200-million. The Senate group left undisturbed the House committee figure of $496-million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. That is $196-million more than the President proposed.

Art Museum Gets Statue

ST. LOUIS (UPI)—The City Art Museum has acquired a bronze statue of the Hindu deity Parvati. The figure, about 26 inches high, dates from the 11th century and represents Indian sculpture. Purchase was made possible by a recent $25,000 gift from the Charles E. Merrill Trust of New York, which was set up by the founder of the New York brokerage house of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith.

HEAD START FUNDS CUT OFF IN SOUTH

OEO

Rights Act Violations Cited in 25 Summer Programs

NYT 8/26/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25 — The Office of Economic Opportunity has refused funds to sponsors of 25 summer Head Start programs, citing violations of civil rights as the reason.

The sponsors are in seven Southern states. The poverty agency did not disclose the sum of funds being withheld.

Samuel F. Yette, the agency's special assistant for civil rights, said that the sponsors had used three principal methods to circumvent the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mr. Yette said the sponsors had committed the following violations:

¶They refused to use any white schools in areas having substantial numbers of eligible white children, even though white schools were equally as available as Negro schools.

¶They selected all-Negro staffs.

¶They used unequal recruitment efforts for Negro and white children. Negro families were personally solicited, while white families received only a general notice.

In no instance did Negroes oppose white participation in the programs, Mr. Yette said. Opposition came from school and other local officials who failed to meet civil rights criteria.

The nonfunded sponsors were in local communities in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Twenty-four of the 25 did not contest the refusal, but the Little River Community Action Committee in Appling, Ga., did. However, a hearing examiner of the Civil Service Commission upheld the poverty agency's decision.

On May 20, three agency regional directors—Frank K. Sloan of Atlanta, William H. Crook of Austin, and Sidney H. Woolner of Washington, D. C.—reported that some local school board officials had been designing all-Negro programs in violation of the Civil Rights Act.

At that time the directors warned that such projects might be denied Federal funds unless such discriminatory plans were corrected. This was carried out today.

In some cases where sponsors operated programs in more than one community, only those programs in violation were refused funds, the agency said.

House Republicans Call for Shriver's Resignation

9/28/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27 — House Republicans hammered at the $1.75-billion antipoverty bill for two hours oday.

They said Sargent Shriver, who directs the program, should resign on grounds of inadequate management, employment of too many consultants at high pay rates and "profiteering" by two companies in the Job Corps program.

"The Office of Economic Opportunity has produced more bureaucratic wealth than any other agency," said Albert H. Quie of Minnesota, one of the Republican floor managers.

The agency, he said, has more employes in supergrades than the Office of Education, which has a budget more than twice the size of the antipoverty agency. That, said Mr. Quie, is an evasion of "the clear intent of the law." Supergrade salaries are in the $16,000 to $18,000 brackets.

The authorization bill debated today sets a ceiling on how much Congress can appropriate for the poverty program; the actual appropriation, which may be lower, will be voted later.

The bill would expand the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Head Start programs, at the expense of Community Action projects, and would reduce discretionary use of Community Action funds by earmarking much of them for specific kinds of projects.

The debate, save for one brief flare-up, simmered on an almost fireless cooker. The Republicans, in an effort to stir up interest and produce an audience, forced quorum calls when attendance dwindled. Four of these, consuming close to two hours, brought more than 300 members to the chamber each time. Attendance then dwindled to about 20.

The anxiety that usually appears on the majority side when an important bill's outlook is in doubt was not apparent.

The conflict is expected to sharpen tomorrow when the Republicans start offering perhaps dozens of amendments to the amortization bill and both sides will need members on the floor for head counts on short notice.

The Republicans propose to fragment the Office of Economic Opportunity, leaving Mr. Shriver with two programs, Community Action and Vista (Volunteers in Service to America). They would transfer the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps to the Labor Department, Head Start and adult education to the Office of Education, work experience to other sections of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, and the loan programs to the Small Business Administration.

Representative James H. Scheuer of the Bronx, one of the Democrats who rose to the defense of the antipoverty program, said it was absurd for anyone to say that the United States, in the most prosperous period in its history, could not finance a program that costs less in one year than the Vietnam war costs in a month.

Representative Sam M. Gibbons of Florida, who parceled out the speaking time for the Democrats, spoke of the failure of the Women's Job Corps Center in St. Petersburg, Fla., saying that "it was national publicity, much of it generated in political spite, that threw it into a tailspin."

The allegations of "profiteering" have been cited by Republicans in the past. One case involved the Kanawha Hotel in Charleston, W. Va., which the Women's Job Corps leased. Mr. Quied said the Government had guaranteed the company that owned the hotel $94,800 a year "clear profit," and spent $345,000 remodeling a property that had been appraised at $250,000.

Another allegation involved Consolidated American Services, which held an agency contract to find feasibility sites for Job Corps centers. Charles E. Goodell, Republican of upstate New York, said an officer of the company, who had made contributions to the Democrats, received the contract although the company in the beginning had no staff or competence in the field.

House Votes Poverty Bill; Mandates Role for Poor

9/30/66 OEO

BY JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29—The House approved tonight a $1.75-billion authorization bill to extend the antipoverty program for 1967. Before doing so it wrote in a specific mandate to enforce a provision for "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in the direction of community action projects.

The vote on the bill was 210 to 156.

The measure tightens Congressional control over the distribution of funds for community action and increases allotments for the Neighborhood Yotuh Corps and the preschool project Head Start.

Republicans, on a motion by Paul A. Fino of the Bronx, temporarily scuttled the bill, but the Democrats regrouped their missing numbers and reversed the action.

The senate expects to take up its own antipoverty bill tomorrow. It would authorize about three-quarters of a billion dollars more than the house bill.

The House amendment on the role of the poor stipulated that "the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall not approve a community action program which is conducted, administered or coordinated by a board on which representatives of the poor do not comprise at least one-third of the membership."

Training Cost Ceiling

The amendment also requires that the representatives of the poor be "selected by the residents of the areas of concentration of poverty, with special emphasis on participation by the residents of the area who are poor."

The House also wrote into the bill a limit of $7,500 a year on the cost of training a Jobs Corps enrollee. Job Corps officials testified in March that in 1965 costs averaged $9,120 for each male enrollee, exclusive of capital outlays for conditioning the Job Corps centers.

Mrs. Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, sponsored the $7,500 ceiling after Republicans had failed by three votes in an effort last night to impose a $7,000 ceiling.

The mandate to give one-third of the community action seats to representatives of the poor, selected by the poverty areas themselves, was sponsored by a Republican and accepted by the Democratic leadership. The sponsor was Albert H. Quie of Minnesota.

"I see no objection to this amendment," Sam M. Gibbons, Democrat of Florida, floor manager for the majority, said.

Picked by Politicians

The Office of Economic Opportunity reported that at present 29 per cent of the members of community action boards were poor or representatives of the poor. But this is an overall average, which means that some cities have less than 29 per cent poverty representation on their boards.

More important, many of these poverty representatives were chosen by local political leaders, not by the residents of the poor areas, as the House amendment would require.

The amendment does not stipulate the method of selection. It could be done by election, as at present in Philadelphia, or by "town meeting" or other method.

The representatives chosen do

Continued on Page 41, Column 1

ANTIPOVERTY BILL IS VOTED BY HOUSE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

not have to be poor themselves. The current economic definition of poverty is an annual income below $3,130 for a city family of four. Each additional child raises the figure by $500.

Several Democrats spoke for the amendment, but one, Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, denounced it. He said he had no objection to involvement of the poor if it was for the purpose of education. Otherwise, he said, "it would be just as logical to say that one-third of all defeated members of Congress ought to have seats in the House."

Mr. Hays spoke of people who have been "failures all their lives" and said that to give management seats "to one-third of those who never have been successful does not make sense."

"It will make more headaches than before," he said.

The amendment was adopted on a voice vote.

The Republicans tried unsuccessfully to transfer the Job Corps from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Labor Department. This was among a score of Republican proposals to fragment the agency or otherwise alter the program.

OEO

Poverty Bill Cut To Johnson Size

AC 10/5/66

Senate Votes, 49 to 20, For $1.75 Billion Total

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The Senate bowed before President Lyndon B. Johnson's economy drive Tuesday and cut its $2.5 billion anti-poverty bill back to the $1.75 billion budget estimate.

After approving Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen's proposal to slash the bill by $750 million, the Senate passed the anti-poverty measure and sent it to the house. The vote on final passage was 49 to 20.

The Dirksen amendment chopped the bill back to the amount requested by Johnson and approved earlier by the House.

PUT IN CURBS

After considerable debate and two roll calls, 39 to 32 and 38 to 32, the Senate approved a modified amendment offered originally by Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D-Va. It would forbid use of anti-poverty funds to help any individual who "incites, promotes, encourages or carries on a riot," helps others to do so, or is a member of any organization designated as subversive by the attorney general.

Passage came after Democratic leader Mike Mansfield joined Republicans on the economy bandwagon. Mansfield proposed a smaller cut—back to $2.1 billion—but Dirksen stepped in with his substitute which was approved after he gave it one of his oratorical launchings.

BOTH BILLS SAME

The vote left the budget estimates, the Senate bill and the House bill with the same price tag. However, the bills differ on allocation of authorizations to various anti-poverty programs and must be reconciled.

Both Mansfield and Dirksen offered their reductions after being called to the White House Monday and asked by President Johnson to help in cutting over-budget additions from pending legislation.

"You should have heard him on the budget," Dirksen told the Senate. "He fulminated like hurricane Inez about what we were doing to the budget."

Mansfield said the Senate Labor Committee's $2.5 billion bill was "much too high." He said "it is about time that the Senate not let the President assume all the responsibility for amounts in excess of budget recommendations."

Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., manager of the bill, pleaded with the Senate not to go below Mansfield's $2.1 billion figure.

Sen. Wayne Morse, D-Ore., opposed the Mansfield amendment and criticized President Johnson for being "apparently willing to have the war in Viet Nam paid for by the poverty stricken . . . the school children . . . of America."

1 OEO

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDN

Poverty Fund Quotas Set by Senate-House Parley

10/12/64

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 — Senate-House conferees on the antipoverty bill allocated the $1.75-billion authorization today with most of the restrictions and earmarkings voted by the House.

Both chambers had authorized the same total but had not agreed on how to distribute the sum among the various programs. The joint conference agreed on that today, subject to expected approval by the Senate and the House.

The allocations put limits on the discretion of Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and will mean that few, if any, new community action programs can be started unless they fall into the new categories written into the law in the present session of Congress.

The Job Corps was allowed $211-million, compared with the $228-million requested in the President's budget.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was allowed $410-million, which is $110-million more than was asked.

Bracketed with those two programs in Title II of the bill was a new program to generate employment in crowded city areas having heavy unemployment. It was sponsored by New York's Senators, Jacob K. Javits, Republican, and Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat. It was allowed $75-million.

Earlier in the day, a Citizens Crusade Against Poverty report made available today finds that Mississippi's 28-county Head Start program, recently eliminated by Sargent Shriver, was a "well-administered, carefully organized, creatively run organization demonstrating integrity, fiscal responsibility and managerial competency."

The report, prepared by a board of inquiry after a visit to Mississippi, said that charges made by Mr. Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity, "even if true, do not in the board's opinion constitute grave enough defects to support a judgment to terminate the program."

Shriver Standing Fast

"All of the charges taken together do not dictate termination if weighed against C.D.G.M.'s (Child Development Group of Mississippi) record of achievement and continuous improvement," the report said.

"A differential standard with regard to what defects mandate termination appears to have been applied to C.D.G.M."

Walter P. Reuther, president of the crusade, said he was trying to arrange a meeting with Mr. Shriver to present the report. Mr. Shriver said last night he would hold to his decision. The grounds for it are that the child development group failed to meet minimum standards of managerial competence.

The crusade's board of inquiry said: "We are unable to avoid the conclusion that the charges levied are a thin mask for a politically dictated decision, a decision which is all the more tragic in that it represents a yielding to those forces which have stood in historical opposition to progress for the poor and underprivileged in Mississippi, including Senators John Stennis and James O. Eastland who have opposed all civil rights, labor and antipoverty legislation.

"We view this as a symbolic instance, not simply of yielding to political pressures, but of yielding to pressures which are direct and irreconcilable opposition to the goals of the program and the intended beneficiaries of the program.

"We cannot account for this decision on the basis of charges which are so insubstantial, so trival, so unsupported in fact, so exaggerated and inflated and not supported by objective inquiry."

CONFEREES SPLIT ON POVERTY BILL

OEO

Clark Fears Measure May Die as Talks Deadlock on Community Action Plan

10/13/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12—Senator Joseph S. Clark reported today after a fruitless Senate-House conference that "there may not be an antipoverty bill." The Senator, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, is chairman of the conference.

The Senate and the House have passed bills authorizing $1.75-billion for another year. But the bills differ in many respects. Conferees from both chambers agreed yesterday on how to distribute that sum among the many antipoverty channels, but the negotiations deadlocked today on other conflicts in the two bills.

Some sources thought Senator Clark was merely expressing a frustration of the moment. Nevertheless, the differences are real, and they reflect some of the political undertones of the antipoverty program.

In general, the House con-

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

Conferees Divide on Antipoverty Bill

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

ferees seem to regard free-wheeling community action programs as political nuisances, if not threats. They propose to channel most of the community action money into specific programs, thereby limiting the discretion of Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Some of these controls — like limiting the number of top-graded employes—would add to the difficulties of Mr. Shriver's talent search.

Another Huse provision that is causing trouble would require not just permit — the director of the Economic Opportunity office to channel 20 per cent of the community action money into independent agencies. This

Associated Press

Senator Joseph S. Clark

is regarded on the Senate side as an attempt to weaken the community action agencies.

Another provision is sponsored personally by Representative Adam ClaytonPowell,Manhattan Democrat who is chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. It would not permit the payment of more than $12,500 a year in Federal Funds to a official of a community action agency.

Raises Are Limited

A related provision would not permit a community action agency to pay a salary that gave an official more than a 20 per cent raise over his last previous salary.

The proposed restriction on top talent in the economic opportunity office itself — as distinguished from the local community-run programs — would limit the number of officials getting salaries in the $20,000-to-$25,000 range to 1 per cent of the total number of employes. The effect of this, according to the economic opportunity office, would be the forced resignation of 24 super-grade employes.

Still another restriction would reduce the funds for research and demonstration projects — the innovative feature of community action — by two-thirds.

The House also took a lot of Mr. Shriver's freedom of movement away by earmarking the sums to be spent on specified programs, such as narcotics rehabilitation, family loans, legal services and certain kinds of subprofessional employment.

Some Steam Lost

The Senate is inclined to give the agency more discretion, but its argument against earmarking for specific programs lost some of its steam when Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts managed to insert specific sums for two specific programs, health centers and employment generating projects in crowded, substandard areas.

There is also a dispute over how to take antipoverty employes out of politics. It looked today as though the Senate version would prevail. This would make employes of community action agencies subject to the Hatch Act, which forbids partisan political activity.

The House version is broader. It might prohibit, for example, a Head Start teacher who was getting an insignificant, part-time wage from taking any partisan role.

Senator Clark called a meeting for 9 A.M. tomorrow to try again. He is being crowded by the adjournment goal of Oct. 22 and by other measures, such as the education bills, that are making demands on the time of some of the poverty bill conferees.

The conferees also found themselves harassed by a fresh rumor that the appropriations committees might not allow the full $1.75-billion even if the authorization bill finally passed. An authorization is never a guarantee that the cash will be forthcoming.

OEO

Poverty Bill Wins Conferee Approval

AC 10/14/66

WASHINGTON (AP)—Senate-House conferees agreed late Thursday on a compromise $1.75 billion bill to finance the antipoverty program for a third year.

The final form of the bill would allocate all of the money to specific war on poverty programs in a far more rigid manner than President Lyndon B. Johnson proposed.

This was a victory for the House delegation led by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y.

IN TROUBLE?

But, Powell told reporters he felt the bill might be "in serious trouble in the House" when it is brought up next week. The Senate is expected to act first, probably on Monday.

Rep. William H. Ayers, R-Ohio, said none of the three House Republican conferees signed the report because it would drop a House provision to limit to 29 the number of Super-grade positions in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the anti-poverty agency.

This would allow present law authorizing 53 such positions to prevail.

NOT ALL FILLED

Powell said this is the principal reason he expected it to be difficult to get the compromise bill through the House.

Not all of these jobs, paying from $20,075 to $25,800, have been filled.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., head of the Senate delegation, said the final product "is the best we could work out and should be acceptable to the administration. At least it will keep the program going in the years ahead."

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., said he also regarded the bill as "a fair compromise."

Javits pointed out that the administration will have some flexibility because it can transfer funds between titles in the bill up to a limit of 10 per cent.

O.E.O. 11/13/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUN[illegible] 13, 1966.

DRIVE ON POVERTY FACES CUTBACKS

Election Results in House Presage Bleak Future

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12—A bleak future for the antipoverty program, at least in its present form, was written large in Tuesday's election.

In short, 45 House members who voted for the antipoverty bill will not return. All but a few are Democrats who are being raplaced by Republicans. If it is assumed that the replacements will oppose the present antipoverty program, as the party leaders did in the recent session of Congress, a bill renewing that program could not survive in the House.

A vote in the House on Sept. 29 tested the program's standing. The motion called for striking the enacting clause—killing the bill. The motion failed, 208 to 156. If 45 of the 208 switched to the other side, the bill would be killed, 201 to 163.

Not all the Great Society programs need legislation every year to continue functioning, although nearly all need annual appropriations. The Office of Economic Opportunity needs both legislation and appropriations to function.

Powell Action Noted

The amendments of 1966 authorize some of the components of the antipoverty program to run as long as four years. However, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Manhattan Democrat, who is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, saw to it that no funds were authorized to be appropriated beyond the present fiscal year.

The antipoverty office, therefore, will have to get authority from that committee and from the House before it can go to the Appropriations Committee, which can vote only such funds as have been authorized by law.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader, specifically mentioned the antipoverty program as one that will get "a good hard look" in the new Congress. Another remark, in the same interview, was:

"I should judge the scalpel will be wielded rather freely."

Even Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader, said, "It should be the time to stop, look and listen."

The Administration this year held the antipoverty budget far below the plans that were laid when the drive was tooling up. It was far below the office's request. The claims of the war in Vietnam were blamed.

Congress Cut Budget

Tight as the antipoverty budget was, in the opinion of officials, Congress cut it even deeper, from $1.75-billion to $1.61-billion.

Congress, short of abolishing the program outright, may cut back the community action phase, or tighten its control still more and transfer some of the other operations to Cabinet-level agencies, unless the Administration does that first.

The recent Congress limited the antipoverty office's discretion in using community action funds, diverting more than two-thirds of them to specific employment projects and to Head Start, the project for preschool children.

Head Start has been reported headed for the Health, Education and Welfare Department. The Administration, however, has a special panel working on a possible new child development program and it is far from ready to make recommendations.

The Republicans tried to transfer the Job Corps, an urban and conservation center training project, to the Labor Department. The move failed, but party leaders are expected to try again, unless they decide on outright abolition.

O.E.O.

$20,000 DONATED TO POVERTY UNIT

Field Foundation Sends Help to Mississippi Project

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—Mississippi's original and embattled Head Start program is getting some private nourishment while it presses the fight for refunding by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There is evidence that the organization, known as C.D.G.M. for Child Development Group of Mississippi, is making headway. The Field Foundation, Inc., said it had given the group $20,000 "with a promise of substantially more."

Leslie Dunbar, at the foundation offices in New York City, would not mention any other figure, saying only that "it is an open end thing."

"We are prepared to keep a skeleton operation alive," he said, adding that the project needed at least $11-million a year to function at full strength and that the foundation could not supply such an amount.

The antipoverty office cut off funds for the project two months ago, setting off a nationwide protest by private antipoverty organizations, church and civil rights groups and prominent individuals. The Federal agency charged financial and programatic mismanagement, including a failure to bring poor white children into the project.

Vice President Humphrey, at the request of Protestant church representatives, said this week he would try to mediate the dispute. A member of Mr. Humphrey's staff, after checking into the status of the dispute, said the Vice President's offer still stood but that he had advised the Mississippi group's spokesman to proceed with a scheduled meeting with antipoverty officials on Wednesday.

"I think they are reliably close on the remaining problems," Mr. Humphrey's spokesman said. "My judgment is that the most constructive thing for them is to go ahead with that meeting, but if they have strong feelings that that is not good procedure, to let us know. The Vice President's office is ready to be as helpful as we can."

Much of the uproar against the termination of funds for the project was generated by a belief that Sargent Shriver had bowed to pressure by Mississippi Democratic leaders who charged that the project had been closely allied with civil rights extremists.

That such pressure existed is nowhere denied. However, antipoverty sources said that the director had acted on the unanimous advice of his senior staff when he insisted on a recommendation of some kind from that group. The staff at first wanted to delay a decision, it was reported.

Staff Demoralized

His decision, on the other hand, caused dismay and demoralization among many in the lower echelons of the antipoverty agency.

Mr. Shriver's office has insisted that the fund cutoff was never intended to be final, provided the preschool project would make changes in its operation and personnel. The agency listed nine conditions the project must meet. The group filed its answers to these conditions and the office said they were not adequate.

One of the conditions was the replacement of the executive director, John Mudd. Project directors so far have refused to accept that condition, insisting that Mr. Mudd is fully qualified.

Some leading champions of the project who were most vehement in attacking Mr. Shriver in advertisements and public statements say now, privately, they are wondering whether their fire should have been directed, instead, at President Johnson.

These second thoughts are provoked by the predicament in which Mr. Shriver and his agency find themselves. The White House apparently gave the antipoverty bill a low priority in its lobbying this year, with the result that passage was delayed, its appropriation request was cut and restrictions were written into its community action budget.

Mr. Shriver is taking the heat from community action agencies all over the country, although there is little he can do to restore the fund cut he recently ordered.

At the same time, reports of the impending dismemberment of the antipoverty office have demoralized his staff. In the absence of reassurance from the White House, Mr. Shriver is speculating aloud about a future for himself elsewhere.

Two Louisville Families Practice Togetherness

KITCHENER, Ont. (Canadian Press)—Kitchener's German ethnic community has discovered there is a lot in a name, a local newspaper survey shows.

Some examples:

Bader: originally a barber who doubled as a quack doctor. Affeldt: an out-of-the-way field, or a man who came from such a place. Appell: German word apfel, meaning apple.

Also, Danke: daenker, or thinker. Dick: a man who lived near a dike. Eisenbrenner: eisenbrenner, or ironburner. Ganz: a nickname "goose or maybe a man who kept geese. Kreutzer: of religious significance; a man who carried or was associated with the sign of the cross.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

a news summary of the

war on poverty

Agency O.E.O.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY - DEC. 12, 1966

BAYARD RUSTIN, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, reaffirmed the great need for the Office of Economic Opportunity at an informal session attended by about 120 staffers at OEO headquarters last week.

"This is not the time for criticism," he said,"cutting down these innovative OEO programs would only aggravate the conditions leading to frustration, dissent, and violence: a lack of adequate jobs, of decent housing and schooling." He urged all supporters of the War on Poverty to help save the program by making new alliances based not upon sentiment, but upon mutual interest, in order to continue the new social programs.

Rustin urged OEO's support of the Institute-sponsored "Freedom Budget," a $100-plus billion plan which he says will cure the social and economic ills of the poor in ten years. It is backed by organized labor, civil rights organizations and church groups. The budget calls for a total mobilization of the nation's resources, with a timetable for the accomplishment of its objectives. Provisions include a guaranteed annual income, with "gradual elimination of the whole patchwork of public assistance programs which are now highly inefficient and costly," a $2 minimum wage, public works "far beyond what President Franklin Roosevelt was able to see," and full employment.

Rustin doesn't expect all of the ideas to be adopted, but he does expect it to be the start of a dialogue on the problem.

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VOL. I-39

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presented nine Job Corpsmen and women with sets of books on our country's heritage on Friday, December 9. The ceremonies initiated a continuing program whereby graduating Corpsmen and women will receive the books which include "We, the People," a book about Congress; "The Presidents of the United States of America," and "Equal Justice Under the Law." The books are provided by the Fund for Job Corps Graduates, a private, non-governmental group.

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IN A DECEMBER 6 SPEECH to the California Association of School Administrators, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II called for a massive new effort on the part of the nation's school systems, to extend the benefits of Project Head Start to the elementary grades. Commissioner Howe said that such a program would require doubling the present per pupil costs, a ratio of one teacher for every 15 children, the introduction of special aides for each teacher, new health services, and the involvement of whole families in the educational process.

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MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS FROM ACROSS THE NATION voted this week at the conference of the National League of Cities in Las Vegas to request more Federal anti-poverty money. The two-thirds majority vote represents a reversal of the League's former position. The newly adopted resolution asks for "new non-earmarked authorizations and appropriations for fiscal 1968....to permit further orderly expansion of (OEO) programs." One strong supporter of the resolution, San Francisco Mayor John F. Shelley, recalling his city's recent riots, commented, "to throw out these programs would lead to more blood-letting. We are spending billions, but we are taking care of our country, where seeds of unrest can lead to seeds of revolutions." Milwaukee Mayor Henry W. Maier said: "The time has passed for debate on whether or not we should have a poverty program. Local governments are already committed to carry out the programs." The League's president, Detroit's Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh said: "I believe strongly, that the National League of cities must make known to the Congress and the President--and make it known in not uncertain terms--that the work of the poverty program must be continued, that it must be properly funded. And that the Office of Economic

Opportunity must be kept as an operating agency."

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IN A REVERSAL OF an earlier position, the Tennessee State Bar Association recently adopted a resolution pledging support and assistance to the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The resolution said in part: "The Tennessee Bar Association and all other State Bar Associations should play a more active role in the development of the program of providing legal services to the poor." To date, three Legal Services Programs have been funded in Tennessee. The delegate agencies and amounts are: Oak Ridge Associated Universities - $23,646; Legal Aid Society of Chattanooga-$9,810; Legal Aid Clinic, Knoxville Legal Aid Society-$78,412.

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A SENATE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS sub-committee studying the problems of the cities, resumed its hearings last week under the chairmanship of Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut. Among those testifying was General Electric Board chairman, Gerald L. Phillippe who said the best talents of government and industry should unite in a "national commitment" to rehabilitate the slums of America. The hearings are expected to end late this week.

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WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA was awarded a $16,229 supplemental training grant to continue to finance a special training program for more than 300 union officials who will work in anti-poverty programs in ten Appalachian states. The participants, recruited by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council, will work in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

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RECENT ARTICLES OF INTEREST:

Saturday Review, Dec. 10, 1966, "Poverty: Public Enemy Number One," p. 48.

The Progressive, Dec. 1966,"Freedom and Jobs," p. 5; and "Fair Housing Convert," p. 8.

National Review, Dec. 14, 1966, "Watts and the Welfare Riots," p. 1146; and "What Hope of Good Urban Planning," p. 1160.

*THE WEEKLY SUMMARY OF POVERTY PROGRAMS:
COMMUNITY ACTION - Total during Fiscal 1967 $165,612,278 in federal funds for 891 grants. Project Upward Bound has awarded grants to 224 schools to serve 20,429 students at a federal cost of $26,469,594. The Foster Grandparents program now includes 37 projects financed by $5,750,829 in federal funds. Under Project Head Start 241,884 children have been enrolled in the year-round and follow-through programs, financed by $141,181,977 in federal funds. For the summer '66 program 573,000 children were enrolled at a cost of $97,000,000. There are now 170 Legal Services programs at a federal cost of $29,725,363. The Migrant projects are financed by $34,535,711 in federal funds. There are 85 Indian programs at a federal cost of $12,620,100.
JOB CORPS - 28,571 youths are enrolled in 113 centers including 88 conservation centers, eleven urban centers for men, twelve for women and two special centers. The program, including capital outlays and other costs, is financed by $303,400,861 in obligated federal funds in Fiscal 1966 - $44,282,962 in Fiscal 1967.
VISTA - There are now 3,160 Volunteers In Service To America, including 315 in training, at a federal cost of $15,817,000 in Fiscal 1966 and $5,401,179 in Fiscal 1967.
NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (Dept. of Labor) - In FY '67 835 projects have been approved for 234,039 at a federal cost of $190,796,623.
WORK EXPERIENCE (H.E.W.) - In Fiscal 1967, 16 projects have been approved for 3,365 participants at a federal cost of $5,104,677. Approved are 40 renewals of the Fiscal 1966 projects for 14,175 participants at a federal cost of $16,446,527. Approved under amendments are projects for 1,485 participants at a federal cost of $2,390,537.
LOANS - Rural Loans (Dept. of Agric.) - Total $7,837,975 for Fiscal 1967.

*Statistics as of December 2, 1966.

OEO, Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. 20506
Telephone: 296-2980

O.E.O.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1966.

MISSISSIPPI UNIT GETS POVERTY AID

Grant Made and Head Stays After 2-Month Fight

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17 — The Child Development Group of Mississippi has won its long struggle for a new Head Start grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The project, which is backed by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, will get $8-million for 12 months, $5-million of which will come out of the antipoverty program's appropriation for the current fiscal year.

The Mississippi group had asked for more than $20-million for this, its third grant. However, with the reduced funds it will operate in fewer counties.

Despite the lower amount, the group appeared to have won most of the emotionally loaded arguments in its two months of negotiations with the Office of Economic Opportunity. John H. Mudd, the project's controversial executive director, will remain in that post for the present under the terms of the new grant.

Two of the agency's conditions were the removal of Mr. Mudd and the Rev. James McCree, chairman of the group's board of directors. The dispute over Mr. McCree was settled with a requirement that he run for election by an enlarged board of directors within 30 days.

The Office of Economic Opportunity had held out on its demand for the replacement of Mr. Mudd. Even when the agreement was completed and announced, the agency said that Mr. Mudd's work would be subject to re-evaluation after 90 days and that a final decision would then be made on his retention.

However, Mr. Mudd said today that there was no such condition, written or oral. A provision for a 60-day trial period was embodied in the agency's offer of a grant as late as yesterday afternoon, but that was deleted in favor of a provision that Richard Davies, a management consultant, in Washington, would participate in management decisions by the Mississippi project. Mr. Mudd said he was delighted to have that help.

The grant provides for a year-round project for 5,900 to 6,100 preschool children and their parents, directed toward physical health and social and educational orientation.

The Mississippi group had asked for more than $20-million. However, its geographical scope has been reduced from 28 counties to 17 because, in recent months, new community action agencies have been set up in the other counties. They will handle Head Start projects there.

The Office of Economic Opportunity last Oct. 2 suspended funds for the Mississippi project, charging management and program inadequacies. That decision gave rise to protests by organizations that accused the antipoverty agency of giving in to pressure from Mississippi political leaders. These leaders had charged that the Head Start project was tied to militance in the civil rights movement.

The new grant provides that the project's board of directors will confine its operations to the program stipulated in the grant and not undertake activities "not in accordance with the approved program."

The project served few white children but the sponsors said that white people were to blame. Under the reorganization, the board of directors will have 19 members instead of 17 and six will be white.

Mr. Mudd, who is 27 years old, is white and comes from a Haverford, Pa., family that has contributed money to the children of Mississippi. Mr. Mudd expects that his work in Mississippi will become the basis for a doctoral thesis in government and economics at Harvard.

December 23, 1966

Mr. John Dow, Principal
Fannie L. Mullins Elementary School
South Hamilton Street
Brookhaven, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Dow:

Thank you for your letter of December 14 and the outlines of your reading programs. They look very good, but in about a month's time, the news about our paperback book project spread so rapidly and the orders began to come in so quickly that we have spent nearly all of the funds available at this time. I regret that for the moment I am having to suspend all further requests.

This paperback book project has been an experimental one, and we have the hope of being able to enlarge it in 1967. I am keeping your request in a special file and want you to know that your interest in our project will assist us in showing the demand for such books when we ask to renew our grant.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

JOHN DOW
PRINCIPAL

PHONE
833-7479

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

Fannie L. Mullins Elementary School

South Hamilton Street

BROOKHAVEN, MISSISSIPPI

December 14, 1966

Miss L. Cole
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Cole:

We would like very much to participate in the Paperback Book Project. This is true, because a large number of children and adults of our community and school are from homes of low socio-economics levels. Consequently, these children and adults have very little or no access at all to books in the home.

We are interested in using these books to initiate a program whereby these books can be read and enjoyed at school or checked out and carried home to be read.

Since we have such a large number of children and adults on this level, we would like very much to have the books in all of the catagories listed; and if at all possible, several copies of each book.

Thank you very kindly.

Very truly yours,

John

Mr. John Dow, Principal

READING PROGRAM USING PAPERBACK BOOKS

Age or Grade Level 5th. and 6th. Grades

Number of Students Approximately 400 students

Purpose of Program 1. To steer children to materials that they are ready to read on their own.

2. To develop independent reading for every child.

3. To contribute something to each child as an individual- Something that meets his personal and social needs.

4. To create lifelong reading interests.

5. To serve as a reference in all areas of the curriculum.

Nature of Program The program will consist of fifth and sixth grade children. It will serve as a supplement to the basic reading program, a resource to the content areas as well as serve to promote independent recreational reading.

Organization for Program:

Schedule The teacher will make the necessary arrangements for checking out books with the librarian as the need arises.

Personnel in Charge There is one librarian and two assistants.

Administrative Arrangements The library is opened the entire school day for the selection of books.

READING PROGRAM USING PAPERBACK BOOKS

Age or Grade Level Adults

Number of Students

Purpose of Program 1. To extend and supplement a very worthwhile adult education program that is being carried on in our community.

2. To improve the quality of reading in the homes.

3. To encourage the building of personal libraries.

4. To encourage broader reading interests.

5. To provide a ready reference to meet personal and social needs of adults.

Nature of Program At the beginning of this program all parents will be invited to a developmental reading lesson and program in the library. After the program, conferences will be held with the parents explaining the program. They will be permitted to brouse through and examine the collection of books that will be used. They will also be shown how they can help with carring out the reading program.

Organization for Program:

Schedule Parents may come to the library bi-weekly to read or check out books.

Personnel in Charge There is one full time librarian and two assistants.

Administrative Arrangements The library will remain open two evenings per week for one hour. At six-weeks intervals, small prizes will be given to the person who has read the largest number of books.

January 5, 1967

Miss Joan Newhall
112 Highland Avenue
Fairfield, Illinois 62837

Dear Miss Newhall,

Thank you for your recent letter requesting information about our Paperback Book Project. I wish I could give a more pleasant reply, but unfortuneately all the funds for this aspect of our program have been utilized. I will promise you that if we find additional funds, you will be notified.

Thank you

Wm. F. Roberts

Jan. 2nd '67

Dear Miss Cole,

I read with interest your letter to the editor in the Feb. 1967 issue of Rural Opportunities.

I am serving as a VISTA volunteer in Southern Illinois & would be very grateful for any further information you could give me on your Book Project.

Thank you kindly,

Sincerely,

Joan Newhall
112 Highland Ave.
Fairfield, ILL
62837

Dear Louise, I've recently been to Aiken where they are in high gear rearing to go with the Paper Back Book Project. I couldn't tell them the status of your proposal for it's continuation. Please brief me and them.

There are many other groups which would do a good and needed job, but I'll hold my horses and won't inform or alert them until I hear from you.

Sincerely, Alia Spearman

February 20, 1967

Mrs. Robert Ashley
Aiken Council on Human Relations
422 Richland Avenue, East
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ashley:

As we discussed by telephone, the Southern Regional Council has used up all the funds granted for its paperback book project. Last November and December we received so many orders that by mid-December, we had to suspend any further requests coming into the office. We hope to get another grant so that we will be able to give the requests we are saving immediate attention.

Your proposal sounds excellent, and let me say again how much we regret not being able to process your order right away. I will contact you as soon as possible if we do get another grant.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

Robert Louise

Mrs. Ashley

Aiken Co. ~~Houston~~

422 - Rushland Ave.

Aiken 29801 E.

~~405~~

Marion Tomanek

~~511 512~~

713

October 25, 1966

Mr. D. G. Karraker
President
Aiken County Council on Human Relations
1600 Sherwood Place
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Karraker:

Thank you for your interest in our paperback book project. Our "guidelines" are as follows: we have undertaken this project to encourage novel ways of getting books to people who, for a number of reasons, have very little access to reading material. We are especially interested in a program planned with the idea that, should the effort prove successful, the local group will want to expand it or spread the idea to other agencies. Since our project is experimantal, we are asking each group to send later a brief follow-up report so that we can learn about the response to the books.

Enclosed is the bibliography we have developed for applicants to use in making their selections. The total number of books you select depends simply on how many you judge will profitably be used. If this list looks good to you, we would be happy to learn how your program for such books will operate and the kinds of people you hope to serve.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

Enc.

AIKEN COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1600 Sherwood Place
Aiken, South Carolina
October 18, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the guidline for requesting books for the Paperback Book Project. Our Council is interested in this project.

Very truly yours
D. G. Karraker, Pres.

DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, INC.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS • 1814 M STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • 338-7727

LYNNETTE TAYLOR
Executive Director

PATRICIA RICE PRESS
Associate Director

April 21, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Cole:

Mrs. Aurelia Young has told us of her receipt of a large number of paperback books from you for the people of Freedom Acres and Strike City. On behalf of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., I thank you.

I was pleased to see so many of the classics (children and adult) as well as self-help books on the list. Many children and adults in these two communities will grow "leaps and bounds" by reading from the wide collection of books sent by your organization.

Thank you again for your help and cooperation in this project.

Sincerely,

Patricia R. Press

Patricia Rice Press
Associate Director

cc: Woods
Taylor
Lewis
Dean
Young

GRAND CHAPTER

GERALDINE P. WOODS, *National President* • FRANKIE M. FREEMAN, *First National Vice President* • NANETTE SMITH, *Second National Vice President* • MARIE FONSWORTH, *National Secretary* • THELMA T. DALEY, *National Treasurer* • SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER, *Legal Advisor* • LORENE McCONNELL, *Director-Central Region* • CONSTANCE CLAYTON, *Director-Eastern Region* • EDYTHE TWEEDY, *Director-South Atlantic Region* • MONA H. BAILEY, *Director-Farwest Region* • NONA ROSS, *Director-Midwest Region* • FANNYE HARRIS, *Director-Southern Region* • ANNE CAMPBELL, *Director-Southwest Region* • PHOEBE C. LESESNE, *Chairman-Finance Committee* • KATIE WRIGHT, *Chairman-Nominating Committee* • ROBERTA PICKETT, *Chairman-Publications and Public Relations Committee* • HILDA A. DAVIS, *Chairman-Projects Committee* • DOROTHY P. HARRISON, *Chairman-Housing and National Properties Committee* • DOROTHY I. HEIGHT, *Co-Chairman-Golden Anniversary Committee* • GWENDOLYN H. HIGGINBOTHAM, *Co-Chairman-Golden Anniversary Committee* • CHARLOTTE LEWIS, *Co-Chairman-Social Action Commission* • AURELIA YOUNG, *Co-Chairman-Social Action Commission* • JEANNE L. NOBLE, *Immediate Past President*

April 21, 1967

Mr. Kenneth L. Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Dean:

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., wishes to thank you for your interest in the people of Freedom Acres and Strike City. Mrs. Aurelia Young told us of your assistance in getting a large number of paperback books for the residents there.

We sincerely appreciate your help, and hope that we will again have the occasion to cooperate with you.

Sincerely,

Patricia Rice Press
Associate Director

cc: Woods
Taylor
Lewis
Young
Cole

PRP:lrm

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY | AT RALEIGH
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND LIFE SCIENCES

Address reply to:
County Extension Office
Post Office Box 760
Whiteville, North Carolina
May 10, 1967

Send a copy of this to Mr. Bill Roberts at SRC along with a copy of my letter.

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
N. C. Council on Human Relations
233½ N. Green Street, Room 4
Greensboro, N.C. 27401

Dear Mr. Allred:

I have just received a notice from Miss Frances Jordan, family relations specialist, that free paper back books are available from the Southern Regional Council.

We have a family life council that I feel sure will be interested in participating in this project. We will be meeting on May 17 and plan to discuss it at that time. In the meantime, will you please send me the details of what we will have to do and how long we have to write a proposal.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Elaine N. Blake

(Mrs.) Elaine N. Blake
Home Economics Extension Agent

ENB:jj

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS, NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH, 100 COUNTIES AND U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COOPERATING

Carie
make a copy and
send it to Mr. Bell
Roberta at the Southern
Regional Council w/a copy
of this letter

1001 Angier Ave.
Durham, North Carolina
May 31, 1967

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.
N.C. Council on Human Relations
233½ N. Greene St.
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Allred:

I am the Director of a Remedial Education School for the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees. Our students are working in various agencies in Durham under the supervision of Operation Breakthrough. These students have all dropped out of school at least six months ago, and none has completed work beyond grade 10. They are now working three nights a week in preparation for the high school equivalency test.

Many of the students have expressed a desire for library books which they could read for pleasure. I have contributed several of my own books to a make-shift library, and these books have been used often. Now I havelearned that there may be books available through the Paperback Book Distribution Project. Could you send me further information on this subject?

My husband and I are also resident advisors for the Living and Learning Project, a project sponsored by the Duke University Religious Council. We live in a poverty neighborhood and supervise a group of Duke students, summer and winter, as they work in the Edgemont neighborhood. These students would like to begin a small collection of primary-level reading materials for the children who often come to the house for tutoring or pleasure.

If your agency could meet either of these needs, I would certainly be pleased. Any information will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mrs. S. M. Stone

Mrs. S.M. Stone

~~LPA~~
JW

GLYNN COUNTY COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER
2610 COCHRAN AVENUE
BRUNSWICK, GEORGIA 31520

Director
Mrs. Josephine Wilkes

Telephone
912 265-2783

June 6, 1967

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole,

I want to thank you for all the books you have sent this year to be used in the study program of the Glynn County Community Service Center. They have been a great asset to our program.

I have been pleased with the enthusiasm the children have shown toward the books. The circulation has been much greater than was anticipated. In our program the simple books have received the most circulation. In fact many more of these books could have been used to the extent I would like to have seen. Most of our students do not read well so these books are too difficult for them.

The fact that books have been available to these children and that they have used and enjoyed them, is a credit to your program. We are grateful our Center was a recipient of the books.

Sincerely yours,

Carlene Gilmer
sh

Carlene Gilmer
Study Supervisor

CG:sh

Answered 6/7/67
ES

July 10, 1967

Mr. Fred Illick
Grace Lutheran Church
1315 East Washington Street
Greensboro, N.C. 27401

Dear Mr. Illick;

Thank you for your interest in our Paper Back Book Project. I can sincerely say that your project is worthy of consideration; however, we have already utilized all of our funds. The response to this project was so great, however, that it is possible that additional funds may be sought. If these funds become available your request will be one of the first considered.

Thank you

Wm. F. Roberts

CHILDREN'S BOOKS--LEISURE

Abe Lincoln Gets His Chance
The Adventures of Pinocchio
Aesop's Fables (Dell)
Ah Fu: A Chinese River Boy
Alice Gets a New Look
The Anytime Rings
Bambi
Barney Beagle
Black Beauty
By Myself (I-III)
Case of the Aluminum Crutch
The Cat Book
Child's Garden of Verses
Child's Story of Ancient Days
Colors Are Nice
Coming of Flame
Day with Debbie*
The Dog Book
Donald Duck Book
The Duck on the Truck
The Elephant Book
Every Child's First English Color and Learn Book
The Fir Tree
Fish Book
Flame, Son of Silver Cloud
Four Seasons with Suzy*
Fun with David*
Fun with Dots
The Gilead Bomb
Golden Shape Books
Happy Children
The House that Jack Built
Humpty Dumpty Book
Hurry Up, Slowpoke
I Made a Line
In the Big City*
Jack and the Beanstalk
King Who Learned to Smile
Laugh with Larry*
Little Gray Mouse and the Train
New Girl at Merrywhether
Night Before Christmas
Our Animal Story Books
The Owl and the Pussycat
Penny Takes the Stage
People Read (Macmillan--Bank Street Readers)
Peter Pan
Popeye
Question and Answer Book
Read-Aloud Funny Stories
Robin West: Freshman Nurse
Robin West: Nurse's Aide
Samax, the Gladiator
Secret of the Dark Stranger
The Selfish Giant
Sturdi Contour Books
Sunny Days in the City*
Sunshine Book
Surprise in the Tree
Tip Top Elf Rand McNalley Golden Future Coloring Books
Three Bears and Goldilocks
The Tracy Twins in Japan
12 Days of Christmas
Wizard of Oz
Wonderbooks
The Wouldbegoods (Penguin-Puffin)
Wynken, Blynken & Nod

*1st grade readers with integrated pictures

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

Art of Being a Successful Student
Basic Algebra Self Taught
Basic Biology Self Taught
Basic Chemistry Self Taught
Basic Facts of Human Heredity
The Body in Action
Books That Changed the World
Butterflies and Moths
College Scholarships and Loans: Who Gets Them--How and Why
Complete Handbook of Better English
Computers: the Machines We Think With (Dell)
Darwin and the Modern World View
Double Your Reading Speed
Economics in One Lesson
Electronics for Everyone
Engineering
English for Everyone
English Through Pictures, Books 1 and 2
Everglades National Park
Everyday Arithmetic Self Taught
Exploration of Space
First Workbook of English
Flowers
Fossils
✓Fun with Words, Grade 1, 2, and 3
Fun with Words and Pictures
Getting Ready to Read
Grade One Practice Workbook Reading
Grammar Self-Taught
Great Inventions
✓Growing Plants
Help Your Child Succeed in School
Heredity, Race, and Society
✓How and Why Wonder Book of Beginning Science
✓How and Why Wonder Book of Our Earth
How Much Is a College Degree Worth to You
How the Great Religions Began
How to Become a Better Reader
How to Get Higher Marks in School
How to Prepare for College
How to Study
How to Study Better and Get Higher Marks
The Human Body
The Human Mind (Curtis Co.)
Ideas of the Great Economists
Little Book of Stars
Machines that Built America
Mammals
Man in Flight
✓Math, Grade 1, 2, 3, 4
Mathematics in Everyday Things
Mathematics Tables and How to Use Them
New American Guide to Colleges
New American Webster Handy College Dictionary
New Hammond World Atlas
The New Mathematics Dictionary and Handbook
New Ways to Greater Word Power
✓Number Fun
Pacific Northwest
Parent's Guide to Children's Reading
Penguin Dictionaries (Art, Music, Politics, etc.)
Penguin Encyclopedia
People and Places
Pictorial History of Western Art
Picture History of Painting
Rapid Vocabulary Builder
✓Reptiles and Amphibians
Sailing
✓Satellites, Rockets, and Outer Space
Science Projects Handbook
✓The Sea Around Us
Sea Shells

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

✓Seashores
Shortcuts to Effective English
Silent World
Southwest
Stop, Look, and Write
The Strange Story of Our Earth
30 Days to a More Powerful Vocabulary
3-In-1 Workbook, Grade 1 and 2
✓Trees
20 Steps to Perfect Spelling
✓Walt Disney Story of Our Friend the Atom
✓Weather
Words Most Often Misspelled and Mispronounced
✓You and Your Senses
✓Zoology

2008 Chelsea Lane
Greensboro, N.C.
27406

Dear Miss Cole,

In cleaning our desk, I found this list of books which I failed to send. If this program is still offered, we would be most grateful to make use of these books in our summer program (at the beginning of August). Later when the school term begins, they will serve the Day School, which was the original intention for sending for them. Is there any charge involved?

Thank you and please forgive my neglect in sending this.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Fred Illick

P.S. Send to:
Grace Lutheran Church
1315 East Washington St.
Greensboro, N.C. 27401

REV. & MRS.
FRED S. ILLICK
2008 Chelsea Lane
Greensboro, N.C. 27406

Sout

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A

Attention: Miss Louise Cole

July 10, 1967

Miss Martha Jones
Box 2143
Greenville, North Carolina

Dear Miss Jones;

This is to inform you that the Southern Regional Council has utilized all the funds available for our Paper Back Project. We regret this very much since we are familiar with Youth Educational Services and know that the books are needed. May I suggest that you contact Mr. Shawn Boles, the Director of Books For Equal Education. It is possible that he may be able to assist you obtain some books.(Address Below)

It is possible that additional funds may become available for our project, if this occurs we will inform you and give your request priority consideration.

Thank Your

Wm. F. Roberts

cc
Mr. Shawn Boles
Books For Equal Education
406 Marrietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES, INC.
P. O. BOX 1168 • 107½ E. PARRISH STREET • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA • AC 919 688-1085

Box 2143
Greenville, North Carolina
June 19, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole:

This is to inquire about the availability of paperback books through your office. The Greenville staff of the Youth Educational Services summer program is interested in setting up a library for junior high and high school students, and adults in the Kerney Park housing project where we are working.

If your project is not presently funded, do you know of any other source for such materials? Thank you.

Sincerely,

Martha F. James

Martha F. James (Miss)
Project Director, Greenville
Summer Program

July 10, 1967

Mr. J. G. Speth, Executive Director
Orangeburg Area Committee For Economic Progress
Way's Office Building
St. John Street
Orangeburg, S.C. 29115

Dear Mr. Speth;

Thank you for your interest in our Paper Back Book Project. We wish there were some way in which we could assist you; however, we have already utilized all our funds. The response to this project has been great and it is possible that additional funds may be made available; if this occurs, we will inform you and give your request priority consideration.

Thank you

Wm. F. Roberts

AREA CODE 803
PHONE 536-1027

P. O. BOX 189

Orangeburg Area Committee For Economic Progress

WAY'S OFFICE BUILDING

ST. JOHN STREET

ORANGEBURG, S. C. 29115

June 14, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Cole:

I saw an article in the publication "Rural Opportunities" that your organization has available free paperback book libraries for various projects or organizations. We are in the process of establishing eight Neighborhood Centers as part of our Community Action Program. We would like very much to take advantage of your offer and include a library in each center.

Very truly yours,

J. G. Speth
Executive Director
Orangeburg Area Committee for
Economic Progress

Books

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

VISA-US Program
2038 Randolph Road
Charlotte, N. C. 28207
August 7, 1967

Will Allred
N. C. Council on Human Relations
233½ N. Greene St., Room 4
Greensboro, N. C. 27401

Dear Will Allred:

At last I have some time to send you this report on our use of the books we acquired from the Southern Regional Council. The three enclosed reports tell how the books are being used in Sumter, S. C., Johns Island, S. C., and Clairfield, Tenn.. There are two other volunteers in our program who used books but did not write reports:

Lucy Massie, Goldsboro, N. C. -- had mainly books for small children, which she used in the Bootstrap preschool class she taught this past year. The books are being kept in the Bootstrap building on Bright Street. A complete card catalog of the books has been made by the mothers of the children in the school, and the books can be checked out by people in the community. They will be used also in the preschool this coming year, which will be taught by a lady from Goldsboro.

Lynne Gilroy, Cayce, S. C. -- also had mainly books for small children, which she used in a cooperative preschool held in the old Cayce city jail, since converted into a daycare center (by means of an OEO grant). The books are kept at the center and will be used there in the daycare program this next year.

Lucy and Lynne ended their two years with us in July, and it's nice to know that the books will continue to be used in the communities where they worked. Bob Gainer, Bob Seeley, and Roger Phenix will be in their communities another year, and I'll ask them to write a further report sometime during the coming year.

After I had distributed the books to the volunteers, two other boxes of books arrived. I'll give them to one or more of our new volunteers who are just now coming to work in our program; and they'll also be able to report during the coming year on the use of the books in their communities.

Many thanks for helping us get these books.

Sincerely,

Bob Welsh

cc: Southern Regional Council

Clairfield, Tennessee
June 4th, 1967

"Book Proposal" Report

I would estimate I have about 250 books—the great majority of them being for children and young people-

As I was a tutor in the local elementary school, I kept a certain amount of the books over at the schoolhouse, where they could be taken out by the students— this was quite successful and stimulated much interest. When school ended a few weeks ago, I collected the books, and moved them to my home.—where, occassionally, youngsters came and look/borrow books.

The community is now involved in a process whereby they will set up a community center program. This will involve renovating an old School building, in which the program will be housed. Hopefully, the building will be worked on this summer, and finished sometime in the fall— and the building will provide a suitable center in the valley where the books could best be shared and utilized by the local inhabitants.—a library.

In the mean time, I don't want the books to remain dormant these next summer months, and I'm thinking of running some kind of traveling-lending library, whereby I would distribute and collect the books throughout the summer.

Bob Gainer

June 1967

BOOK PROPOSAL REPORT

We got about two hundred Southern Regional Council books, for all ages, with an emphasis on teenage; many of the books deal with civil rights or related subjects . The books are being kept at the Progressive Club Center library, and by four individuals on the Haut Gap PTA Grievance Committee. These individuals have been instrumental in seeing that the books get to people who will read them. At present, about 150 of the books are in active circulation. The books are being used by adults and teenagers and younger children. There is a small group of young adults which is particularly interested in civil rights-oriented material, and they are passing these books around between them. High school children have very little in their school library and there is no branch of the public library on Johns Island or Wadmalaw Island--so those who read are happy to be able to get these books. The books are presently being read by people in every area of these two islands, and we could easily make good use of another 200 to 400 books if they were to be made available. Notice that the books are available for general use has been published in the Johns Island and Wadmalaw Island Newsletter, which reaches almost all of the Negro population of the two islands.

Roger Phenix

Johns Island, S.C

June 1967

BOOK REPORT

1. We have about 75 books for teenagers, slightly more for pre-teens. Many of our books have been borrowed and not returned. We started out with many more.

2. The books have been used as follows: Teen books in a library in the upstairs of the house, frequented by neighborhood fellows and the church yough group. A loose lending system has been the order. The pre-teen books were used in tutoring and as part of a pre-teen lending library connected with tutoring. They were quite popular, but currently are badly in need of a librarian to handle them. Tutoring is still possible for next year, when they will be again used for this purpose. They are kept in the downstairs kitchen closet with other tutoring materials. My guess is they should be moved, but we have no other place to put them.

Bob Seeley

Sumter, S.C.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 7, 1967

MEMO

TO: Recepients of paperback books from SRC's paperback book project

FROM: Wm. F. Roberts

SUBJECT: Invoices and acknowledgements

It has come to our attention that our paperback book dealer, the Atlanta News Agency, is enclosing an invoice in the shipment of books to you. We have requested the agency to discontinue this practice; however, if you do receive an invoice with your books, please send it to this office.

Most of the books have been shipped as of July 12, 1967, the remaining projects will receive there books shortly. We would like to request that you inform us when you receive your books.

Again, it should be said, that we are pleased that we were able to help you obtain these books.

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 5/25/ 19 65

50057

Name SRC #3481

We CREDIT your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
1		52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			52	70
LESS DISCOUNT			10	54
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			42	16

CUSTOMER SIGNATURE

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY SIGNATURE AZB

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

50104 Chamblee, Ga., 8-15 1967

Name # 3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
	Postage		49	95
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL				
LESS DISCOUNT	NET Charge		49	95
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →				

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401

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William Pollard, *Treasurer Youth Educational Services*

September 13, 1967

Mrs. Elaine N. Blake
Home Economics Extension Agent
P. O. Box 760
Whiteville, North Carolina 28472

Dear Mrs. Blake:

In the fall and spring of 1966-1967, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations participated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. in the Paperback Book Distribution Project which was designed to put libraries in places where low-income people could use them.

Unfortunately, the funds for providing these books were exhausted some time ago and no provision was made to renew the grant so no more are currently available.

Thank you for your inquiry. Forgive my delay in answering.

Sincerest personal regards,

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director, NCCHR

WCA/ct

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401

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Dr. S. E. Duncan,
Vice Chairman—Salisbury
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Dr. Samuel S. Hill, Jr.
Watts Hill, Jr.
Dr. Nell Hirschberg
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Dr. Carlyle Marney
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McNeill Smith
Rabbi Leo J. Stillpass
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STAFF:

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Executive Director
Carrie Taylor
Secretary

EX OFFICIO MEMBERS:

Cecil Butler, *President*
Youth Educational Services
William Pollard, *Treasurer*
Youth Educational Services

September 13, 1967

Mrs. S. M. Stone
1001 Angier Avenue
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Mrs. Stone:

In the fall and spring of 1966-1967, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations participated with the Southern Regional Council in the Paperback Book Distribution Project which was designed to put libraries in places where low-income people could use them.

Unfortunately, the funds for providing these books were exhausted some time ago and no provision was made to renew the grant so no more are currently available.

Thank you for your inquiry. Forgive my delay in answering.

Sincerest personal regards,

Will C. Allred, Jr.

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director, NCCHR

WCA/ct

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

October 3, 1967

Mrs.,J.L. Eldridge
Rt. 2, Box 29--A
Lexa, Arkansas 72355

Dear Mrs. Eldridge:

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books. From what we have heard of this book, it should have relevancy to your community library.

We hppe you have received the two(2) sets of Basic 100 books and that they are proving helpful.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Name Mrs. J. L. Eldridge
Rt. 2 Box 29-A, Lexa, Ark. # 3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
2	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			105	40
LESS DISCOUNT			21	08
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			84	32

July 10, 1967

Mrs. Juanita J. Eldridge
Route #2
P. O. Box 29-A
Lexa, Arkansas 72355

Dear Mrs. Eldridge:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

R

February 1, 1967

Mrs. Juanita J. Eldridge
Route 2, Box 29-A
Lexa, Arkansas 72355

Dear Mrs. Eldridge:

We are happy to hear about your effort to set up a kind of library for the people in your community. This is just the kind of project that our grant was designed to serve, and we were impressed by your letter.

Unfortunately, during last December we finished using all the funds for our paperback book project. We are hoping, however, to get another grant some time this year and have much evidence--in the form of requests we were unable to fill--of the demand for such books from groups all over the South. We are using your letter when we make our request.

In the meantime, I'm saving your order in a special file and will contact you if we do get refunded. Again, let me say how much we regret not being able to send the books right away.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback BBok Project

October 3, 1967

Mr. Ed Feaver
534 Holloway St.
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Feaver:

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books sent to you with the compliments of the Atlanta News Agency. From all we have heard of this book it should be of interest to you.

We hhope youe have received the Basic 100 books sent to you and that they are proving helpful to you.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Name 50102 Ed Flavia, 534 Holloway St. Atlanta #3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
1	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL				
LESS DISCOUNT			10	54
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			42	16

July 19, 1967

Mr. Edward A. Feaver
534 Holloway Street
Albany, Georgia 31701

Dear Mr. Feaver:

We are pleased to inform you that books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project, have been shipped to you on July 18, 1967.

We have shipped only those books in stock or immediately available. We regret that we have so few books and so little funds remaining for the book project. If these conditions change we will inform you and attempt to more completely fill your order.

We appreciate this opportunity to help you and we hope these books will be a welcome addition to your program.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

July 10, 1967

Mr. Edward A. Feaver
534 Holloway Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Feaver:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

December 19, 1966

Mr. Edward A. Feaver
534 Holloway Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Feaver:

It is good to hear about the group of students which you have organized, and I hope your meetings are working well.

I have to say, with much regret, that just within a month's time, the news about the paperback book project spread so rapidly and the orders began to come in so quickly that we have spent nearly all of the funds available at this time. For the moment I am having to suspend all further requests.

As you probably know, this project has been an experimental one, and we have the hope of being able to enlarge it in 1967. I am keeping your request in a special file and want you to know that your interest in our project will assist us in showing the need for such books when we ask to renew our grant.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

October 3, 1967

Mr. Ellis MacDougal, Director
Department of Corrections
P.O. Box 766
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

Dear Mr. MacDougal:

We are pleased to inform you that some additional books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback book project are being shipped to you this week. We hope you have already received the ten sets of the basic 100 books, and that they are proving helpful.

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books sent to you with the compliments of the Atlanta News Agency. From what we have heard of this book it should be of interest.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

5000

S.C. Dept. of Corrections, P.O. Box 766 Mr. E.C. MacDonald

Name Columbia, S.C. 29202 #31481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
10	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			561	00
LESS DISCOUNT			105	40
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			421	60

July 10, 1967

Mr. Ellis C. MacDougal, Director
Department of Correction
P.O. Box 766
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

Dear Mr. MacDougal;

Miss Louise Cole informed you that all of our funds for the PaperBack Project had been committed by Mid-December, 1966. After a close examination of our books; however, we found that we had a small amount of funds left; therefore, I am pleased to inform you that we have ordered some of the books you requested. Since, our funds are so low we are not back-ordering any books; therefore, we will send you those books which you ordered that are in stock.

As a former South Carolian, I appreciate the great need for books in the South Carolina Penal System, and I am very happy that I could have played a small part in obtaining these books for you.

I will advise you of the shipping date for these books as soon as possible.

Thank you

Wm. F. Roberts

ELLIS C. MacDOUGALL, Director
Department of Corrections

South Carolina
Department of Corrections
P. O. BOX 766
Columbia, S. C. 29202

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Saluda, S.C.

March 13, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. I do appreciate your interest in our library needs here at the South Carolina Department of Corrections. We would certainly appreciate any and every assistance you could make on our behalf for securing the paperback books which we requested.

Thank you again for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Ellis C. MacDougall
Director

ECM/brk

March 9, 1967

Mr. Ellis C. MacDougall
Director
South Carolina Department of Corrections
P. O. Box 766
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

Dear Mr. MacDougall:

I took your letter to Paul Anthony, our executive director, and John Boone, director of our project on crime and corrections. All of us were quite taken with this letter and wish that we could fill your order right away.

Unfortunately, by the middle of this past December, we had committed all of our paperback book funds. We are now beginning the process of trying to get another grant and will definitely use your letter, among others, as a demonstration of the demand for books. If we get the grant, we will give your request top priority, and I will contact you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

October 3, 1967

Miss Gail M. Whitaker
Vista
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Miss Whitaker:

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books. We hope it will be helpful in your project.

We hope you have received the two sets of Basic 100 books and that they are proving valuable,

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Miss. G. M. Whitaker,
5403 Austin St.
Name Houston, Texas #3461

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
2	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			105	40
LESS DISCOUNT			21	08
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			84	32

July 10, 1967

Miss Gail M. Whitaker
VISTA
Houston Councillon Human
Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Miss Whitaker:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csbb

HOUSTON COUNCIL
ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

If Not You . . . Who

5403 AUSTIN STREET
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77004
JA 6-1829

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STAFF

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OFFICE MANAGER

MISS FRANKIE AUSTIN
SECRETARY-RECEPTIONIST

*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 27, 1966

Miss Louise Cole
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Cole:

The Houston Council on Human Relations is sponsoring a group of twenty Volunteers In Service To America in the Houston area. As part of that group, four of us are working in an area of Negroes and Mexican-Americans. We have found a need in this area for a study hall for the school aged children. When we spoke of this need with Mrs. Frances Duckler, acting director of the Council, she suggested that we write to you about the Southern Regional Council's Paperbook Books Project.

Our aim is to provide a supervised study hall with reference material available. We would also want to maintain a library with not only reference shelves for school material but books for leisure reading - and a section for adults with both leisure and resource material.

We do have a permanent building which we hope to have the community develop into a neighborhood activities center. The building was formerly a hotel and we are presently using some of the rooms for tutoring. It is located so as to be easily accessible to the majority of people in the community.

We feel that in providing a place in which to study - and materials to aid in studying - interest in learning can be stimulated. Many things can grow out of a library of the sort we envision and the books from your program would be a most valuable step in making the center successful.

A list of the requested books in enclosed.

Sincerely,

Gail M. Whitaker

(Miss) Gail M. Whitaker (VISTA)

October 3, 1967

Mr. Robert L. Wiley, Superintendent
Walker School District
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Dear Mr. Wiley:

We are pleased to inform you that additional books from the Southern Regional Council's paperback book project are scheduled to be shipped to you this week. We hope you have received the five sets of basic 100 books and that they are proving useful.

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books. From what we have heard this should be a valuable book.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

WALKER SCHOOL DISTRICT
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
MAGNOLIA, ARKANSAS

August 30, 1967

Mr. Wm. F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Roberts:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the books that we recieved from S.R.C, paper back book project. We recieved them August 8, 1967. They were in good condition.

We wish to thank you so very much for this fine collection. It will help our Library so very much.

Very truly yours,

Robert L. Wiley

Robert L. Wiley
Superintendent

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-3545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Name Mr. R. L. Wiley
Nolle School Dist., Magnolia, Ark #3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
5	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			263	50
LESS DISCOUNT			52	70
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			210	80

July 10, 1967

Mr. Robert L. Wiley
Superintendent
Walker School District
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Dear Mr. Wiley:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling you order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

January 27, 1967

Mr. Robert L. Wiley
Superintendent
Walker School District
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Dear Mr. Wiley:

I received your book order. Unfortunately, by the middle of December we had spent all the funds granted to us for the paperback book project, but we are hoping to get refunded some time this year. I will keep your order in a special file so that if we get another grant, I can send you the books.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

CAP

THE LAUDERDALE COUNTY ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY CORPORATION
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

LANDON THOMAS
President

VIRGIL H. DAVIS
Executive Director

October 5, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of Hooked on Books. Although, I have not had a chance to read this book, I am confident that it will prove to be of interest to me.

We are presently using the Basic 100 books, supplied by you, in our Neighborhood Service Centers.

We are more than greatful for the consideration you have shown us.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

LAUD. COUNTY ECO OPP CORP.

Virgil H. Davis

Virgil H. Davis,
Executive Director

ltb

October 3, 1967

Mr. V. H. Davis
Box 321
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

Dear Mr. Davis:

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books sent to you with the compliments of the Atlanta,News Agency. From all we have heard of this book it should be of interest to you.

We hope you have received the five(5) sets of the Basic 100 books sent to you and that they are proving useful.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Name Mr. V. H. Davis, Box 321, Ripley, Tenn. #3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
5	Basic 100	52.70		
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			263	50
LESS DISCOUNT			52	70
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS -->			210	80

July 19, 1967

Mr. Virgil H. Davis
Executive Director
Lauderdale County Economic
Opportunity Corporation
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

Dear Mr. Davis:

We are pleased to inform you that books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project, have been shipped to you on July 18, 1967.

We have shipped only those books in stock or immediately available. We regret that we have so few books and so little funds remaining for the book project. If these conditions change we will inform you and attempt to more completely fill your order.

We appreciate this opportunity to help you and we hope these books will be a welcome addition to your program.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

CAP

THE LAUDERDALE COUNTY ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY CORPORATION
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

LANDON THOMAS
President

VIRGIL H. DAVIS
Executive Director

July 12, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

We received your letter of July 10, 1967, and as you can imagine we are more than happy to learn that we shall be receiving the books we ordered.

We can't begin to tell you how much we truly appreciate your kindness.

Again, thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Virgil H. Davis

Virgil H. Davis,
Executive Director

VHD/ltb

July 10, 1967

Mr. Virgil H. Davis
Executive Director
Lauderdale County Economic
Opportunity Corporation
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

Dear Mr. Davis:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

cc: Jeri W.

December 28, 1966

Mr. Virgil H. Davis
Executive Director
Lauderdale County Economic Opportunity Corporation
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

Dear Mr. Davis:

Your plans for the use of paperback books in the neighborhood service centers sound great. I am dismayed to relate that within the past few weeks, the news about the paperback book project spread so rapidly and the orders began to come in so quickly that we have spent nearly all of the funds available at this time. I regret that for the moment I am having to suspend all further requests.

This project has been an experimental one, and we have the hope of being able to enlarge it in 1967. I am keeping your request in a special file and want you to know that your interest in our project will assist us in showing the demand for such books when we ask to renew our grant.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

Linville Falls, N.C.
October 16, 1967

Mr. William T. Roberts
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

The paperback books arrived last week - We are so very pleased with the selection you made for us.

Enthusiasm is growing for our library project and our whole community is becoming involved - And people are already reading the books you have sent.

I also appreciate the copy of "Hooked on Books." I'm sure it will be helpful to me when suggesting books to our teen-agers -

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,
Joanne M. Franklin

October 3, 1967

Mrs. Boyd Franklin
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

We are pleased to inform you that the remainder of the paperback books made available from the Southern Regional Council, are scheduled for shipment by October 4, 1967. The books you will receive are not necessarily the ones you requested, because those requested are, in many cases, not available. We have, however, made an effort to send you some good books, which we hope will be useful.

We are enclosing a copy of Hooked on Books, compliments of the Atlanta News Agency. From what we have heard of this book, it should be a valuable personal asset to you.

Please keep us informed of the progress of your library and if we can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.
28647

August 25, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I appreciate your sending me copy of your letter of August 14, to Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin. We are eagerly awaiting the paperback books which you mentioned in that letter.

In order to save a drive down to Marion, North Carolina, let me suggest that these books be shipped to Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin by motor express to Linville Falls, North Carolina, in care of Linville Falls Restaurant. The motor line goes by the restaurant and they will deliver the books at that point and Mrs. Franklin can pick them up.

I would appreciate also your sending copy of the bill of lading when the books are shipped in order that we may be on the lookout for them.

Again thanking you for your interest, I am

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

gwf

cc: Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin
Linville Falls
North Carolina

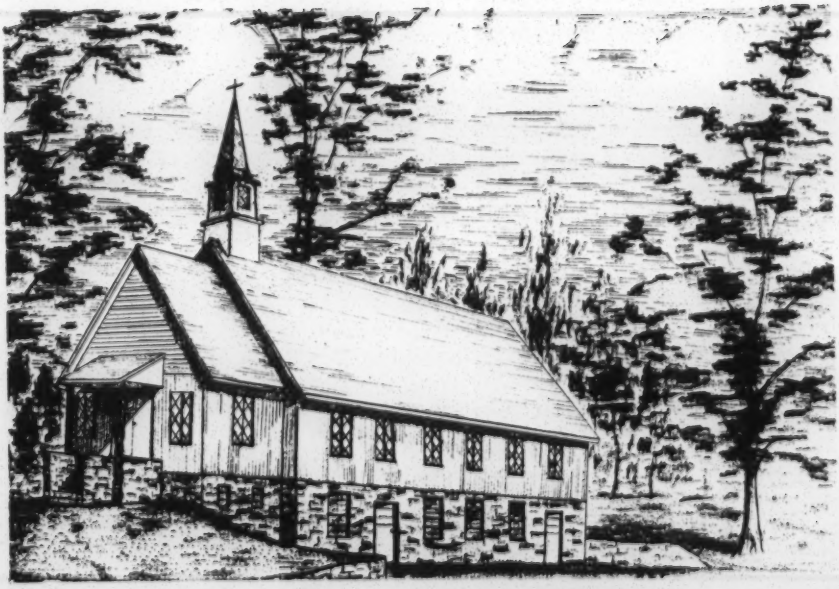
Linville Falls, N.C.
September 20 1967

Dear Mr. Roberts,

I would like to express my appreciation for the paperback books we received for our Community library from your organization. We are delighted with the selection.

Thank you for your kind intent.

Sincerely yours
Jessie M. Franklin



Linville Falls Community Church

Linville Falls, North Carolina

ATLANTA NEWS AGENCY, Inc.

3875 GREEN INDUSTRIAL WAY

PHONE 457-5545

Chamblee, Ga., 8/15 1967

Name MR. H. C. Allred, JR.
233½ N. Gregen St., Room 4
Greensboro, N.C. 27401 #3481

We CHARGE your account as follows:

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	RET. PRICE	EXTENSION	
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 35¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 40¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 45¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 50¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 60¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 65¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 75¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 85¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 90¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 95¢		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.00		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.25		
	PAPERBACK BOOKS	@ 1.45		
2	Basic 100	52.70		
	Mr. Boyd Franklin			
	Lenville Talk,			
	N.C.			
TOTAL PAPERBACK BKS @ RETAIL			105	40
LESS DISCOUNT			21	08
NET TOTAL PAPERBACK BOOKS →			84	32

August 14, 1967

Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin
Linville Falls
North Carolina 28647

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

We are pleased that you received the three cartons of books from Books for Equal Education. We did work with Mr. Shawn Boles, the Director of the Books for Equal Education Project, in obtaining these books for you; however, you will also receive paperback books from us. I am sorry that I am unable to give you a definite shipment date for these paperback books, but it should be soon. Please advise us when you receive your paperback books.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

cc: Mr. Marion Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina 28647

Linville Falls
North Carolina 28647
August 10, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I am pleased to tell you that we have received 3 cartons of books from Books For Equal Education. I assume that this was handled through your office. At any rate, we are delighted.

At the present time our library is housed in the study of the Linville Falls Community Church which serves all denominations in our community. Eventually, we would like to have a separate building.

Thank you so much for your help.

Sincerely yours:

Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin

Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.
28647

August 10, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

The community is delighted with the books which you were recently kind enough to send.

I want to thank you and Miss Marge Manderson for your efforts in our behalf.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

gwf

July 19, 1967

Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is in response to your letter of July 15, 1967 to Mr. Shawn Boles of Books for Equal Education. You were correct in inferring that the Southern Regional Council is shipping Mrs. Franklin part of the books she ordered. We only have a small amount of funds remaining in the paperback books project account; therefore, we are unable to special order any books which are not in stock with our wholesaler.

I have talked with Mr. Boles and he has assured me that he will contact you and inform you of the availability of books from his project.

We regret that we are unable to completely fill Mrs. Franklin's order; however, if conditions change we will attempt to obtain the remaining books.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

cc: Mr. Shawn Boles
Books for Equal Education
406 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

E.S

Linville Falls, N. C.
July 15, 1967

Mr. Shawn Boles
Books For Equal Education
416 Marietta Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Boles:

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter of July 5. About the same time that you were writing me a Mr. Roberts--I think that is the name--was writing from the Southern Regional Council's office to Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin, our local community librarian.

I infer from Mr. Roberts' letter that Southern Regional Council was shipping to Mrs. Franklin a part of the books she had requested. Apparently they did not have all of the books in stock. Will you please get in touch with the Southern Regional Council and learn whether or not you may supply from your store such books as they did not have.

If you can do this, I shall be very glad to have you ship them to me parcel post collect.

I do not know the list of books that Mrs. Franklin had requested but would like to see her receive all of them if it is possible to do so.

Thanking you, I am

Yours very truly,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

gwf

cc: Mrs. Boyd M. Franklin
Linville Falls, N. C.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P. S. Paul: Will you please refer this letter to the proper member of your staff to see that the matter is attended to. Thanks.

M. A. W.

July 10, 1967

Mrs. Boyd Franklin
Linville Falls
North Carolina 28674

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

Weaare glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

cc: Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.

January 9, 1967

Mrs. Boyd Franklin
Linville Falls
North Carolina 28647

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

Thank you for sending us the list of needed books. I have forwarded them to the Southern Regional Council, our parent agency.

Your information is correct. The response to our paperback book distribution project has been greater than anticipated. It will be necessary for the Southern Regional Council to file your request and hold it until such time as additional funds may become available. They will notify you if and when your order may be filled.

Sincerely yours,

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA:ja

cc: Miss Louise Cole
SRC, Atlanta, Ga.

October 16, 1967

Mr. Leonard Porter
208 East 57th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Porter;

Thank you for your inquiry about our paperback book project. Unfortunately, all the funds for this project have been utilized. In the event that we obtain additional funds, we will inform you.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

208 East 57 St.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Miss Lowrecole,

Will you please send me the paperback books collection?

I saw the beautiful collection you sent.

Thanks a million

yours,
Leonard Carter

TUCKER COUNTY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
PARSONS, WEST VIRGINIA 26287
Telephone 304/478-8061

October 31, 1967

Mr. Wm. F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

We have received our shipment of paperback books from your Paperback Book Project and want to thank you for your generous contribution of books and also for your interest shown in our program.

Sincerely,

Paul C. Bishop

Paul C. Bishop
Director

mal

October 3, 1967

Mr. Paul C. Bishop
AssistantDirector
Tucker County Community Action Program
County Courthouse
Parsons, West Virginia 26287

Dear Mr. Bishop:

We are pleased to inform you that some books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project, are scheduled for shipment to you this week.

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books. From what we have heard this should be a valuable book.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

September 27, 1967

Mr. Paul C. Bishop
Assistant Director
Tucker County Community Action Program
County Courthouse
Parsons, West Virginia 26287

Dear Mr. Bishop;

We have just checked with our paperback book dealer about the delay in the shipment of the books you requested from the Southern Regional Council's paperback book project, and we have been informed that your books will be shipped within the next two weeks. We sincerely regret this delay and we will do everything possible to expedite your book shipment.

Thank you for your patience, We hope these books will soon be in use in your projects.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

TUCKER COUNTY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
PARSONS, WEST VIRGINIA 26287
Telephone 304/478-8061

September 25, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

With reference to your letter of July 19, 1967 to Gordon D. Chaffins concerning the paperback books that were shipped to the CAP in Tucker County, as of today we have not received the shipment of books.

We appreciate your help and concern in our greatly needed project for our county.

Sincerely,

Paul C. Bishop
mal
Paul C. Bishop
Assistant Director

mal

July 19, 1967

Mr. Gordon D. Chaffins
Assistant Director
Tucker County Community Action Program
County Courthouse
Parsons, West Virginia 26287

Dear Mr. Chaffins:

We are pleased to inform you that books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project, have been shipped to you on July 18, 1967.

We have shipped only those books in stock or immediately available. We regret that we have so few books and so little funds remaining for the book project. If these conditions change we will inform you and attempt to more completely fill your order.

We appreciate this opportunity to help you and we hope these books will be a welcome addition to your program.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

July 10, 1967

Mr. Gordon D. Chaffins
Assistant Director
Tucker County Community
Action Program
County Courthouse
Parsons, West Virginia 26287

Dear Mr. Chaffins:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

TUCKER COUNTY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
PARSONS, WEST VIRGINIA 26287
Telephone 304/478-8061

GORDON D. CHAFFINS, *Director*

February 8, 1967

Miss Louise Cole
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Paperback Book Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Cole:

We noticed your letter in RURAL OPPORTUNITIES regarding your Paperback Book Project. Although we realize that we are not counted as a southern state, we would appreciate any information or assistance in or regarding a program of this nature.

In Tucker County there are no public library facilities whatsoever. The libraries of the schools are very inadequate; some of our reference books are of prewar vintage. So due to this you can readily see that we need some type of library facilities. Hope you can be of some assistance.

Sincerely,

Gordon D. Chaffins
Assistant Director
Tucker and Preston Counties

mal

CHARLOTTESVILLE-ALBEMARLE COMMUNITY ACTION ORGANIZATION
800 CONCORD AVENUE
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

December 8, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

This is a belated acknowledgement of three "shelves" of paper-back books which you sent us two months ago. We are distributing the books to three new Neighborhood Centers: Hope House, Robert Ward House and the Union Run Center- and they certainly will be put to good use.

Thank you very much for the valuable grant.

Cordially,

Jay W. Worrall

Jay W. Worrall
Executive Director

jww/ec

October 3, 1967

Mr. Jay W. Worrell, Director
Charlottesville-Albemarle Community
Action Organization, Inc.
112 County Office Building
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Worrell:

I must, first of all, apoligize for my previous letter, in which I advised you of an erroneous shipping date for the paperback books provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project. I can; however, now advise you, with some confidence, that your books will be shipped this week. I hope that this delay has not jeopardized the program in which you wished to use these books.

Enclosed is a copy of Hooked on Books. From what I have heard of this book it should be a valuable asset.

Sincerely

Wm. F. Roberts

July 19, 1967

Mr. Jay W. Worrall, Director
Charlottesville-Albemarle Community
Action Organization, Inc.
112 County Office Building
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Worrall:

We are pleased to inform you that books, provided by the Southern Regional Council's paperback books project, have been shipped to you on July 18, 1967.

We have shipped only those books in stock or immediately available. We regret that we have so few books and so little funds remaining for the book project. If these conditinns change we will inform you and attempt to more completely fill your order.

We appreciate this opportunity to help you and we hope these books will be a welcome addition to your program.

Sincerely,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/cl

July 10, 1967

Mr. Jay W. Worrall, Director
Charlottesville-Albemarle Community
Action Organization, Inc.
112 County Office Building
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Worrall:

We are pleased to inform you that a small amount of funds is still available for our Paper Back Book Project. From these funds we are filling your order. Since our funds are so low, we are not back ordering any books; however, we are sending the books which you ordered that are in stock.

We will advise you of the shipping date as soon as possible.

We are glad that we could help you obtain these books, and we would appreciate your informing us of your progress.

Thank you,

Wm. F. Roberts

WFR/csb

December 23, 1966

Mr. Jay W. Worrall, Director
Charlottesville-Albemarle Community
Action Organization, Inc.
112 County Office Building
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Worrall:

I was glad to see your letter of December 14 and the Work Program describing how the Center will operate. Several of our staff are quite interested in hearing about programs like these.

Unfortunately, we have come to the end of the funds presently available for our paperback book project. As you probably know, this project has been an experimental one, and we have the hope of being able to enlarge it in 1967. I will keep your order and information in a special file for action as soon as possible. Your interest will help us to show the demand for such books when we ask to renew our grant.

With best wishes for the New Year,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

December, 1967

Memorandum

To: Recipients of Paperback books

From: Bill Roberts

Under seperate cover you will receive eight(8) paperback books. These books have either been in storage at our office or they have been given to us. As a recipient of books from the Southern Regional Council's Paperback Book Project, we hope you will be able to find a use for these books.

You will also be receiving a copy of CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, which we consider a very valuable book. It was written by two Atlantans; Pat Watters, SRC's Director of Information and Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta ~~CONSTITUTION~~ Journal. It is a book written from deep emotion which relays a "feeling" as well as a documented history of the civil rights and voter education movement. (For a review of the book see the December 16, 1967 issue of THE NEW REPUBLIC.)

The following book list does not include the popular books and best sellers. However they are mandatory. Specific requestss may be cited, but usually the Atlanta News Agency will pick them for us at random. We need only specify the amount of each and how many different books.

The same goes for children's books. The Atlanta News Agency carries the 29¢ Golden Shape Books, the 50¢ Sturdi Contour books, Grade one Practice Workbook Reading, 29¢ Wonderbooks, ~~called~~ and Tip Top Elf Rand McNally Golden Future Coloring Books.

11:30 - 12:30 lunch

I 85 to I 285 toward Chattanoga.

P'tree Ind. Boulevard

under 285 -

3875 Green Industrial Way

310167
3.4
3.4
3.4

Some of the books in stock at the Atlanta News Agency.

FICTION

"classics"

The Pearl	Steinbeck
My Antonia	Cather
Tender Is The Night	Fitzgerald
Cry the Beloved Country	
Bridge of San Luis Rey	
Diary of a Young Girl	Ann Frank
The Return of the Native	Hardy
Hard Times	Dickens
A Tale of Two Cities	"
Goodbye Mr. Chips	Hilton
Aesop's Fables	
Animal Farm	Orwell
Prince and the Pauper	Twain
The Adventures of Hucklebury Finn	"
Robinson Crusoe	Defoe
The Count of Monte Cristo	Dumas
The Hunchback of Notre Dame	Hugo
Brave New World	Huxley
Hiroshima	Hersey
Kon Tiki	Heyerdalh
The Scarlet Letter	Hawthorne
Bridges of Toko Ri	Michner
Dennis the Menace (various books)	Ketchum
Peanuts (various books)	Schulz
The Adventures of Robin Hood	
The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes	Doyle
Old Yeller	Gipson
Black Beauty	
The Wizard of Oz	
Kim	Kipling
Call of the Wild	London
20000 Leagues under the Sea	Vernes
Treasure Island	Stevenson
Kidnapped	"
Swiss Family Robinson	
West Side Story & Romeo and Juliet	Schulman
Silas Marner	Eliot
Lord of the Flies	Golding
Travels with Charlie	Steinbeck
The Legend of Sleepy Hollow and others	Irving

short story collections

The Best Short STories of Jack London	
Selected Poems and Stories	Poe
Great American Short Stories	
Pocket Book of Short Stories	

miscellaneous

Coming of Age in Samoa	Mead
Gone With the Wind	Mitchell
Green Mansions	Hudson
Immortal Poems of the English Lang.	

Some of the books in stock in the Atlanta News Agency.

NONFICTION

A Pocket History of the United States
The Penguin Encyclopedia
The Household Encyclopedia
How to Get Higher Marks in School
A Concise History of Painting
Sea Shells
Painting
Reptiles and Amphibians
Weather
Seashores
Mammals
Sailing
Pacific Northwest
Washington
Fossils
Everglades National Park
Zoology
Flowers
Trees
The Southwest
Butterflies and Moths
Fresh and Salt Water Fishing
Little Book of Stars
Heffner A Documentary History of the United States
Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers
McCall's Easy Sewing
Stop Dieting: Start Losing
Abraham Lincoln
A Day in the Life of Kennedy
DICTIONARY
Child & Baby Care - Spock

Some of the books in stock at the Atlanta New Agency.

NEGRO CENTERED

Why We Can't Wait	King
The Strength to Love	
Souls of Black Folk	Dubois
Nobody Knows My Name	Baldwin
The Fire Next Time	
Notes of a Native Son	
Nigger	Gregory
The Negro REvolt	Lomax
GrisisinBlack and White	Silberman
To Kill a Mockingbird	Lee
Go Tell It on a Mountain	Baldwin
Black Boy	Wright
Up From Slavery	Washington
The Man	Wallace
The South and the Southerner	McGill
Malcom X Autobiography	
Who Speaks for the Negro	Robert Penn Warren
A Handbook of African Affairs	Kitchen
This is MY Country Too	Williams

Special orders for SRC that are now at the warehouse ready to be distributed.

South Town
Before the Mayflower - History of the Negro in America
Roosevelt Grady
Years Pictorial History of the American Negro
African Heritage Drachler
First Workbook of English
Fighting Marines
The Master Mind of Mars Borroughest

special books for 2,000 word vocabulary
Red Badge of Courage
Turn of the Screw
Billy Budd
Golden Trails

2 sets 100 airmont basic classics

Books that have been ordered special for SRC but have not yet arrived. Should come around the end of August. They will be kept at the warehouse until you ask for them to be shipped to various places.

50 copies of each

Invisible Man	Ellison
Cool World	Miller
Black Metropolis	Drake and Clayton
The Strange Career of JimCrow	C.VannWoodward
Black Muslims in America	Lincoln
Raisin in the Sun	
Lilies in the Field	
On Being Negro in America	Redding
In White America	Duberman
American Race Relations Today	Raab
Home to Harlem	McKay

First grade readers with integrated pictures 50 each
Fun with David
Day with Debbie
In the Big City
Sunny Days in the City
Laugh with Larry
Four Seasons with Suzy

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TERMS NAME Project For Library Development

RATING ADDRESS

CREDIT LIMIT

Receipts

1 9109	DATE 19__	ITEMS	FOL.	✓	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE
		Balance Jan. 1. 1967					1989838
		Disbursements					
		Books			923045		
		Balance 3/31/67					1066793
		APRIL					
		Books			752409		
		Balance 4/30/67					314384
		Balance 5/31/67					314384

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CREDIT LIMIT

Receipts

1-5109

DATE 1966	ITEMS	FOL.	✓	DEBITS	CREDITS	BALANCE
	Fund for the Advancement of Education				25000—	
	Disbursements					
	Consultant Fee			100—		
	Travel Expenses			43 92		
	Bro Ro			495 70		
	Total Disbursements				510 62	
	Balance, Dec. 31, 1966				1989 38	

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COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
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PARSONS, WEST VIRGINIA 26287
Telephone 304/478-8061

January 2, 1968

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, George 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

We appreciate your generosity and want to thank you for the additional eight paperback books and also for the copy of CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER.

The books will be put to good use.

Sincerely,

Paul C. Bishop

Paul C. Bishop
Director

mal

PENOLOGY

Save State Pen, Warden Pleads

AC 4/24/66

By DICK HEBERT
Constitution Staff Writer

REIDSVILLE, Ga.—"We're not doing the job at all," Warden A. L. Dutton was saying.

He was touring his sprawling state prison with a reporter. It wasn't so many years ago they were calling the prison a relic from the Dark Ages. Grim-faced, the warden was showing graphically how progress hasn't brought the prison much beyond the Middle Ages.

—In one cell block the mentally ill wait out their time without hope of treatment—a bare-chested man promising he won't go berserk again if allowed back on his job; another inmate curled on his bunk, petting a kitten; a third chasing a pet rabbit from under his bunk.

—Prisoners with arrested tuberculosis mingle with other convicts. Their cases could become active again anytime and infect others. One out of every four of these arrested cases will have to be sent back to Battey State Hospital at Rome.

—A whole floor of cell blocks goes without guards because there aren't enough to go around. Guards assigned to other floors stop by for a quick look when and if they can.

—Prisoners have no training-rehabilitation program, not much of an industrial work program. Guards are mostly untrained farmers working longer weeks than most persons would even consider on the outside—often more than 80 hours a week.

—On the 9,000-acre farm the fleet of trucks, tractors and other equipment is rusted, falling apart, out-dated.

"Everyone's sympathetic with the problems," Warden Dutton agrees. It's just that no one takes the bull by the horns. The prison is Georgia's stepchild, he says. It eats at second table.

"Sometimes I get the impression even our board (of Corrections) doesn't fight for the department. We don't have anybody lobbying for us.

"If this thing blows high as

Continued on Page 11, Column 4

Out of Jail—and Out of Luck

'Don't Call--We'll Call You' Hangs Heavy Over Ex-Cons

PENOLOGY

AC 5/16/66

By DICK HEBERT

"When you go to find a job, they tell you to come back later. They tell you: 'If we have an opening we'll hire you, but right now we don't have anything.'

"Sometimes they ask you if you got a record. You say yes and they just look at you and say no. It does get discouraging. Just by feeling in yourself while you're going in there, you know they're gonna turn you down."

First in a Series.

That was Johnnie talking. He had left Reidsville State Prison less than a week before. He's a big, able-bodied Negro 29 years old, and he wants to work and support his family. But he's got a brand on him. It says Ex-Con.

Listen again:

"You can't come in and get a job and assume the role of a husband. And that might make trouble for you. You can't help your kids, you can't help your wife, and you can't help yourself.

"You go and pay your debt to society and when you come back, your debt is still unpaid.

"If I can't assume the role of a husband, sure it might make trouble. She might have had a friend that was giving her money while I was gone. She's got to pay a note of $62 a month. She might start thinking then."

Johnnie is one of the Great Society's forgotten men. He served 28 months of a sentence for receiving stolen goods. He spent time in "the hole." Then he got a conditional release from prison and was sent out to face society.

He has three children, two in school. His wife got $99 a month from welfare people while he was in prison. And she lived in

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Out of Jail—and Out of Luck

'You Know They Will Turn You Down'

Continued from Page 1

a government housing project where she was paying $35 a month until they raised it to $51.

"But when I come back we had to move. They told her before I got back. So we went and got this apartment. They don't let you live in a government project if you got a record."

Now his rent is $62 a month. Now he is jobless. The welfare people say his check will be stopped 60 days after his release.

Johnnie is not the exception. More often than most want to admit, he is the rule.

He was sent to the Community Council and they sent him to the Economic Opportunity program's Project Uplift for training and job placement. He answered questions the first day. He never went back again. No one there knows why.

Disconsolate and quiet, most likely discouraged — that was Johnnie and many like him. They aren't that way in prison, usually. It's when they start breathing free air and trying to find a job that it hits them.

A reporter talked to some of the convicts getting ready for release from Reidsville. Listen to them:

Jim: Occupation, exterminator: "I'm gonna try. I do have experience. Usually that kind of work opens up in the summertime. If I can't get that, I'll take anything I can get 'til I can get on my feet. I believe if you want a job bad enough, you can find something."

Walt: Occupation, plumber: "I never had any trouble getting a job."

Willie: Occupation, lift operator: "I'll probably find a job. I don't know."

Smith: "A man just has to get hold of anything he can get. Construction work is what I'd like to get a hold of."

A lot of them want construction work. A lot of them have never done anything else.

Things could be worse for them, but right now is a pretty good time to be getting out of prison if you look at it one way. The economy is booming. Construction is booming. There is high demand for construction labor. Unemployment is very low.

But these things don't mean too much to the ex-convict who is giving up because he doesn't think there's any help for him.

It's ex-cons like Bill and Frank that are the exceptions. They're the tradesmen, the ones with a union membership or a good standing in a skilled job. They can find work when they get out. It might not be quite at the level they left years before, but it is work.

The more typical cases are like Larry's. He's a Negro, 24 years old. He did two years for shoplifting.

A reporter visited the dark, close apartment where his mother, a small and withered woman, lives with her husband. Larry was out of prison but he wasn't home. His mother sat on the bed and talked in the dim light of the kerosene lantern.

"I told him to stay around until he could get a job. I want him to get a job, want him to find another place. He just stays around home and goes over to the barbershop and talks with the boy who cuts hair.

"I keep his clothes clean and keep food for him. He's welcome anytime. But I'm afraid for him to stay here by hisself because he has to stay clean, and I don't like what the neighbors might do.

" 'If they pin anything on you, son, you're gonna be in trouble.' That's what I told him."

It was exactly a month after his release from prison that his name was on a police report again. He was jobless and out with a girl friend when they ran into another girl friend and she got jealous.

There was a fight, and Larry ended up in Grady Hospital emergency clinic being treated for a gunshot wound in the chest. He was sent to jail, charged with assault and battery.

What it's like to be an ex-con was expressed pretty accurately in a letter to the editor from a cell at Reidsville:

"There are agencies to fight poverty, to aid small business, to train kids who drop out of school, to feed Negro people, to guarantee civil rights, but not one to help a man who has made a mess of his life get a new start or a second chance. . . .

"What is he to do . . . when he has nowhere to go and does not know where his next meal is coming from?"

The writer described prison life where a man is told "when to get up, when to go to bed, when to eat, what to eat, what to wear, how to wear it, what type of work to do, and how he must do it."

Then he is cast out to become a man who chooses for himself.

"Deep inside of him there is a fear and possibly doubts as to whether he is capable of doing and providing for himself. After two or three days of hearing, 'Don't call us, we'll call you' . . . he loses what little self-confidence he has and decides that he has to live and he has to eat no matter what.

"THIS is the deciding point or factor as to whether or not this man will go 'straight' or return to prison in the future."

NEXT: Reidsville's send-off for convicts.

NYT 2/27/66

PERSONALITIES

THE NEW YORK

The Law

At 80 Hugo Black Looks Ahead

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Today is the 80th birthday of Hugo La Fayette Black, one of the handful of men who have affected the course of the nation by influencing the thought of the Supreme Court.

The milestone has more than sentimental importance, because Justice Black's stature is due to vigor and longevity, as well as to intellectual power. Other giants of the Supreme Court—Marshall, Storey, Holmes, Brandeis—had their talents magnified by long service. But Justice Black's career has been blessed by a special timing.

He could have been remembered as no more than a dissident voice on the complaisant Court of the 1940's and 1950's, but he was granted the luxury of time to develop his philosophy in a series of powerful dissents during that time. Thus he was prepared to become a prophet in his own time when the pendulum swung toward his views in the 1960's, when he was more than three-quarters of a century old.

Last week, as Justice Black chatted informally in his chambers, his remarkable vigor of mind and body dominated the occasion.

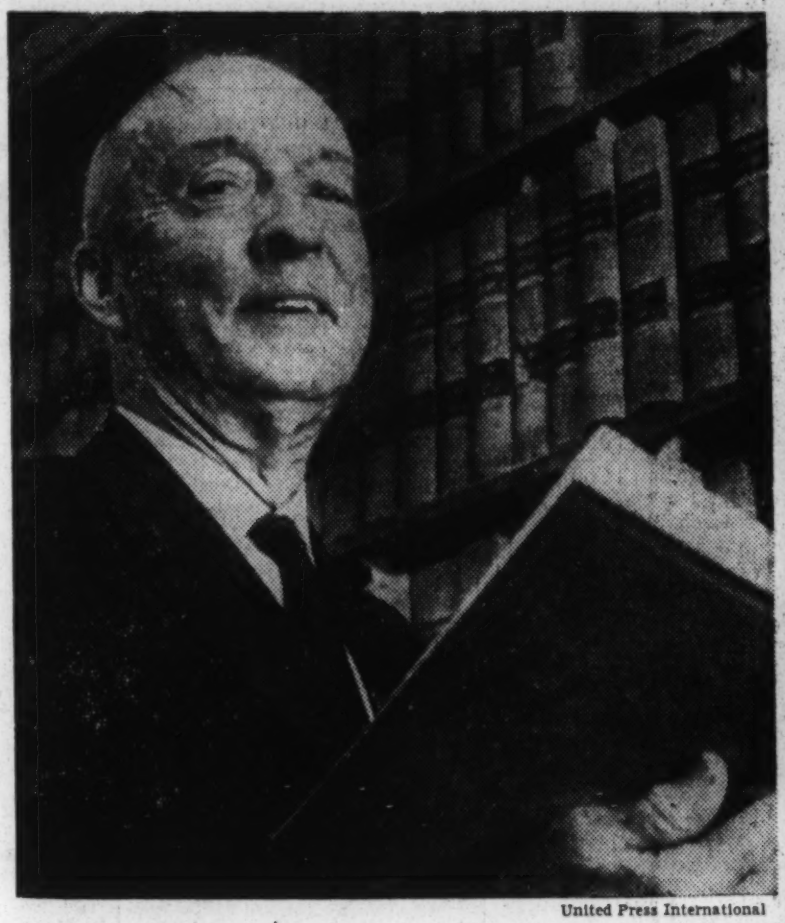
Alert Mind

His mind was alert and sharp and he gestured with the strong hands and thick wrists of a man who is not really old. He could stay on the Court until his 90th year—as Holmes had done—and break all present records of service on the Supreme Court by more than five years.

The prospect has interesting overtones. Justice Black's career has been marked by an unusual ebb and flow, and there are those who say he is breaking from the forward-looking philosophy he held as leader of the court in recent years.

Before last year, few would have said this. Justice Black's first decade on the Court had been marked by a broad shift toward liberal positions, with which he had been strongly identified.

At one time he had upheld the power of the Government to intern West Coast Japanese during the war, taken a limited view of the Fourth Amendment's authority to prevent searches and seizures by state officers, concurred in a ruling that the states were not bound by the prohibitions against double jeopardy in the Bill of Rights, and agreed to certain limitations on the



United Press International

80TH BIRTHDAY: Hugo La Fayette Black, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, marks his 80th year today. During 29 years on the bench he has . . . "stood as a towering and often lonely rallying point for personal right . . . a prophet in his own time."

Brady. Malloy v. Hogan adopted his view that the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination applies to the states. *Baker v. Carr,* which asserted the Court's jurisdiction over legislative apportionment, had been his dissenting position in *Colegrove v. Green.*

Finally, in 1965 the Court reversed *Adamson v. California,* and held that the rule against self-incrimination prohibits a judge or prosecutor from commenting on a defendant's failure to take the stand.

During this period of judicial activism Justice Black, as leader of the majority, gained a reputation as a staunch liberal.

Thus it came as a shock to some when, starting in 1964, he began to dissent with increasing frequency along with the "conservative" justices.

Last term Justice Black dissented 28 times—more than any other justice—and many dissents were in opposition to the "activist" majority. This term he is again numerically well out in front in dissent—often against the liberals.

Justice Black's new orientation probably indicates as well as anything that the issues before the Court are changing. The Bill of Rights has been virtually applied to the states in toto. Congressional rights demonstrators. Last week, in a 30-minute, extemporaneous dissent against the Court's reversal of five Negroes' convictions for staging a "stand-in" at a Louisiana library, he blistered the court for being pro-Negro.

The justices on the majority side responded that the defendants would not have been arrested and before the Court if they were not Negroes. But as the Negroes' struggle has shifted from unequal laws to the more subtle demands for better jobs and educational opportunities, it seems clear that the pro-civil rights majority has left Justice Black behind.

Bitter Dissent

Some say this will erode his liberal position on other isues: His bitter dissent this week impressed some lawyers as inconsistent with his earlier freedom-of-protest stands, and to some it seemed unnecessarily, longwinded and abrasive of other justices' feelings.

But with regard to many other important issues yet to be resolved by the Supreme Court, Justice Black still is firmly in the lead.

He has argued for years that libel and obscenity laws should be voided by the guarantees of the First Amendment. Most legal experts would agree that the trend is in that direction, and that the

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Before last year, few would have said this. Justice Black's first decade on the Court had been marked by a broad shift toward liberal positions, with which he had been strongly identified.

At one time he had upheld the power of the Government to intern West Coast Japanese during the war, taken a limited view of the Fourth Amendment's authority to prevent searches and seizures by state officers, concurred in a ruling that the states were not bound by the prohibitions against double jeopardy in the Bill of Rights, and agreed to certain limitations on the right of individuals to parade in the streets, broadcast their views from sound trucks and refuse to salute the flag.

In every case he later repudiated all these positions. This did not embarrass Justice Black, who was never awed by other judges' precedents: as a fledging justice in 1938 he asserted that corporations were not "persons" protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, although the Supreme Court had consistently held for 50 years that they were.

By the time of the Truman Administration and the McCarthy era of the 1950's—when the Court's majority repeatedly allowed laws that limited individual freedom to stand—Justice Black stood as a towering, and often lonely rallying point for personal rights.

He was deeply impressed by this experience. He felt that the judges of the nation were too easily swayed by the hysteria of the times, and he developed an answer: his "absolutist" philosophy.

Rights Absolute

This philosophy held that the Bill of Rights should be regarded as absolute prohibitions against the power of the Government to limit certain protected freedoms. By the "Bill of Rights" he meant the first eight Amendments and the individual safeguards contained in the body of the Constitution. But the First Amendment's freedom of speech, press and association have always been the "preferred" freedoms in his scale of values. These were "the heart of our Government," he repeatedly said.

This Bill of Rights theory involved a major snag—the first eight Amendments by their language prohibit only Federal action—not conduct by the states.

But Justice Black had a theory to answer that, and in 1947, when the majority held in *Adamson* v. *California* that the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination was not binding on the states, he spelled it out in a monumental 58-page dissent.

His theory was bold and simple: The Fourteenth Amendment—which requires the states to accord all persons "due process"—was intended to incorporate the Bill of Rights into that amendment and make them all binding on the states.

Three justices joined him in this dissent, but in later years he was never able to marshal a majority behind this theory.

However, when younger justices began to move onto the bench in the early 1960's, a majority was created that believed the states should be required to observe many of the safeguards of the Bill of Rights, as an integral part of the due process requirement.

At last, events had overtaken Justice Black's ideas. In a series of momentous decisions, his famous dissents were transformed into some of the outstanding majority decisions of American law.

Gideon v. Wainright, establishing the right to counsel for indigent defendants in state trials, reflected his dissent in *Betts v.*

[illegible] position in *Gategrove v. Green*.

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Justice Black's new orientation probably indicates as well as anything that the issues before the Court are changing. The Bill of Rights has been virtually applied to the states in toto. Congressional committees and Red-baiters give the court a wide berth. The school prayer controversy has died.

Most noticeably, the Court's role in the Negro revolution has changed. As long as Negroes were being denied equal treatment under the laws, Justice Black's absolutist nature was outraged, and he was a staunch member of the majority that repeatedly struck down this discrimination.

But over the past year and a half he has scolded the majority in a series of dissents against reversals of convictions of Negro civil

The justices on the majority side responded that the defendants would not have been arrested and before the Court if they were not Negroes. But as the Negroes' struggle has shifted from unequal laws to the more subtle demands for better jobs and educational opportunities, it seems clear that the pro-civil rights majority has left Justice Black behind.

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But with regard to many other important issues yet to be resolved by the Supreme Court, Justice Black still is firmly in the lead.

He has argued for years that libel and obscenity laws should be voided by the guarantees of the First Amendment. Most legal experts would agree that the trend is in that direction, and that the only question is to what extent the Court will whittle away these laws in future years.

He is still urging the justices to apply to the states the Bill of Rights' provisions on double jeopardy, prosecutions only upon grand jury indictments, speedy trials excessive bails and fines.

In chambers last week Justice Black seemed taken back when someone asked when he might retire. "I haven't thought about it," he said, and the pile of work on the desk before him gave the reason why.

Science

PERSONALITIES

THE NEW YORK TIMES, M

2/28/66

BUNDY TO LEAVE PRESIDENT TODAY

Special Aide Moving Here to Take Ford Fund Post

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 — McGeorge Bundy, the Administration's custodian of the world, moves to New York tomorrow to become the caretaker of the Ford Foundation's millions.

The President's Special Assistant for National Security believes it is the right time to leave the bureaucratic depths in the White House basement. The rest of Washington believes that in due time he will be reclaimed from the philanthropic heights on Madison Avenue.

"There," said one of his colleagues the other day, "goes a future Secretary of State."

There, in any case, goes one of the most influential figures of Government who, without political mandate or constitutional authority, became the virtual equal of Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

Dozens of articles have been written here speculating about a successor, or rather a succession arrangement, for hardly anyone expects a similar personality to fit neatly into the job that Mr. Bundy and his two Presidents — John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson — tailored to his talents.

May Not Fill Post

Mr. Johnson has remarked that he may not fill the post. He counts upon intimate dealings with Mr. Rusk and Mr. McNamara and may, as he put it, "do some shifting and changing, promoting, transferring" after Mr. Bundy leaves.

Mr. Bundy' has been a job requiring extraordinary delicacy and vigilance, calling for a funneling of information and problems to the President and a channeling and interpretation of his directives to the huge Govermnent establishment that handles the diplomatic, military, economic, scientific, psychological and intelligence aspects of foreign affairs.

This pivotal management of the processes of decision has made Mr. Bundy's personal role as a leading policy adviser almost a secondary one. His counsel is thought to have had important effects in the evolution of American intervention in Vietnam and in the the post-intervention diplomacy in the Dominican Republic, in earlier confrontations and accommodations with the Soviet Union and in efforts to avert even greater conflict in the Atlantic alliance.

Although one of the most accessible and articulate men in the Administration, Mr. Bundy has also been one of the least visible and least accountable of the leading officials. Many of his specific recommendations and views remain his secrets.

Role in Decision-Making

Much more evident has been his quick, astute and deft regulation of both the ingredients and the expressions of Presidential decision, his arbitration of personal and policy conflicts among the many agencies dealing with foreign affairs, and his selection of problems and crises, with a small but expert staff, for the President's attention.

The New York Times

MOVING HERE TODAY: McGeorge Bundy, new head of the Ford Foundation.

There is no organizational substitute for an alert and effective Presidential staff, Mr. Bundy believes, because problems "come in so many different forms and with so many different lengths and strength of fuse on them."

"Some of them," he told a recent farewell luncheon, "will give such a small pop that it is just as well to let them go off and not bother with them. Some of them are going to give a very big pop but not for another 10 years. A lot of them are going to make a helluva lot of trouble over a 48-hour period and then be forgotten, but there will be very important people concerned in that period."

What matters, he concluded, is not organization but "the skill and energy and activity of individuals."

It was Mr. Bundy's swift skill that have led many to judge him as arrogant, even though his staff testifies to a personal and intellectual tolerance.

One word of caution he would tell a successor is to distinguish between the choices that public officials, and especially personal aides, must offer a President and their own preferences. Presidents, he points out, have an uncanny way of quickly discerning a confusion of the two and of seeking out alternate sources of advice.

Mr. Bundy himself has acquired a reputation here as one of the most facile and persuasive recounters of an argument even when if differs fundamentally from his own.

His talent for cutting to the heart of an issue and cutting off frayed edges of a discussion are expected to make him a sympathetic supporter of a wide variety of Ford-sponsored activities and a formidable barrier to those who seek handouts for projects of fuzzy conception.

Fun-lowing, athletic and a sharp conversationalist, the 46-year-old Mr. Bundy is also expected to become one of the most popular members of New York's managerial establishment. He will live with his wife, the former Mary Buckminister Lothrop, in an apartment on upper Fifth Avenue. They have four sons.

By switching jobs, Mr. Bundy will be increasing his annual salary from $30,000 to $75,000.

He came to Washington a Republican and remained one "with the malicious encouragement of two Presidents," but looks forward to being "a free man" by the time he registers in New York.

SOVIET SPACE DOGS SEEN MOVING ABOUT

MOSCOW, Feb. 27—(UPI)—The Soviet Union's two orbiting space dogs "are feeling well" and can be seen moving in their spacecraft, Tass, the Soviet press agency, reported today.

The dogs, Breeze and Blackie, were launched last Tuesday aboard Cosmos 110.

Dr. Boris Yegorov, reporting on the latest telecast from Cosmos 110 to the Soviet space center, said the experiment was "proceeding successfully and the animals are feeling well," according to Tass.

Dr. Yegorov told Tass that during the telecast, "the dogs could be seen moving in the sputnik's container." Tass did not explain whether he meant they were just moving their heads and paws or were free to walk around.

The announcement said the spacecraft was "equipped for a wide range of radiobiological studies."

MOSCOW, Feb. 27 (Reuters) —Scientists hope to disclose some of the secrets of Venus this week when two Soviet probes hurtle past the planet.

The two automatic stations, Venus 2 and 3, are scheduled to pass on either side of the cloud-shrouded planet.

NYT 9/29/66

Lillian Smith, Novelist, Is Dead; 'Strange Fruit' Author Was 68

PERSONALITIES

Interracial Love Story Sold 3-Million Copies — Writer Active in Rights Fight

ATLANTA, Sept. 28 (AP) — Lillian Smith, the novelist and essayist, and an early spokesman for civil rights in the South, died today in a hospital. Her age was 68. She had been ill with cancer for many years.

Miss Smith's first book, the controversial "Strange Fruit," about a tragic love affair between a white boy and a Negro girl, was a best-seller 20 years ago and won her international recognition.

She is survived by three brothers, Frank A. Smith, W. Austin Smith and C. Wallace Smith, and three sisters, Mrs. Eugene E. Barnett, Mrs. Casper S. Peeler and Esther Smith.

Early in Racial Field

"Strange Fruit," published in 1944 by Reynal & Hitchcock, was concerned with lynching in the South; its title implied that Negroes hanging from trees were strange fruit for the trees to be bearing.

Racism, as it concerned the Negro, had not yet become a paramount national issue. The activists in this field had yet to come into prominence. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was just about entering college. George C. Wallace, later the strongly segregationist Governor of Alabama, was a flight engineer on bombers in the Pacific in World War II. Negroes were in segregated units in the armed services.

"Strange Fruit" was rejected by seven publishers, although most of them said it was interesting. The eighth publisher accepted it immediately. It sold around 3-million copies in the United States without benefit of book clubs and was translated into 15 languages.

"Strange Fruit" told of the love of a Georgia Negro girl for a white man. In the novel a Negro is burned alive in a ball park for all the town to see. It was banned in Boston and in most of Massachusetts when it was first published

The book became the subject of a test case when Bernard De Voto, the author and editor, arranged with a Cambridge bookseller to purchase the book openly. The case against Mr. De Voto was dismissed, but the bookseller was fined $200. Later the book was sold openly in Massachusetts.

Critics did not find "Strange Fruit" an outstanding literary achievement. Malcolm Cowley wrote: "But she [Miss Smith] has done something in this book that nobody did before here she has shown that lynch-

Lillian Smith

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

However, she resigned from the CORE committee last July 5, declaring, "I strongly protest the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence in effecting racial change." She added that white Americans, because of their inertia or violence, "must carry much of the moral burden" for CORE's new tactics.

Miss Smith also criticized S.N.C.C. In a letter to The Atlanta Constitution she said some young Negroes had been influenced by "a mixed-up mess of 19th-century anarchism and 1930's Communism," but she also praised the members of the organization for their bravery.

Born in Florida Town

In "20th Century Authors," Miss Smith told her own story: "I was born in Jasper, Fla. [in 1897]. There were nine of us who grew up in a big old rambling house set under great oaks heavy with Spanish moss, in a small Florida town just across the Georgia line.

"My mother's people were rice planters near St. Mary's; my father's family were pioneer folk who settled southwest Georgia and helped drive the Seminole Indians into Florida. Both families had had slaves; both thought slavery was wrong."

She recalled that when she had asked in Sunday School about eternity, she was firmly told that she must never raise that question again.

Miss Smith was brought up in a musical home, She threw herself into piano practice in what she termed "that awful way in which a passionate child can give herself."

Taught 3 Years in China

She studied at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, and for three years taught music at the Virginia School in Huchow, China. When she returned she became secretary to

Smith, and three sisters, Mrs. Eugene E. Barnett, Mrs. Casper S. Peeler and Esther Smith.

Early in Racial Field

"Strange Fruit," published in 1944 by Reynal & Hitchcock, was concerned with lynching in the South; its title implied that Negroes hanging from trees were strange fruit for the trees to be bearing.

Racism, as it concerned the Negro, had not yet become a paramount national issue. The activists in this field had yet to come into prominence. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was just about entering college. George C. Wallace, later the strongly segregationist Governor of Alabama, was a flight engineer on bombers in the Pacific in World War II. Negroes were in segregated units in the armed services.

"Strange Fruit" was rejected by seven publishers, although most of them said it was interesting. The eighth publisher accepted it immediately. It sold around 3-million copies in the United States without benefit of book clubs and was translated into 15 languages.

"Strange Fruit" told of the love of a Georgia Negro girl for a white man. In the novel a Negro is burned alive in a ball park for all the town to see. It was banned in Boston and in most of Massachusetts when it was first published

The book became the subject of a test case when Bernard De Voto, the author and editor, arranged with a Cambridge bookseller to purchase the book openly. The case against Mr. De Voto was dismissed, but the bookseller was fined $200. Later the book was sold openly in Massachusetts.

Critics did not find "Strange Fruit" an outstanding literary achievement. Malcolm Cowley wrote: "But she [Miss Smith] has done something in this book that nobody did before her: she has shown that lynching is intimately connected with the life of the whole community; that it explains the whole social order."

In the books that followed "Strange Fruit," Miss Smith did not try to present the racial problem in fiction form. In "Killers of the Dream" she sought for the psychological basis of prejudice. "The Journey" was a story of spiritual development. Both books were praised for their compassion and conviction.

Wrote of South's Tragedy

Writing for the magazine Common Ground, Miss Smith explained her feelings about the race question in the South:

"Segregation, White Supremacy, the Negro's Place, are not words to me, not theories. They are a way of life, a tragic way which I, and others like me, white and Negro, have lived since birth.

"The relationship between the two races has become so intertwined with hate and love and fear and guilt and poverty and greed, with churches and lynching, with attraction and repulsion, that it has taken on the ambivalent qualities, the subtle conflicts of a terrifying illness."

Miss Smith continued to write about the racial struggle in magazines and quarterlies as it gathered momentum in the nineteen-sixties. She assembled a book, "Our Faces—Our Words," dealing with the movement for racial equality. Made up of monologues and photographs, it was published last year. The monologues, in a dozen voices, black and white, state:

"What do we want? Dignity? Pompous, vague, forget it. All I'd better say is that this movement has got my soul to aching. And it hurts. God, how it hurts!"

A Southern-born white girl writes to her father:

"And so I ended up in a Mississippi jail, listening to a dirty, low-down cop talking . . . me, your Vassar-educated summer-camp-trained daughter who loves poetry and philosophy and art and human beings and the excellence that her father told her to always search for. But the search . . . can be dangerous; it takes us to strange places sometimes, doesn't it, Dad?"

Miss Smith gave a helping hand to the organizations carrying on the rights fight. She became a member of the advisory committee of the Congress of Racial Equality and was a friend of the leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

However, she resigned from the CORE committee last July 5, declaring, "I strongly protest the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence in effecting racial change." She added that white Americans, because of their inertia or violence, "must carry much of the moral burden" for CORE's new tactics.

Miss Smith also criticized S.N.C.C. In a letter to The Atlanta Constitution she said some young Negroes had been influenced by "a mixed-up mess of 19th-century anarchism and 1930's Communism," but she also praised the members of the organization for their bravery.

Born in Florida Town

In "20th Century Authors," Miss Smith told her own story: "I was born in Jasper, Fla. [in 1897]. There were nine of us who grew up in a big old rambling house set under great oaks heavy with Spanish moss, in a small Florida town just across the Georgia line.

"My mother's people were rice planters near St. Mary's; my father's family were pioneer folk who settled southwest Georgia and helped drive the Seminole Indians into Florida. Both families had had slaves; both thought slavery was wrong."

She recalled that when she had asked in Sunday School about eternity, she was firmly told that she must never raise that question again.

Miss Smith was brought up in a musical home, She threw herself into piano practice in what she termed "that awful way in which a passionate child can give herself."

Taught 3 Years in China

She studied at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, and for three years taught music at the Virginia School in Huchow, China. When she returned she became secretary to the city manager of a Florida city and played the organ in church.

Next she took over her father's camp for girls, the first such private camp to be opened in Georgia, at Laurel Falls. While she was at the camp she edited and published a magazine, The South Today. It began with 12 pages and 25 subscribers, and grew to a 100-page publication with 10,000 subscribers.

She abandoned the project two years after "Strange Fruit" was published, to devote her entire time to writing. Miss Smith adapted "Strange Fruit" into a play, which opened in New York in 1945. Lewis Nichols wrote in The New York Times:

"It is a disagreeable truth, but Lillian Smith has not made a satisfactory play out of 'Strange Fruit.'"

He called it sprawling and verbose.

Miss Smith never married. She lived on a mountain called Old Screamer a mile and a half from Clayton, Ga. She owned the mountain, site of the girls' camp she had operated many years before. Dorothy Dunbar Bromley wrote of her, noting that "she does not look like a woman who leads a movement."

Face One of Tranquillity

"Slight and soft-spoken, she has in her face the tranquillity of spirit which comes from listening to the pines on the mountaintop," Miss Bromley wrote. "There is nothing of the righteous reformer about her, nothing of the exhibitionist who takes pleasure in shocking."

Miss Bromley noted that Miss Smith dressed smartly and had gray hair, rich blue eyes and an extremely sensitive face.

Miss Smith received many awards for her books and for her leadership in the civil rights movement. A special citation from the National Book Award Committee was awarded to her in 1950 for her "distinguished contribution to letters."

She won the Southern Authors Award in 1950, and the Sidney Hillman Award for magazine writing in 1962. She was a member of the national board of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Miss Smith's lesser books were "Now is the Time," 1955; "One Hour," 1959, and "Memory of a Large Christmas," 1962.

In addition to writing, Miss Smith had taught or lectured at many colleges and universities, including Vassar, Smith, Yale, Harvard, Columbia and Mount Holyoke.

PHILOSOPHY

OUR WORLD TODAY

Difficulty of Defining Human Rights

The claim of men to be born with certain inherent rights which no government may deny is one aspect of an eternal human tendency to distinguish between what is, and what ought to be. The whole concept of "rights" arises from the contention that certain human desires have greater validity than the force of circumstances, and therefore must prevail over them.

Background for article appearing in The Atlanta Journal March 14, 1966.

The modern concept of such rights arises from the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries, but both the Greeks and the Romans held ideas concerning the existence of natural rights. The Hellenistic philosophical school of Stoics held that the supreme goal of life was the achievement of "virtue," which was to be attained by "living consistently with nature." They held that the fundamental moral principles which underlay the legal systems of different nations were reducible to the dictates of natural law. The Romans associated natural law with the **jus gentium,** or law of nations, the code of law that regulated the relations of foreigners resident in Rome. It became important in Roman legal theory, which came to recognize a common code regulating the conduct of all peoples, existing beside the individual codes of specific places and times.

DURING the Middle Ages, human rights were identified with the law of God, religion being the all - consuming intellectual interest of the epoch. Christian philosophers such as St. Thomas Aquinas perpetuated this idea, maintaining that natural law was common to all peoples — Christian and non-Christian alike—although Christians, through divine revelation, had an additional guide for their actions.

With the decline of feudalism and the onset of the modern era, the doctrine of natural rights from which our own concept is more directly derived took shape. It was necessary to lay emphasis on natural rights as opposed to divine rights, not to denote any break with divinity, but to distinguish the rights of men from the rights of monarchy. During the Enlightenment the term "divine right" was associated with clerical monopoly and the divine right of kings; therefore it was replaced by a term which avoided the connotation of royal and clerical preroggatives.

HUGO GROTIUS, remembered as the father of international law, in his renowned essay, **On the Law of War and Peace** (1625), asserted that natural law prescribes the rules of conduct for nations as well as individuals. Both must regulate their affairs according to the dictates of the law of nature, which antedates political law, and is based upon reason. Much of the specific content of his arguments was derived from Biblical and classical sources.

During the Enlightenment, "liberty" was thought of as the release of the individual from governmental oppression. To justify such a release, it was necessary to assume that men were by nature sufficiently rational and good to govern themselves. The essential freedoms that men sought were those that had been most commonly denied them — opinion, economic enterprise, and self-government. To achieve these freedoms, men desired the rights of free speech, worship, and public assembly. To these, John Locke added the right of private ownership of property as one of the most vital innate prerogatives common to all men. In the 18th century, Jean Jacques Rousseau, the leading protagonist of natural rights, supplemented the doctrine with the concept of the social contract. He attempted to reconcile the natural rights of the individual with the need for social unity and cooperation.

THE DOCTRINE of natural rights was used both as cause and justification for the revolutionary movements on the European continent and in the United States in the 18th century. In America the writings of Tom Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, and Samuel Adams promoted the growth of the doctrine of natural rights. Classical expressions of it are found in the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), the bills of rights contained in the various states constitutions, and the first ten amendments of the United States Constitution (1791).

The growth of totalitarian regimes which refuse to recognize the dignity and value of individual human beings has led to a reassertion of natural rights theory, especially in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations (1948). In our own day, such thinkers as Jacques Maritain have seen in natural law a necessary intellectual opposition to totalitarian theories.

THE RIGHTS most in the news today are "civil rights," which is a term more inclusive than "political rights," which might be understood to mean rights devolving from the franchise and which are usually held only by citizens. Civil rights have a legal rather than a philosophical basis, and in this country are thought of as specific rights enumerated in the Federal Constitution: freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, due process of law, and equal protection under the law.

For the last century, since the Civil War, the chief concern about civil rights has focused on efforts to extend them more fully to Negroes. Civil Rights Acts in 1866, 1870, 1871, and 1875 sought to grant Negroes a political and legal status equal to that of whites. No further Federal legislation in civil rights was passed until the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, though other branches of the government had been active. The Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955 declaring unconstitutional racial segregation in public schools and in publicly financed recreation facilities is the most important. The Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation in public transportation, and a series of executive orders has barred racial and religious discrimination in public housing, in Federal employment practices, and in projects supported by Federal funds.

All in all, recent years have seen two major difficulties arise in the doctrine of natural rights which account for most of the recent controversy. There is the problem of reconciling certain of the enumerated rights which in fulfilment appear to conflict with each other — equality with liberty, for example. Another difficulty — one particularly attacked by Federal action — has been the violation of rights by legislative enactments, such as voting restrictions.

APARTMENTS FOR BIRDS

GRIGGSVILLE, Ill., March 12 (AP)—This small town calls itself the "Purple Martin Capital of the Nation" and carries on a program to attract martins, cardinals, wrens, bluebirds and other songbirds.

The purple martin is a friendly bird noted for its consumption of mosquitoes and other nuisance insects.

Griggsville's streets are lined with martin houses. A 40-foot martin "apartment house," with 504 compartments, was built and put in the town square.

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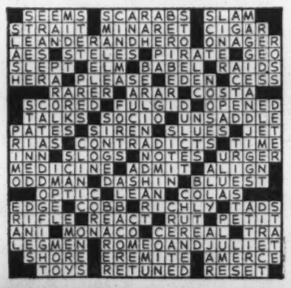

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

This pamphlet is a summary of the complete 80-page "Freedom Budget for all Americans," which is available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute at $1.00 a copy. Quantity rates on request.

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

A Summary

Prices: 25c per copy
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A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

A Summary

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street New York, N.Y. 10027

A. Philip Randolph, *President*

Bayard Rustin, *Executive Director*

JANUARY 1967

INTRODUCTION

I believe, and profoundly hope, that from this day forth the opponents of social progress can take comfort no longer, for not since the March on Washington has there been such broad sponsorship and enthusiastic support for any undertaking as has been mobilized on behalf of "The Freedom Budget for All Americans."

These forces have not come together to demand help for the Negro. Rather, we meet on a common ground of determination that in this, the richest and most productive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty can and must be abolished—not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!

The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society. The tragedy is that groups only one generation removed from poverty themselves, haunted by the memory of scarcity and fearful of slipping back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder.

And the tragedy is that not only the poor, the nearly poor, and the once poor, but all Americans, are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance. For, directly or indirectly, not one of us is untouched by the steady spread of slums, the decay of our cities, the segregation and overcrowding of our public schools, the shocking deterioration of our hospitals, the violence and chaos in our streets, the idleness of able-bodied

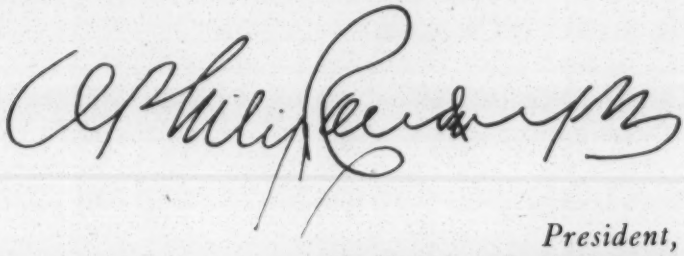
men deprived of work, and the anguished demoralization of our youth.

For better or worse, we are one nation and one people. We shall solve our problems together or together we shall enter a new era of social disorder and disintegration.

What we need is an overall plan of attack.

This is what the "Freedom Budget" is. It is not visionary or utopian. It is feasible. It is concrete. It is specific. It is quantitative. It talks dollars and cents. It sets goals and priorities. It tells how these can be achieved. And it places the responsibility for leadership with the Federal Government, which alone has the resources equal to the task.

The "Freedom Budget" is not a call for a handout. It is a challenge to the best traditions and possibilities of America. It is a call to those who have grown weary of slogans and gestures to rededicate themselves to the cause of social reconstruction. It is a plea to men of good will to give tangible substance to long-proclaimed ideals.



President,
A. Philip Randolph Institute

October 26, 1966

FOREWORD

After many years of intense struggle in the courts, in legislative halls, and on the streets, we have achieved a number of important victories. We have come far in our quest for respect and dignity. But we have far to go.

The long journey ahead requires that we emphasize the needs of all America's poor, for there is no way merely to find work, or adequate housing, or quality-integrated schools for Negroes alone. We shall eliminate slums for Negroes when we destroy ghettos and build new cities for *all.* We shall eliminate unemployment for Negroes when we demand full and fair employment for *all.* We shall produce an educated and skilled Negro mass when we achieve a twentieth century educational system for *all.*

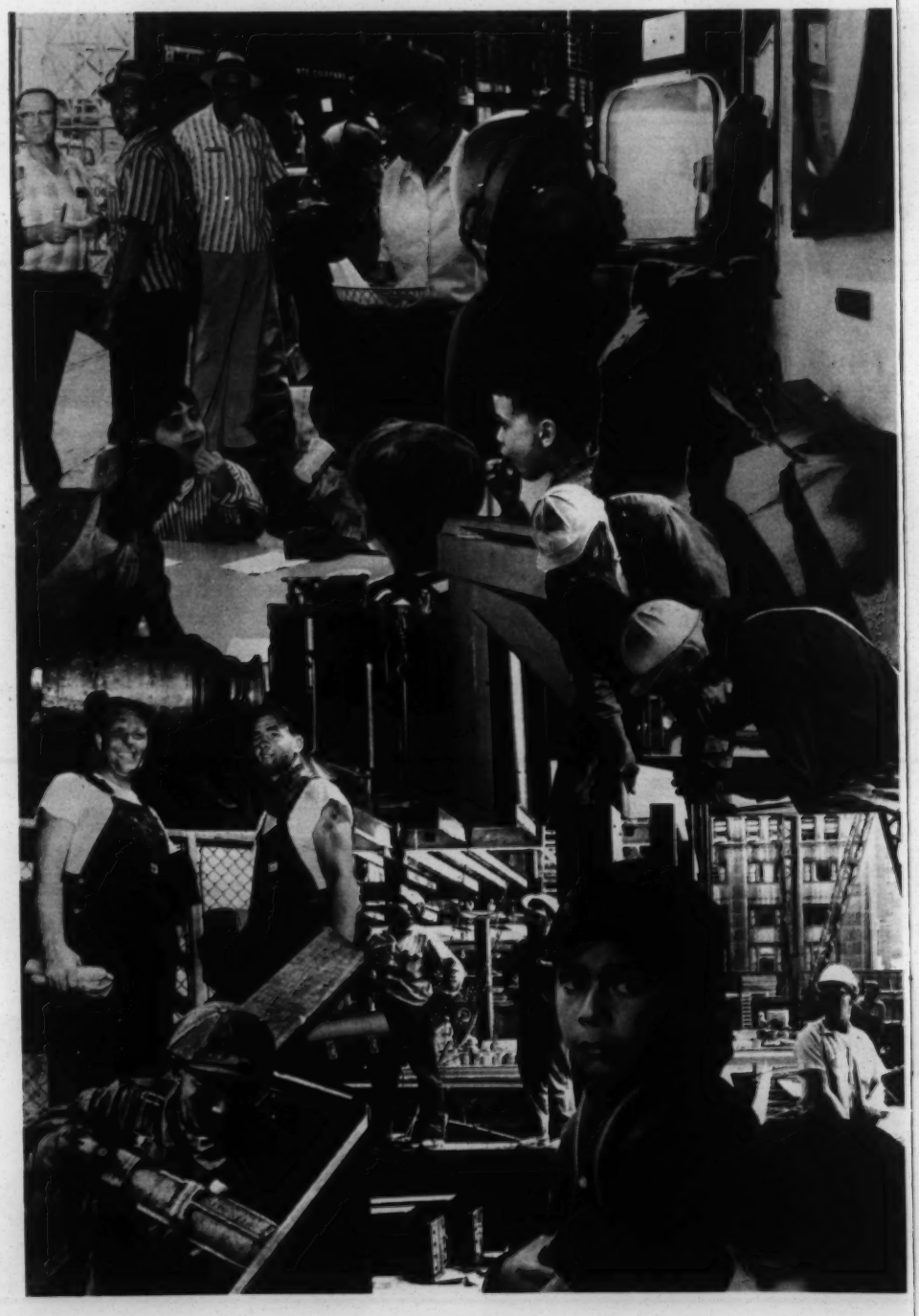
This human rights emphasis is an integral part of the Freedom Budget and sets, I believe, a new and creative tone for the great challenge we yet face.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference fully endorses the Freedom Budget and plans to expend great energy and time in working for its implementation.

It is not enough to project the Freedom Budget. We must dedicate ourselves to the legislative task to see that it is immediately and fully achieved. I pledge myself to this task and will urge all others to do likewise. The Freedom Budget is essential if the Negro people are to make further progress. It is essential if we are to maintain social peace. It is a political necessity. It is a moral commitment to the fundamental principles on which this nation was founded.

Martin Luther King Jr.

October 26, 1966 *Martin Luther King*



A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

The Freedom Budget is a practical, step-by-step plan for wiping out poverty in America during the next 10 years.

It will mean more money in your pocket. It will mean better schools for your children. It will mean better homes for you and your neighbors. It will mean clean air to breathe and comfortable cities to live in. It will mean adequate medical care when you are sick.

So where does the "Freedom" come in?

For the first time, everyone in America who is fit and able to work will have a job. For the first time, everyone who can't work, or shouldn't be working, will have an income adequate to live in comfort and dignity. And that is freedom. For freedom from want is the basic freedom from which all others flow.

This nation has learned that it must provide freedom for all if any of us is to be free. We have learned that half-measures are not enough. We know that continued unfair treatment of part of our people breeds misery and waste that are both morally indefensible and a threat to all who are better off.

As A. Philip Randolph put it: "Here in these United States, where there can be no economic or technical excuse for it, poverty is not only a private tragedy but, in a sense, a public crime. It is above all a challenge to our morality."

The Freedom Budget would make that challenge the lever we can grasp to wipe out poverty in a decade.

Pie in the sky?

Not on your life. Just simple recognition of the fact that we as a nation never had it so good. That we have the ability and the means to provide adequately for everyone. That simple justice requires us to see that everyone—white or black; in the city or on the farm; fisherman or mountaineer—may have his share in our national wealth.

The moral case for the Freedom Budget is compelling.

In a time of unparalleled prosperity, there are 34 million Americans living in poverty. Another 28 million live

just on the edge, with income so low that any unexpected expense or loss of income could thrust them into poverty.

Almost one-third of our nation lives in poverty or want. They are not getting their just share of our national wealth.

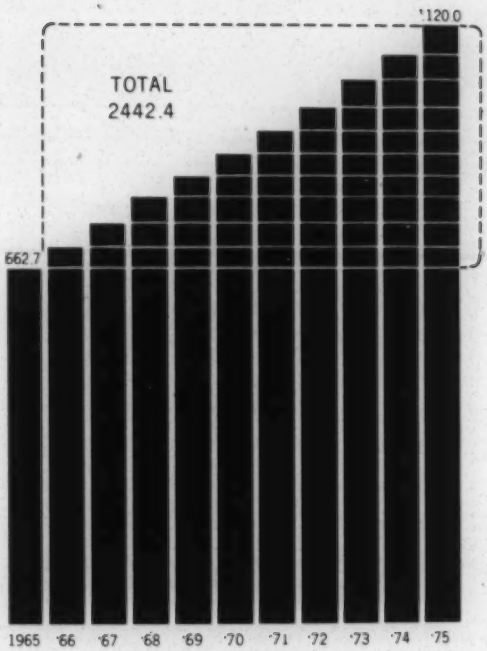
Just as compelling, this massive lump of despair stands as a threat to our future prosperity. Poverty and want breed crime, disease and social unrest. We need the potential purchasing and productive power the poor would achieve, if we are to continue to grow and prosper.

In short, for good times to continue—and get better—we must embark immediately on a program that will fairly and indiscriminately provide a decent living for all Americans.

The Freedom Budget provides seven basic objectives, which taken together will achieve this great goal within 10 years. They are:

1. To provide *full employment* for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able.
2. To assure *decent and adequate wages* to all who work.
3. To assure a *decent living standard* to those who cannot or should not work.
4. To *wipe out slum ghettos* and provide decent homes for all Americans.
5. To provide *decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities* to all Americans, at a cost they can afford.
6. To *purify our air and water* and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.
7. To unite sustained full employment with sustained *full production and high economic growth.*

WHAT WE HAVE TO WORK WITH
Gross National Product in Billions of 1964 Dollars



The Freedom Budget shows how to do all this without a raise in taxes and without a single make-work job—by planning prudently NOW to use the economic growth of the future, and with adequate attention to our international commitments.

The key is jobs.

We can all recognize that the major cause of poverty could be eliminated, if enough decently paying jobs were available for everyone willing and able to work. And we can also recognize that, with enough jobs for all, a basic cause of discrimination among job-seekers would automatically disappear.

What we must also recognize is that we now have the means of achieving complete employment—at no increased cost, with no radical change in our economic system, and at no cost to our present national goals—if we are willing to commit ourselves totally to this achievement.

That is what the Freedom Budget is all about.

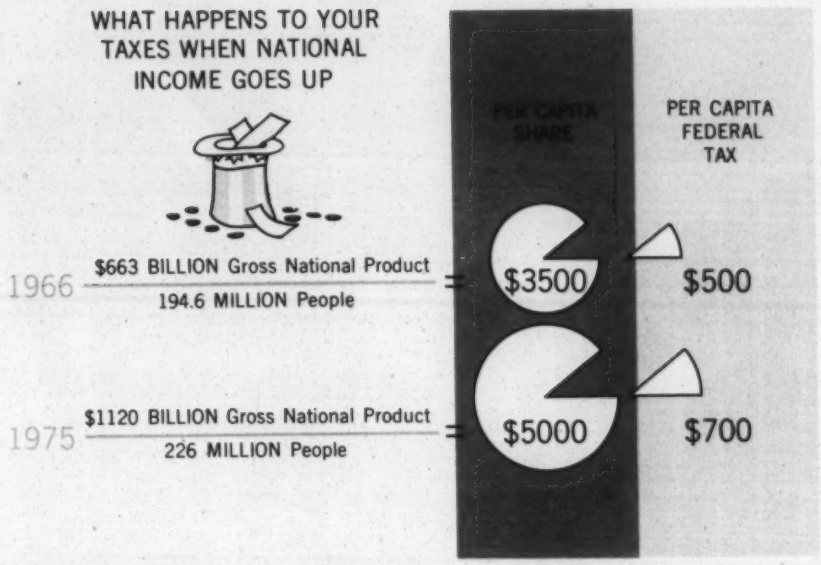
It asks that we unite in insisting that the nation plan now to use part of its expected economic growth to eliminate poverty.

Where will the jobs come from? What will we use for money?

If all our nation's wealth were divided equally among all us Americans, each share would be worth roughly $3,500. Of this, we grant to the Federal government a slice equal to roughly $500 in the form of taxes, leaving us an average of about $3,000 to spend on our other needs.

If our nation's productivity continues growing at the same rate as in recent years—and it will if the Freedom Budget is adopted—each share will grow to about $5,000. Thus, the Federal government's slice will grow to $700, with the present Federal tax structure, and we will still have $4,300 left for our other needs.

What the Freedom Budget proposes is this: Budget a fraction of the $200 increase in Federal tax revenues to provide jobs for all who can work and adequate income of other types for those who cannot.



No doles. No skimping on national defense. No tampering with private supply and demand.

Just an enlightened self-interest, using what we have in the best possible way.

By giving the poor a chance to become dignified wage earners, we will be generating the money to finance the improvements we all need—rich and poor alike. And we would be doing it by making new jobs with new money, so that no one who is now earning his own living would suffer.

The Freedom Budget recognizes that the Federal government must take the lead in attaining the eradication of poverty.

The Federal government alone represents all 200 million American individuals. It alone has the resources for a comprehensive job. And it has the responsibility for fulfilling the needs which are the basis for the Freedom Budget plan.

First, here's where the jobs would be coming from:

—Right now, the nation should begin budgeting to replace the 9.3 million "seriously deficient" housing units that make living in them a misery and form slums that are a blight upon our land.

The housing program contained in the Freedom Budget would have practically all Americans decently housed by 1975—while providing a wide range of jobs for the unemployed in housing construction and urban redevelopment.

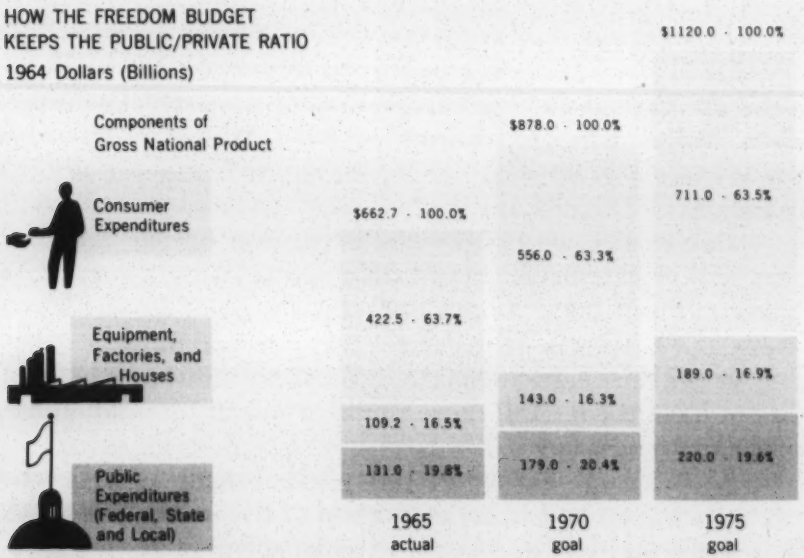
—Critical shortages of water and power persist in many highly populated areas. Air and waters remain polluted. Recreation facilities are unavailable for those who need them most.

The Freedom Budget proposes the creation of millions of jobs in a program that will correct these pressing problems.

—We need, at a conservative estimate, 100,000 new public classrooms a year for the next six years, as well as considerable expansion of our institutions of higher learning.

Only the Federal government can meet the largest share of these needs, as well as providing for the hundreds of thousands of new teachers who also will be needed.

—We must double our rate of hospital construction if we are to keep up with our minimum requirements in this field, and we must expand rehabilitation and outpatient facilities.



As these and other programs swell the number of productive workers, cut down unemployment and increase consumption, the private sector of our national economy will inevitably grow also.

The Freedom Budget recognizes that full employment by itself is not enough to eradicate poverty. Therefore, it also proposes — and budgets for — a $2-an-hour Federal minimum wage covering everyone within Federal jurisdiction; a new farm program to provide adequate income to the 43 per cent of farm families who now live in poverty; and immediate improvements in Social Security, welfare, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation and other programs designed to support those who cannot or should not work.

Where will the money come from?

The Freedom Budget recognizes that we cannot spend what we do not produce. It also recognizes that we must spend wisely what we do produce.

It proposes that a portion of our future growth—one thirteenth of what can reasonably be expected to be available —be earmarked for the eradication of poverty. The Freedom Budget proposed outlay of $185 billion in 10 years sounds like a great deal of money, and it is a great deal of money.

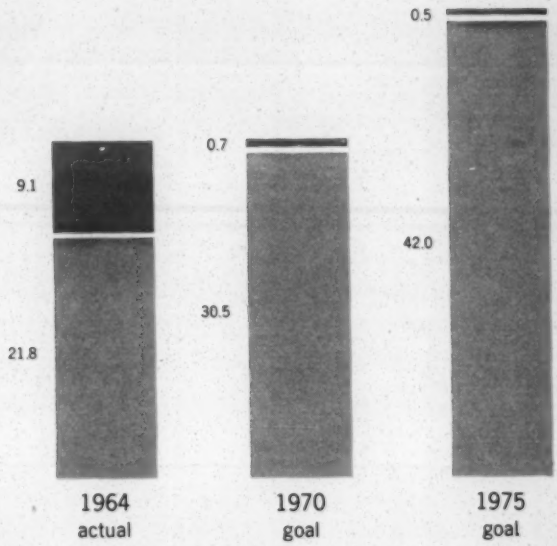
But it will come from the expansion of our economy that will in part be the result of wise use of that very $185 billion. It will build homes and schools, provide recreation areas and hospitals. It will train teachers and nurses.

It will provide adequate incomes to millions who now do not have them. And those millions will in turn buy goods they cannot now buy.

So the wage earner of today will benefit as well. His earnings will go up and his enjoyment of life will be increased. The opportunities for private enterprise will increase.

The breeding grounds of crime and discontent will be diminished in the same way that draining a swamp cuts down

WHAT THE FREEDOM BUDGET MEANS FOR FAMILY INCOMES
Number of Families (millions)



the breeding of mosquitoes, and the causes of discrimination will be considerably reduced.

But the Freedom Budget cannot become reality without a national effort. It requires a concentrated commitment by all the people of America, expressed in concrete goals and programs of the Federal Government. These goals and programs must encourage to the utmost the efforts of state and local governments and private enterprise.

It is not lack of good-will that has prevented the achievement of these great goals in the past. All of us, 200 million strong, are united in our willingness to share the abundance of America in equal impartiality with our fellows, and to grant equal opportunities to all.

What we must do—and what the Freedom Budget provides—is to express that will in the most direct, quickest and fairest way.

The Freedom Budget, then, is a new call to arms for a final assault on injustice. It is a rallying cry we cannot fail to heed.

THE "FREEDOM BUDGET": QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Aren't We Making Progress in Eliminating Poverty Through the Kind of Sharp Economic Growth We've Had in the Past Two Years? What New Dimensions Does the "Freedom Budget" Add?

There is no evidence that the economic growth of the last two years has significantly dented poverty. Economic growth is a precondition for abolishing poverty, but it is not sufficient by itself. To it must be added programs that reach toward a more equitable distribution of our abundance. This is the dimension added by the "Freedom Budget."

2. Will Programs to Help the Poor Really Enable Them to Break the Cycle of Poverty?

Of course. The overwhelming majority of the poor don't want to be poor. They have been kept in poverty, in some cases for two or more generations. They are the victims of technological changes, of wrong-headed economic policies, of political powerlessness, of discrimination, of the environment of poverty itself. Their despair and demoralization can be dispelled only by the opening of genuine economic opportunity. When such opportunity is provided, along the lines suggested in the "Freedom Budget," the cycle of poverty can and will be broken.

3. How Many of the People in Poverty Are Capable of Handling Jobs and How Many Would Take Jobs if They Were Offered?

First of all, 20% of those in poverty are in families whose breadwinners already work full-time but at wages below the poverty level. Another 40% are victims of unemployment or underemployment; their problem is not unwillingness to work but the absence of jobs. Thus, fully 60% of the poverty problem could be eliminated if we achieved full employment at decent wages.

The remaining 40% of those in poverty either cannot or should not be working. Included are the physically disabled, the elderly, women with young children, etc. For them the "Freedom Budget" demands improved public assistance, social security and other payments, culminating in a guaranteed annual income.

Our past experience shows that federal programs such as the progressive income tax, social security, protection of collective bargaining and others have raised the income level of millions of people.

4. Won't the Spending of So Much Money Mean the Creation of More Government Agencies and Just Expand Bureaucracy?

The expansion of bureaucracy results from the effort to solve problems in a haphazard, piecemeal way. A coordinated national plan, such as the "Freedom Budget" does not call for new agencies; it calls for new levels of economic performance. People who are fully employed at decent wages do not need bureaucracies; the poor and disadvantaged do.

5. Will Taxes Have to be Raised to Provide the Money to Implement the Freedom Budget Programs?

Our current tax structure is very responsive to economic growth. If total output expands—and it will if Freedom Budget proposals are enacted—revenues to the federal government will rise by $10 billion each year. For the ten years, the cumulative effect will be to add in excess of $400 billion to our present tax revenue.

6. Where Will All the Money Come From?

From what the "Freedom Budget" calls the "economic growth dividend." If we put all of our resources to work, the country's total production will jump from $663 billion in 1965 to roughly $1.2 trillion in 1975. To reach this figure, the gross national product would rise each year by an average of $244 billion. Thus, over a ten-year period, the aggregate increase in the gross national product would be $2.4 trillion higher than if the economy remained at its present level. (See graph, p. 10) This is what is meant by "economic growth dividend." At present tax rates, such a dividend would result in an additional $400 billion or more in Federal revenues over the next decade. It is from these *additional* revenues that the "Freedom Budget" proposes the allocation of $185 billion to meet our critical social needs.

7. Aren't We Asking the American Public to Devote a Tremendous Amount of Money to Help Just a Small Group Within Our Society?

While it is true that poverty afflicts only a minority of Americans, it reflects a malfunctioning of our national economy which affects all Americans. The persistence of unemployment and underuse of resources detract from our total wealth. Had there been maximum employment and production between 1953-65, as would have been achieved under programs such as those proposed in the Freedom Budget, our gross national product would have been $550 billion higher, total private consumption would have been $364 billion higher, and public revenues would have been $135 billion higher. All Americans would have shared in this greater abundance.

Thus, we have all been deprived of the contribution the poor can make, as producers and consumers, to our economy. Moreover, nobody is untouched by the spread of slums, the decay of social services, and the human waste that lead to violence, crime and chaos. Every American suffers from outmoded urban transit, air and water pollution, inadequate schools and hospitals.

This is a "Freedom Budget" for *all* Americans.

8. Would Not a $2.00 Minimum Wage, Particularly in Agriculture, Reduce the Number of Jobs?

This is a standard argument against higher minimum wages, but it has no basis in fact. There was no increase in unemployment when minimum wages were raised in 1961 and again in 1963. On the contrary, because a $2.00 minimum wage would boost consumer purchasing power, total employment would probably rise.

Government programs should be established to help small enterprises achieve greater efficiency and to tide them over while they are adjusting to payment of a living wage.

9. Won't $185 Billion More in Spending Create Such High Demand for Goods and Services That Sharp Inflation Will Be Inevitable?

There is no evidence of serious shortages in goods at present. Should such shortages develop, however, or if tendencies toward inflation threaten, the "Freedom Budget" contends that the Federal Government has sufficient fiscal and monetary tools to deal with the problem, without scuttling our commitment to abolish poverty.

10. Does the "Freedom Budget" Assume That National Defense Expenditures Would Not Rise?

No. For national defense, space technology and all international outlays, the federal budget in 1967 was $64.6 billion. The "Freedom Budget" assumes this figure would rise to $87.5 billion in 1975.

In making this estimate, the Freedom Budget neither endorses nor condemns present military spending policies. It relies on the judgment of informed experts. Obviously, if the international situation improves and a reduction in military spending is in order, so much more money will be available for social needs. But even if military spending increases faster than now envisioned, the Freedom Budget proves that we can afford to carry out the necessary programs. But the abolition of poverty is too precious a goal to be made *contingent* on such a reduction.

SIGNATORIES OF "FREEDOM BUDGET"*

The "Freedom Budget" embodies a fundamental approach to the elimination of poverty for all Americans, regardless of color, and has other essential purposes. While not necessarily endorsing every detail, I am in broad agreement with its basic objectives and broad outlines.

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WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. The objectives outlined in the "Freedom Budget for All Americans," can only be achieved when all those who advocate its adoption are registered voters. Carry on a voter registration campaign in your area and demand that candidates for office tell you where they stand on the Freedom Budget.

2. Order copies of this summary for members of your club, trade union, neighborhood association, fraternal and religious groups.

3. Order copies of the expanded, "A Freedom Budget for All Americans," for your local public and school libraries, keep several on hand for reference work.

4. Hold meeting for the general public about the Freedom Budget.

5. Set-up small study groups to relate the demands of the Freedom Budget to the needs of your community.

6. Write to the Randolph Institute if you need help in planning meetings, if you need a speaker, or if you would like a field secretary help you organize activities in behalf of the Budget.

7. Write to your congressmen and senators and let them know that you support the Budget; ask them to introduce legislation incorporating the proposals in the Budget.

8. Contact your city and state officials to let them know the needs of your community; demand that they pressure Washington for its enactment.

9. Contact youth groups and involve them in work in behalf of the Budget.

10. Please send copies of your correspondence, replies from government officials and other material to the Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027.

agency file

A. Philip Randolph Institute

217 West 125 Street / New York, N.Y. 10027 / (212) 666-9510

May 1967

Dear Friend:

As someone who lives in a state that has passed a so-called "Right to Work" Law, you should be particularly interested in the enclosed pamphlet by Bayard Rustin, entitled *"Right to Work" Laws -- A Trap for America's Minorities*. This pamphlet is, I believe, an excellent documentation of the need for building Negro-white alliances and a plea for every worker to be guaranteed a job at decent wages with security and dignity.

Mr. Rustin points out, as you no doubt know, that it is no accident that among the states that have such "Right to Work" laws we find Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and Florida. Not only are these states in which the percentage of families living in poverty is much higher than in other states, but they are also states which do not match the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour, states in which it is nearly impossible for Negroes to join unions, and states which do not have equal pay for women.

The pamphlet shows conclusively that the advocates of "Right to Work" laws have been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit Negro and white workers.

We have also enclosed a copy of the summary edition of the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a step-by-step plan for wiping out poverty in America over the next ten years.

Both booklets are available at 25¢ per copy. We want very much for people in your area to get copies of each, and will be glad to work out quantity prices and consignment orders upon request.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

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President

BR/mld
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"Right to Work" Laws

—A Trap for America's Minorities

by

Bayard Rustin

A. Philip Randolph Institute

Bayard Rustin is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The subject of this pamphlet was originally delivered as a speech on the so-called Right to Work Laws on February 18, 1967. It was made in rebuttal to Reed Larson, Executive Vice-President of the National Right to Work Committee, in a debate at the annual meeting of the California Negro Leadership Conference in San Francisco.

Price: 25¢ per copy
Quantity prices upon request

Additional copies may be ordered from:
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y. 10027
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Introduction

We in the civil rights movement have been traditionally opposed to right-to-work laws. *We believe that Section 14 (b) of the Taft Hartley Act should be repealed.* We have stood against these laws on the grounds not only that they destroy the unity and impair the effectiveness of labor unions, but also that they constitute an obstacle to the progress of colored Americans and are inimical to the interest of all of America's underprivileged. We recommend this pamphlet as one that sets forth clearly and, we hope, persuasively arguments against right-to-work laws.

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Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women

Martin Luther King Jr.

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Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP

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Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The "Right to Work" Laws

Bayard Rustin

America is a country born in libertarianism. Its basic philosophical and constitutional documents guarantee and affirm democratic values. Yet so many millions of our people have been forced to spend their entire lives in the struggle to obtain social, political and economic justice. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution itself, the Bill of Rights, a whole series of Federal Statutes – they articulate a course for the democratic conduct of our affairs, yet so many of us have been doomed to fight as though we are creating a democracy, instead of, in fact, inheriting a historic birthright.

Though this paradox touches in one way or another upon the lives of millions of Americans, black and white, it has been most dramatically evidenced in the lives of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other minority groups, and in the life of the American labor movement. Nobody knows so much about American freedom as Negroes who have never really had it, whose entire journey across the stage of American history has been a long, bitter, heartbreaking journey in search of an elusive birthright. And no other social movement in America has been forced to walk as doggedly as the labor movement has, the bloody road to labor dignity and industrial democracy. Labor and minority groups have been where the real action is – the bullets, the dogs, the lynch-ropes, the billy clubs, blood dripping down through the leaves of the trees, and blood running out of the open shop. This makes us brothers not only under the skin, but also brothers in blood, in sweat, and in tears, all shed in the service of making America safe for democracy. It is to the credit of the American labor movement, and a challenge to its treatment of the Negro in the future, that I cannot make that statement about any other institution in America.

When the racists, bigots, and monopolists were not shedding our blood, they were blocking our way with all kinds of stratagems. We have heard them all – "Property Rights," "States Rights," "Right to Work." All of these slogans, as you will have noticed, and as you will still notice, have been uttered in ringing tones of idealism and individual freedom. But that is the special genius of those who would deny the right of others and hoard the fruits of democracy for themselves: They evade the problems and complex challenges of equal justice by reducing them to primitive oversimplifications that plead for nothing

else but the perpetuation of their own special, exploitative interests.

The present battle being fought by some of the most powerful interests in this country to retain the so-called right-to-work laws falls squarely within the tradition of these primitive self-serving strategies. This slogan – Right to Work – developed out of the license granted by Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act, is deceptive and insidious. On the face of it, what working man would not be interested in his inalienable right to work? It is only when we look more closely that we see it does not mean that at all.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has the right to a job and to receive work at fair wages, reasonable hours, and under decent labor standards.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has a right to secure employment with proper provisions for paid vacations and insurance safeguards against sickness and old age.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker is protected against arbitrary discharge.

IT DOES NOT MEAN to strengthen the individual worker's bargaining position through a union of his choice.

What it means is the OPPOSITE of all these things. And what IT DOES MEAN is weakening the workers' bargaining power by keeping unions out of the factory or office.

IT DOES MEAN creating the open shop.

IT DOES MEAN destroying the institution of collective bargaining, and thus keeping Negroes and other minority members at the bottom of the economic ladder.

IT DOES MEAN wrecking the whole structure of labor union democracy and effective labor-management relations. In short, "Right to Work" is the same as Open Shop and industrial Jim Crow, and no matter how you dress it up it is the same weapon that was used to kill trade union organization in the early part of the twentieth century, the same weapon used to deny minorities their economic rights.

Therefore, Right to Work – as it becomes incumbent on Negroes and other minorities to see – beyond being aimed at wrecking the traditional labor-management apparatus, constitutes just another instrument to perpetuate the informal system of racism in the United States. That being so, I am opposed to it as a Negro; I am opposed to it as someone

who sees that from this point on the problems of minorities are intimately connected with the problems of the labor movement; I am opposed to it as someone who has spent the greater part of his life in the struggle for human rights; and I am opposed to it as an American who understands that the cause of equality for all of our people and justice for all of our people cannot triumph without a strong, unified effective movement of all the workers in our society regardless of color, race and creed.

But what, in more detail, is the nature of our case against Section 14(b)? I will bring at least five charges.

1. "Right to Work" laws are a violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Anyone who examines the history and development of the Constitution will find that federal jurisdiction over national labor-management relations is vested in the "commerce clause," which argues, in effect, for a uniform regulation of commerce. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 voted unanimously to delegate to the federal government the power to regulate commerce. This is further buttressed by the provision that federal law is supreme to state law in areas delegated to the federal government. As recently as 1935, the Congress in the Wagner Act preempted for the federal government jurisdiction over labor management relations for several years, during which the Supreme Court consistently ruled that States may exercise their traditional police powers to protect public safety and order, but may not adopt their own codes of labor relations, since this was the exclusive prerogative of the federal government. The doctrine is clear, and still stands as one of the chief arbiters in relations between the federal government and the States. Significantly, there is just one exception: the authority that Section 14(b) has given the States since 1947 to exercise jurisdiction in matters affecting the local union security. There could be no more flagrant breach of one of the hallowed traditions of the Constitution, and Negroes and other ethnic minorities who have suffered most from the frustration of American constitutional guarantees cannot be happy over yet another blow to their aspirations for social and economic liberation.

President Truman, as many of us recall, had no interest in being an accomplice to

this disastrous precedent. He attempted to veto the Taft Hartley Bill, sending it back to Congress with these words:

> **"The bill is contrary to the national policy of economic freedom . . . would limit the freedom of employers and labor organizations to agree on methods of developing responsibility on the part of unions by establishing union security . . ."**

But, as so often happens, Congress saw the issue differently. And so it overrode Truman's veto and destroyed the integrity of labor's hard-won bargaining strength.

2. "Right to Work" laws are undemocratic.

In the 1930's, slowly groping its way out of a disastrous Depression, the country made a momentous democratic political decision: We decided that henceforth free collective bargaining was to be the policy of the nation. We opted to apply democratic principles to the regulation of industrial life, and in doing so, we were also opting for "exclusive jurisdiction" in labor matters. The union that won a free and fair election among the workers in a plant was to be empowered by law to represent all the workers of that plant. The union was to become the exclusive bargaining agent that could exclude or ignore no one. This became the pattern of labor-management relationships, and it helped open the economic doors to hundreds of thousands of Negroes and other minorities. But comes 1947, and with it Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act. And what does it do? It refuses to acknowledge the binding nature of the majority decision of a union membership, guarantees the right of non-union membership among workers in a plant, imposes the will of a minority of members upon the majority, and thus destroys the collective bargaining arrangement, and sets back the progress of Negroes and other minorities. But the implication of this so-called right to work law goes beyond the destruction of nationwide trade union democracy; in effect it has also given certain States a minority veto over the federal government, for it permits individual States to walk out on the national labor policy. This is a most unwise and undemocratic turn of events, with grave dangers for the enforcement

of federal civil rights legislation. What would we do if individual States were permitted to disaffiliate with our national food and drugs standards? What would happen if in the United States, after every election, all the losers stopped paying taxes because they didn't like the government that was elected? What do we do when Alabama opts out of Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act? The result, needless to say, would be utter chaos and a destruction of our democracy.

3. "Right to Work" laws exploit and perpetuate American poverty.

And who, may I ask, are more concerned about poverty in the United States than Negroes and other ethnic minorities? As we have seen, most of the States that have retained these laws are the poor, segregationist, reactionary States with weak labor movements and disenfranchised Negroes, and who use the laws as an inducement to those industries with low capital and low labor incentives. In other words, they attract the kind of companies that can make money off a large, defenseless pool of unskilled labor and that can profit from the perpetuation of this backwardness. It is no accident that among these States we find Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida.

Let's look at the situation in these States:

- The percentage of families living in poverty in right-to-work States is much higher than in the other States.
- None of the right-to-work States matches the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour.
- In most of these States right-to-work laws make it literally impossible for Negroes to join unions.
- Negroes are barred from enjoying an expanded minimum wage in these States.
- Eleven of the States have no minimum wage standard at all.
- Only three of them have equal pay for women.
- Only one of these States has fair employment laws.

By contrast, it is significant that none of these problems exist in States with democratically

organized union structures. Twenty-three of the States without "Right to Work" laws *do* have enforceable minimum wage laws. Fourteen of them cover men as well as women. Twenty-one provide at least $1.00 an hour minimum wage. And twelve of them equal or exceed the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour. And in all of them Negroes are organized in the union shop structure.

So, as the evidence shows, contrary to guaranteeing the right to work, what these laws do is to guarantee the right to work long hours; the right to bar Negroes; the right to underpay women who do equal work with men; the right to pay substandard wages; the right to pay substandard unemployment and compensation benefits; and the right to destroy organized unionism.

4. "Right to Work" laws are anti-Negro and anti-Civil Rights.

It does not require an extraordinary amount of wisdom to see that behind the insistence of certain States to maintain "Right to Work" laws is a desire to preserve their right to discriminate. In the same way that many of them have run out on the national labor policy, they want to make it easy for Mississippi and Alabama, say, to contract out of the national Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. Therefore, it is not an accident that we find the plight of Negroes worst in States that have "Right to Work" laws. In a study conducted by Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, of Negro employment and income between 1950 and 1960, the author found that in only one of the Southern "Right to Work" States "have the earnings of the Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers. In each of the other ten States, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from 6% in Virginia to 25% in Arkansas for all male workers." In short, between 1950 and 1960, everyone in these Southern States was doing better, while Negroes were falling farther and farther behind.

Therefore A. Philip Randolph is right when he says that right-to-work supporters are pushing these laws "in the hope of driving a wedge between Negroes and the labor movement." And Martin Luther King is right when he charges that the "Right to Work"

laws are laws to "rob us of our civil rights and job rights." And Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, and James Farmer were absolutely right in their testimony before the Special House Subcommittee in support of the repeal of Section 14(b). As they went on to point out, it is significant that these efforts to deny our civil rights and job rights are being pushed by some of the country's staunchest segregationists.

5. "Right to Work" laws are "Rightist" and racist.

Who are some of the leading figures behind the drive to retain "Right to Work" laws? You will find their names on every right-wing letterhead across the nation, all of which organizations, let us not forget, are anti-Negro, anti-Mexican American, and anti-Puerto Rican, and anti-civil rights. These men and organizations who are representatives on the Right to Work Committee are well-known right-wingers.

What could it be that has suddenly united racists, rightists and segregationists behind the right to work? I wonder why it is that these laws were being passed in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas during the late forties and early fifties, precisely the times when Negroes were effectively denied the right to vote? Isn't it rather cheerful and hopeful for the future of our democracy that members of the John Birch Society have suddenly developed a tender love and sympathy for the common man? If questions like these bring sneers instead of smiles to our faces, then we know we cannot take them seriously, that we are in fact being had.

In raising these questions and in relating them to the political interests and tastes of rightists and segregationists, I am not supporting the notion of guilt by association. I am against lists that would bar a man from a job on the grounds of assumptions about past membership in an organization rather than on the facts of his present competence. But in politics, it is necessary to test a man's word by what he does. And the advocates of the "Right to Work" laws have, by and large, been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit Negroes and workers, the very groups they sometimes profess so much concern about. It is also necessary, in politics, to judge movements by the major trends within them. And I am suspicious of any campaign in behalf of the right to work

which claims to be for Negro rights, but is in fact supported by practically every racist in the country; which says it is in favor of workers' rights, yet only succeeds in States where workers are a small minority.

Though all the foregoing do not exhaust the possible objections to "Right to Work" laws, or the reason why 14(b) ought to be repealed, they represent the fundamental grounds of protest on which the labor and Negro movement stand united.

Having said all this, let me make it clear that I remain in favor of our working out a genuine right to work situation. But it is impossible to come to what such a situation would be without stating that a genuine right to work will not be achieved until the Negro and the trade union movement succeed in eliminating some of the urgent problems that remain between them. I mean by this that we all have to recognize that there is still discrimination in a minority segment of the American labor movement. This is a scandal, however, that is being vigorously fought by every unionist, black or white, who is worthy of the name. I myself am, in my own capacity, committed to end the vestiges of discrimination in the trade union movement, but I absolutely refuse to conduct the battle along lines that will ultimately injure the labor movement. I could not do this and still remain convinced that Negroes have a need and a responsibility to make that movement stronger and more effective.

After all, we must recognize that a great measure of the Negroes' economic progress is the result of their membership in the labor movement. We all know of the post World War I emigration of Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers in search of jobs and dignity. We all know what they discovered when they came; that the economy was systematically arranged to keep them more unemployed, more menially employed, less paid, most slowly hired, and most quickly fired. We all know how that terrible disillusionment found expression in the back-to-Africa movement led by Marcus Garvey, in much the same way that their contemporary despair is finding outlet in the cries for Black Power. And we all know how the Depression that brought down millions of white Americans in poverty ironically raised the economic standards of the majority of poor Negroes who found that their relief payments added up to more than they were able to earn as workers.

It was in this period – the great Depression – that Negroes in large numbers really became involved in the labor movement. The AFL and CIO unions organized Negroes in many industrial areas, making the labor movement one of the most integrated institutions of our society. There are many problems that remain to be solved between labor and Negro; however, we are pressing a vigorous attack upon these problems. I myself am engaged in an effort to get Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters admitted to the building trades. And we have succeeded in placing 250 youngsters in those trades in the New York area. When I urge an alliance between the labor movement and other minority groups, I am not encouraging complacency nor losing sight of the unfinished business. I simply want to place the relation of the black worker to the white worker in proper perspective. More than that, it is to help us to confront together a new injustice: What are the millions of impoverished Negroes and the millions of impoverished whites going to do in an age of automation? How can we, in the new developing circumstances, guarantee full employment, and therefore guarantee a genuine right to work? The only way to guarantee this kind of right to work is for Negroes and the unions to work together. We cannot do it by ourselves, and the economy cannot do it without us. We both have got to weld a great coalition to solve the problems of jobs, education, housing. We have got to make our movement come to represent the majority will of the American society and help it move on to massive and planned social investments to end slums, inferior schools, and depression rates of employment.

It is only when we have achieved all this that we will have achieved the genuine right to work. In closing, then, I am in favor of the right to work in the sense that Franklin Roosevelt was: namely, that this society should guarantee every worker a job at decent wages with security and dignity; and if the private sector does not fulfill this task, then it must be the automatic, legal obligation of the public sector to do so.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute Has:

■ Submitted and published testimony on behalf of the $2.00 minimum wage, Extended Unemployment Benefits and Repeal of the "Right to Work" Laws.

■ Conducted workshops for students going into the South to work on voter registration, community organization, and political education.

■ Provided background papers for the La Farge Institute Conference for Religious Leaders and the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

■ Convened informal discussions between members of the press and civil rights leaders, educationists and fighters for school integration, labor leaders and Southern activists, and directors of poverty projects and indigenous leaders.

■ Interpreted the meaning of the Negro-Labor alliance to State AFL-CIO conventions, student bodies, civic organizations and religious groups.

■ Participated in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

■ Prepared and published the "Freedom Budget for All Americans" and launched a major campaign on its behalf.

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POLICE

AC 3/3/66

Are Policemen Enemies of the Poor? ---Not So and 5 Officers Show Why

By FRANK WELLS

"Man, you don't have to look for poverty around here. Just step out the door and it hits you right in the face."

Atlanta Police Officer V. E. Jackson was talking in the Eco-

First in a series.

nomic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., neighborhood office on Georgia Avenue.

Why is a police officer so much interested in poverty?

Poverty breeds crime — and the Atlanta Police department is engaged in a brand new project: that of crime prevention through a new bureau.

Five police officers are assigned and work each day in five of the EOA's neighborhood offices. They are trying—and succeeding — to change the image of the Atlanta cop from that man in blue who means trouble when he shows up to that of the man in blue who is there to help — and keep the trouble from happening.

The men work under the supervision of Lt. Howard Baugh, Atlanta's highest ranking Negro police officer.

"The first attitude that we had to change was that of the police officer himself," said Lt. Baugh. "We have been in these neighborhoods many times. . . . They know us. . . . And when we were here before it was for the purpose of an arrest.

"We didn't seek causes for why a man had committed a crime. We just arrested him. If he did wrong, he got in jail. Now we are trying—in these same neighborhoods—to find out why someone commits a crime and correct that situation before it leads to the ultimate conclusion of robbery or theft or selling liquor or any of the many crimes that still plague the city."

Lt. Baugh has been a tough cop—tough on the criminal element and tough on the men under him, making each toe the line.

He is still a tough cop—all six feet, 200 pounds of him.

But this toughness, this energy, is now channeled into the hard fight for crime prevention.

Lt. Baugh said that the next problem he and his men have is to be able to get close to and talk to the potential law-breaker —particularly the teen-age boys, in and out of school.

"Before we started this programe (Jan. 3 of this year), the closest many of these boys had been to a police officer was 'spotting distance.' They would run any time a policeman showed up, whether they had done anything wrong or not," Lt. Baugh said.

He laid the cause of this attitude on the kids' association with others who had run afoul the law and on parents who frighten children into good behavior by threatening them with calling a policeman.

"We've gone into day nurseries — little bitty kids — and they would shrink away and tighten up at the sight of the blue uniform. We've made friends with them, and they've gone home with the wonderful news to their parents: 'Mama, today I TOUCHED a policeman!'

"It makes you heartsick . . . But we are doing something about it," Lt. Baugh said.

The Crime Prevention Bureau, which operates under the overall direction of Capt. M. G. Redding, recommended last fall by the Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency. Chief Herbert Jenkins started the new approach immediately.

There was a field in which to work . . . and the logical cooperative effort lay with Economic Opportunity Atlanta's neighborhood offices.

Police officers have assigned

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Staff Photo—Charles Bennett

Officer A. A. Harris Baby-Sits a Minute at Perry Homes

Walking a New Beat

Enemies of Poor? ---Not the Police

Continued From Page 1

to five of these centers. Officer H. L. Bolton is at Nash-Washington center, J. P. Arnold at Price High School center, A. L. Cardell at Central City (Techwood) center, A. A. Harris at Perry Homes center and V. E. Jackson at Summerhill - Mechanicsville center. All of the officers are Negroes.

The program is so new that there are no precedents anywhere in the country where advice could be sought. San Francisco has a Crime Prevention Bureau, but it doesn't operate in the same manner. Atlanta's bureau—and its problems—are unique.

There are problems. There will be errors. But progress is being made.

(Tomorrow in The Constitution: The search for a sense of belonging can lead to crime —or to a useful life.)

POLICE
AC 3/4/66

Good Example of Crime Prevention: Officer Helps Boys at Perry Homes

By FRANK WELLS

Atlanta Police Lt. Howard Baugh slowed the unmarked police car as it approached a gang of seven or eight Negro teen-age boys on a corner near Archer High School.

The group exploded like a covey of quail and the boys went running at full tilt toward

Second in a series.

the sanctuary of Archer High. It was during school hours, and they all ran into the building.

"Well," sighed Lt. Baugh, "there's the best example I know of why we need a Crime Prevention Bureau. I didn't think those boys had done anything wrong—maybe being out of school when they shouldn't be—but they weren't going to hang around to have me ask any questions."

"How did they know you were a cop?" I asked Lt. Baugh. "The car isn't marked. You are in civilian clothes."

"They can recognize a police car—unmarked—just as far as they can see it. And they can recognize any law enforcement officer just as far," Lt. Baugh said.

"How old are they when they develop this talent?"

"When they are four or five . . ." and Lt. Baugh's normally merry-looking round face took on a cast of sadness. "That's what we are trying to overcome."

We drove into an area of modern-looking, brick buildings—the Perry Homes.

"And this HAS been a jungle," Lt. Baugh said. "There are kids here who can strip a car even after they've heard the cops are driving into the other side of the homes."

About 1,000 families live in the Perry Homes. "I believe just a small percentage of these folks are really bad," Lt. Baugh said. "The rest are just good — but scared — folks who in the past wouldn't cooperate with the police out of fear."

But in just two short months, Officer A. A. Harris, working with Economic Opportunity Atlanta officials, has managed to reach some of the really "tough" teen-agers and young men in Perry Homes.

He has, with the help of EOA's recreation director John Davis, set up two Police Athletic Leagues: one for the youngsters still in high school and one for the dropouts. There are at present just 55 members—but they are key leaders among the youths in Perry and Bowen Homes.

Four boys dropped into Offi-

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Walking a New Beat

At Perry Homes, an Officer Keeps Boys Out of Trouble

Continued From Page 1

cer Harris' cramped office in the Perry Homes.

They talked about basketball and were obviously on friendly terms with the policeman.

Later the discussion came back to these four:

"They were some of the really tough guys here," Officer Harris said, and Lt. Baugh nodded his agreement. "The two brothers had been rejected by their family — a stepfather, really — because they weren't bringing in any money. They dropped out of school and just went sort of wild."

Harris explained that he had finally managed to talk to the boys and got them and some of their buddies who were also leaders of "gangs" to help set up an athletic program.

Perry Homes houses 1,000 families—but there is no recreation center or community center there. Officer Harris had to talk the principals of schools into making recreational facilities available after school hours for the boys.

The program is working. The boys, in their meetings, have set up rules—and one of them is to cooperate with the police (Officer Harris) in their work toward crime prevention.

"This is no informers' league," Officer Harris said. "They make their own rules. They fined me fifty cents for talking out of turn at one of their meetings. I paid.

"But we found out about kids buying cough syrup with codeine in it, buying glue for sniffing, and we were able to stop this kind of sale in the neighborhood stores.

"These boys have found out—and their influence is growing—that life is more rewarding on the right side of the law."

JOB CORPS HELP

The Job Corps has given some of these youths an opportunity to continue their education and make a little money for their families at the same time.

What about the adults?

"You just have to keep trying . . . " Lt. Baugh said to Officer V. E. Jackson at the EOA office on Georgia Avenue in the middle of the Summerhill-Mechanicsville district.

Officer Jackson had just told of the man with nine children who wanted to go straight but had a police record "as long as your arm."

WANTS TO WORK

"Every job he gets or tries to get, they find out about his record and fire him," Officer Jackson said. "I can't do anything about his record. . . . I don't know if I'd want to hire him. But the man wants to work and go straight."

"You've got to keep trying," Lt. Baugh said. "Trying and trying and trying. . . . You can't just close the record on this fellow. There must be some sort of menial labor or something that he can do. You just keep trying."

These fellows won't quit. They won't win them all, but as Lt. Baugh says, "We'll keep trying."

(Tomorrow in The Constitution: Will the Crime Prevention Bureau really bring about a reduction in crime?)

'Thinking' Police Making Prevention Bureau Work

POLICE AC 3/5/66

By FRANK WELLS

Atlanta's Crime Prevention Bureau—manned by experienced policemen—is new. It was set up Jan. 3 after recommendations by the Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency.

Police Chief Herbert Jenkins was at first dubious about getting into a field that he felt belonged to various welfare and rehabilitation agencies.

Last of a Series

"But when the commission made its recommendation, we set it up, and I put the best men I could think of to run it: Capt. (M.G.) Redding and Lt. (Howard) Baugh.

"They are both 'thinking' as well as 'acting' police officers—and they are getting results."

The process is slow, it is new. There will be errors, as Chief Jenkins pointed out, because there is no precedent. Every case is a new one. This new way of policing hasn't been done before.

"I don't know what we would do without officer (V. E.) Jackson," said Mrs. Edith A. Hambrick, social services supervisor of Economic Opportunity Atlanta's office in the Summerhill-Mechanicsville district.

"He has gotten to know these people and he goes with the workers sometimes when they have to call on a difficult-case family. It helps a lot. He brings in many people who need help to keep them away from crime.

"We are not a money-handout agency. We are here to help people help themselves — and Officer Harris is helping us do just that."

In Perry Homes, EOA recreation director John Davis talked about the work Officer A. A. Harris has done there.

"He's the one who has made these athletic leagues work. I know that the kids are going to name the league after him. He didn't know that before now . . .

Continued on Page 5, Column 4

'Thinking' Police Get the Job Done

Continued From Page 1

But that's how much they think of him," Davis said.

Some city officials feel that the Police department has no place in such a "social service" field. But the police are—next to the criminals themselves—the ones who know the criminals best, and what makes them criminals.

Much of the "public relations" work being done by the Crime Prevention Bureau has been done before on an unofficial scale by the policemen and police women who work with juveniles and the schools. The new bureau gives emphasis to the genuine humanitarian feelings of most policemen.

But will it really work? Will it really cut down on crime?

Nobody knows . . . yet. It seems to be working in the relatively small areas where it is being tried. If these are successful, the bureau probably will grow, and its efforts may perhaps affect the crime rate.

As Mrs. S. F. Crank, director of the EOA center in the poverty-ridden area of Summerhill, said: "We can't stamp out poverty or crime altogether. We know that. We can just try, and keep on trying."

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POLICE (?)

Improving Respect for Law

Compared with those in other Southern cities, Atlanta's police and its courts are notably free of overt racial discrimination. The force and the court facilities are integrated. Police Chief Jenkins has clearly and repeatedly pronounced segregation dead. There are many dedicated men among police and court personnel.

Yet no one can observe police at work or the municipal court in action without realizing that as a general rule, the treatment of Negroes—and poor white people—is different from the treatment of the white majority.

Negroes are patronized in court and treated heavy-handedly by the cop on the beat. This sounds unduly harsh, but the facts are observable.

This is not merely an Atlanta problem, nor a Southern problem. One of the explosive factors behind the Watts riots was a feeling among Watts Negroes that Los Angeles police had dual standards of justice. Justified or otherwise, Negroes in most of the major urban cities of the North have made similar complaints.

A standard defense of police against allegations of rights-violations is: "What about the rights of police not to be cut, shot and beat up? What about the rights of the community to enforce the law?"

Law enforcement men have tough jobs. There's no doubt about that. They risk life and limb daily. They do have to deal with a lot of tough customers. And in moments of danger, they naturally protect themselves first and think of constitutional rights later.

But too many fall into the attitude that because most of their trouble is with the poor, the poor are all trouble-makers who have to be shoved around if they are to be kept in line.

But if the protections of the Constitution are to mean anything, they must apply to the weak as well as the mighty, the poor and ignorant as well as the affluent, educated majority. Furthermore, the less respect police have in a community, the harder their job of law enforcement. Maltreatment of Negroes only exacerbates the task of policing in the Negro community.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, after lengthy documentation of alleged mistreatment, and of Negro community attitudes toward police, has called for an independent civilian review board to hear future accusations against police.

Police throughout the country oppose such boards. We are aware that civilian review carries with it the danger of political grandstanding and of endangering police morale. Yet a review board would be at least one way of redressing a serious grievance, and we have yet to hear a practical alternative.

In any case, the chairman of the aldermanic police committee, Richard Freeman, displayed more temper than judgment when he said: "If the ACLU has anything to do with it, then I don't want to be associated with it." Ditto Chief Jenkins' remark that he didn't care what ACLU said.

Thumbing their noses at the ACLU won't run the problem away.

POLITICS

Mrs. Wallace Files; Admits He's Running

2/25/66 Ark. Gazette

From Gazette Press Services

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Governor George C. Wallace announced Thursday that his wife, Lurleen, 39, a girlish blonde, would run to succeed him.

"If my wife is elected, we are frank and honest to say that I shall be by her side and shall make the policies and decisions affecting the next administration."

Mrs. Wallace was equally frank. "My election would enable my husband to carry on his programs for the people of Alabama," she said.

Reading smoothly from a prepared statement, the one-time dime store clerk said, "I want to provide the people of Alabama an opportunity to reaffirm their support for the principles of free enterprise and local government and for the principles of honesty and integrity in government."

"Let me say it this way," Mrs. Wallace said, "if I am elected governor, there would not be any change from what we have now."

Wallace, standing at his wife's side, predicted to the hundreds of placard-waving followers that "Mrs. Wallace will win." He promised at the same time that "not a single dime of state funds or facilities [including cars and planes] will be used" in the campaign.

Wallace told the crowd that the campaign will be a test of his own popularity and that he

(See LURLEEN on Page 2A.)

POLITICS NYT 2/26/66 THE N

Flowers Joins Alabama Race For Governorship Nomination

State Attorney General, Foe of Segregation, Will Oppose Mrs. Wallace in Primary

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 25—Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, once a college friend and now a bitter foe of Gov. George C. Wallace, announced today that he would seek the Democratic nomination for Governor of Alabama.

He paid a $500 filing fee to qualify him to run in the primary May 3.

Mr. Flowers made an immediate gibe at the Governor and his segregationist supporters by pledging to fly the American Flag from the dome of the State Capitol.

Only the flags of Alabama and the Confederacy fly there now. The American Flag can be seen on a pole at one side of the building.

"This is no act of reason," Mr. Flowers said at a brief press conference in his office. "This is a gesture of defiance that must be put behind us. I intend that such gestures become a part of our past."

"I am a man of reason," Mr. Flowers said. "This is a serious time for our state. We face a critical election—the choice of a Governor who must lead and not divide, who must command the respect of all reasonable men and women in Alabama."

Yesterday, Governor Wallace announced that he would attempt to keep his hold on the state government by running his wife, Lurleen, for Governor. The State Constitution prohibits him from succeeding himself after one four-year term.

Mr. Flowers and Mr. Wallace were friends and, until the race issue separated them, held similar political views.

They were in law school together at the University of Alabama just before World War II. Mr. Flowers broke with his fraternity brothers and supported Mr. Wallace, a struggling youth from a poor family, in an unsuccessful race for president of the student body.

Both men later served as legislative floor leaders for one of Alabama's most liberal Governors, James E. Folsom.

Their differences date from Jan. 16, 1963, when Mr. Wallace became Governor and Mr. Flowers Attorney General. Mr. Wallace, in his inaugural address, defied the Federal Government on school integration. Mr. Flowers asserted that defiance "can bring nothing but disgrace to our state."

Mr. Flowers, who is considered a progressive on other issues has consistently opposed the Governor's segregationist policies since then. As a result, he is expected to get a large share of the growing Negro vote, which may number 200,000 out of a total vote of 600,000 to 800,000. Alabama had about 115,000 registered Negroes before the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 went into effect.

He is not expected to attract many white voters and he is not given much chance of winning the election.

Mr. Flowers, 47 years old, has been called a new style of populist. Unlike the famous Southern populists of the past, he is not a poor man. He is one of four sons of the late John Jefferson Flowers Sr., founder of the Bank of Dothan in Southeast Alabama.

Mr. Flowers was the 10th candidate to qualify for the Democratic primary. Other candidates include former Gov. John Patterson, who defeated Mr. Wallace in his first try for the governorship in 1958, and former United States Representative Carl Elliott.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Richmond Flowers at news conference in Montgomery.

POLITICS

12 Negroes Seek Seats in Alabama

AJ - 3/2/66

By REX THOMAS

JASPER, Ala. (AP) — Voters in a dozen Alabama counties will find a record number of Negro candidates on the ballot in the upcoming Democratic primary, and some of them stand at least an even chance of defeating their white opponents.

At the qualifying deadline at midnight Tuesday night 12 Negroes were seeking seats in the legislature and more than a score of others were running for county or party office in the May 3 election.

Before the time limit expired for candidates to get their names on the ballot, a retired office worker plunged unexpectedly into the already crowded race for governor. One of the two women seeking the Democratic gubernatorial nomination withdrew, asking for her money back.

The new candidate for governor was Eunice I. Gore, a 46-year-old Leeds resident, who described himself as a "God-fearing man" doing the will of God in running for the office.

Five minutes before the deadline, Ralph (Shorty) Price announced that his wife, Dolores, was withdrawing as a candidate for governor. He said she based her decision on the belief that "no woman can be elected," and added: "So, I want my $500 back." He got it.

The other woman in the governor's race is Lurleen Wallace, wife of Gov. George C. Wallace.

A Huntsville attorney, John A. Reynolds, 45, got into the lieutenant governor's race with no advance notice.

The only three Democrats in the Alabama congressional delegation got by without opposition and automatically won renomination since no write-in votes are permitted in the Democratic primary.

They are Reps. George Andrews of the 3rd District, Armistead Selden of the 5th District and Robert E. (Bob) Jones in the 8th District.

The other five Alabama House seats are held now by Republicans. Two or more Democrats are running in each district in quest of the right to get on the general election ballot against certain GOP opposition in a state where Democratic nomination once was equivalent to election.

One of the Negroes who got into the primary in the closing hours was Rev. P. H. Lewis, pastor of the Negro church in Selma where the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery began last year. He is running for a seat in the legislature against a white incumbent, Rep. Val Hain.

Another Negro, Bessemer attorney David H. Hood Jr., joined three other members of his race who had qualified earlier as candidates for the House from Jefferson County (Birmingham).

Negro candidates are running for House seats also in three other districts embracing eight counties. Another Negro is a candidate for the State Senate in a four-county district.

In the district which includes Macon, Barbour and Bullock counties, Negroes have a voting majority. In the others, except for Mobile and Jefferson counties, they may have enough votes by election day to nominate candidates of their race.

Negro candidates are running for sheriff in three counties — Macon, Wilcox and Perry — where there are more Negro voters than white. They also are opposing white candidates for other county or party office in those counties and in Barbour, Montgomery and Mobile.

Alabama's Negroes Seek Office

AC 3/3/66
POLITICS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) — Negroes, exercising their newly found political muscles, are running for office in the Democratic primary in at least 18 Alabama counties.

But in one of the primary target areas of the recent civil rights campaign, Lowndes County, they are bypassing the primary in favor of a third party ticket under the emblem of the Black Panther.

Democratic party officials in Lowndes, anticipating that Negroes might run in the party election May 3, raised the qualifying fees for some offices from $50 to $500 and for others from $10 to $100.

Twelve Negro candidates are running for Democratic nomination for the legislature in House or Senate districts embracing 13 counties. Voters in 10 of those counties will chose also between white and Negro contenders for local or party office.

And in four other counties, Negroes are running only for countywide office outside the legislature.

Sheriffs throughout the state come up for re-election this year, and Negroes are seeking that office in five other counties —Greene, Hale, Macon, Perry and Wilcox. They outnumber white voters in all five counties.

ALABAMA NEGROES DRIVE FOR OFFICE

NYT 3/3/66

Democratic Lists Show Bid for Control of Black Belt

POLITICS

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 2—Alabama Negroes, many of them barred from even voting a year ago, are seeking elective offices in every county in which their race is in the majority.

The magnitude of their attempt to wrest the state's 11-county "Black Belt" from white political dominance became known today when county probate judges issued the names of Democratic primary candidates who qualified before the midnight filing deadline yesterday.

The list showed Negores running for at least 33 offices, including sheriff and state legislator, in the Black Belt, or well over half the offices up for election in the region this year.

The lists were limited to Democratic candidates and thus did not include possible Republican candidates. It also did not include Lowndes County Negroes who are bypassing the Democratic primary to run as candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, an all-Negro political party that has adopted the black panther as its symbol.

In addition to the Black Belt drives, Negroes have qualified as candidates in at least six

Continued on Page 24, Column 4

HEAR former Special Forces Sgt. ("I Quit") Duncan, I. F. Stone, Sheinbaum, protest Vietnam War Town Hall 8:15 tonight.—Advt.

ALABAMA NEGROES DRIVE FOR OFFICE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

counties where whites are in the majority.

Negroes are also attempting to elect a state senator from a district that embraces Monroe County. That county is predominantly Negro but is not counted as part of the state's Black Belt, a designation that applies to the color of the county's soil as well as to its population.

The Negro candidates plunged into the race as a direct result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which thus far has added approximately 100,000 Negroes to the voting rolls in Alabama, compared with about 90,000 a year ago.

In Wilcox County, for example, there were no registered Negro voters a year ago, but Negroes now outnumber whites on the rolls and are attempting to elect a sheriff, a tax assessor, two county commissioners and a state senator.

"This business of so many colored people running is really shaking the people up," said one probate judge from a predominantly Negro county. "I don't like it either, but don't quote me by name. I'm up for election in 1970, and I'll have to have votes from both sides if I'm going to win."

Albert Turner, state director of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a candidate for the State House of Representatives from a predominantly Negro district, said his organization "could have gotten a good many more candidates to run" but decided against seeking every office.

"We didn't want it to look like we were completely trying to take over," he said. "We want integrated government, not all-Negro government."

Some Favor Coalition

Negro candidates are after the sheriff's office and a majority of seats on the County Board of Revenue and three other major offices in Macon County, the home of Tuskegee Institute, but some are being opposed by Negro leaders who favor a "coalition" government with whites.

In Dallas County, which has Selma as its county seat and was the center of the Negroes' campaign for the Voting Rights Law, Negroes are running for a seat in the Legislature, tax collector and two places on the Board of Revenue, the county governing body.

But they kept out of the sheriff's race to support Selma's Public Safety Director, Wilson Baker, in his effort to oust Sheriff James G. Clark, one of the South's most militant segregationistsr.

In all, Negroes were in five sheriff's races and at least 12 legislative races, in additions to the campaigns for other offices.

They are predicting victory in approximately half the races. In 50 per cent of the Black Belt counties, Negro voter registration drives have lagged, and whites say they still have a majority of the voters.

OTTAWA, March 1 (Canadian Press)—Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson congratulated Soviet Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin today on the success of the spacecraft that reached the planet Venus earlier in the day.

Associated Press

UNKNOWN FACTOR: A team of Federal voter registrars under orders from U.S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach signs up Negro voters in the Bessemer Post Office outside of Birmingham, Ala. The Negro vote may be a deciding factor in the current gubernational primary between Carl Elliott, former Congressman, a moderate; former Governor John Patterson, a segregationist; Lurleen Wallace, wife of segregationist Governor George Wallace; and Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, a moderate.

In the South '66 May Be a Big Year for G.O.P.

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 5—If Alabama's political reporters had been invited to a strategy session called by a handful of the state's young Republicans in late 1960, few would have bothered to take out their pencils.

In the context of the times, almost any disinterested observer would have been forced to conclude that the would-be politicians—lawyers, businessmen and a dentist—were not laying political plans. They were daydreaming.

Richard Nixon, the party Presidential candidate, had just lost the state by 86,000 votes and the party had failed to win a single seat in the State Legislature. Yet, the "strategists" were drawing up a timetable which, they said, would place a Republican in the Governor's Mansion and scores of party members in city and county offices and in the Legislature in 1966.

Only one thing, the young strategists reasoned in that meeting in 1960, could upset their plans: The nomination of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller as the party's 1964 Presidential candidate. They regarded him as "too liberal" on both the segregation-integration issue and economics to be "sold" in the South.

Barry Goldwater, of course, and not Mr. Rockefeller, won the nomination. And Republicans, capitalizing in the Deep South on Mr. Goldwater's opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and on a painstaking build-up of party strength in other Southern states, sent 16 party members to the U.S. House of Representatives from the 11 states of the Confederacy.

In the aftermath of the election, two South Carolina Democrats switched party affiliation. Representative Albert Watson became the 17th Republican House member (out of 105 Southern Representatives) and Senator Strom Thurmond joined Senator John Tower to form a two-man Senatorial delegation from the South.

Buoyed by their party's upsurge in the once solidly Democratic South, Republicans in Georgia are now talking of making their first major assault on the statehouse by attempting to persuade their new Republican Congressman, Howard H. Callaway, to run for Governor. In Mississippi, Republican Representative Prentiss Walker is already campaigning against James O. Eastland for the U.S. Senate. Senators Thurmond of South Carolina and Tower of Texas are expected to seek re-election. In Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller, brother of the New York Governor, is trying for a second time to unseat Gov. Orval Faubus.

With the November elections still eight months away most political slates are still incomplete. However, it is clear that in almost every state the list of Republican candidates will be longer and stronger than in any election since Reconstruction.

But it is in Alabama that Republicans have their best chance of forging a political force that extends from the courthoue to the statehouse to Washington.

The audacious Republican timetable of 1960, which finally was published in 1963 amid Democratic chuckles, now seems an uncanny piece of political forecasting.

In their 160 meeting, the young Republican strategists agreed that the first step in their timetable was to toss out the "old guard" Republican leadership and install the chairman of the strategy committee—John Grenier, then a 30-year-old Birmingham attorney—as chairman of the state party. Then they would wage an all-out campaign in 1962, trying to elect either a Senator or a Governor, but not really expecting to win.

In 1963 and early 1964, they would attempt to put $150,000 into a nonexistent party treasury. In In 1964, they would elect "at least one—and possibly three or four—Congressmen."

Growing Optimism

All the while, they would be developing candidates and building party enthusiasm with the 1966 election in mind. That November, they would seek every statewide office, Congressional seat, and a majority of the legislative seats and local offices. They expected to win most of the races.

Eighteen months later, they met the first step in their timetable. Mr. Grenier was elected state chairman. In the fall of 1962, a revamped state party came within 6,800 votes of electing James Martin, a little-know Gadsden oil distributor who repeatedly accused incumbent Lister Hill of dragging his feat in the fight against integration, to the U.S. Senate.

The "new" Republicans raised $300,000, rather than $150,000, over the next two years by soliciting conservative businessmen in the urban areas which had been voting Republican in national elections and Democratic in state races since 1952. Then in 1964, by riding the crest of a Goldwater landslide, they exceeded their own expectations in the Congressional races. Republicans—including Mr. Martin, this year's gubernatorial candidate—won five of eight House seats.

This week, thoroughly convinced of the party's strength, many of the state's professional and amateur political analysts rated the party as the favorite in the Governor's race, most Congressional races, and dozens of local and legislative campaigns.

A half-dozen recent defections by Democratic legislators and party officials, plus the five Republican Congressmen, had given Alabama Republicans what many other state parties lacked—a list of "name" candidates.

In addition, the organizational effort launched in 1960 seemed to assure the party of candidates in 85 per cent of the legislative races and many of the races for courthouse and city hall offices.

The campaign for candidates has been made easier by Democratic leaders who have brought their party's name into disrepute in the state by repeatedly assailing national Democratic policies.

But by gaining segregationist and conservative support, the Alabama Republicans—like most Republican parties in the South—are running the risk of alienating the steadily increasing Negro vote.

However, if Alabama Democrats nominate Lurleen Wallace, the wife of the state's militantly segregationist Governor, as their gubernatorial candidate, the Republican racial dilemma may be solved.

Against Mrs. Wallace, the party could expect Negro and conservative votes, plus the votes of segregationists who rebel at the idea of a woman Governor.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

'Bloody Sunday' Was Year Ago; Now Selma Negroes Are Hopeful

POLITICS

By ROY REED 3/6/66

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., March 5—No one here has forgotten March 7, 1965, when the buttercups and tulip trees were fouled with tear gas. The Negroes still call it "Bloody Sunday."

But there is a new air in Selma this March. Almost 11,000 Negroes in Dallas County are registered to vote, for the first time, in this spring's election. Because of that, this black-belt county is turning toward moderation, as Tuskegee and other such places have turned away from political extremism when all white rule was abolished.

The Negroes have one score to settle before they let Selma slip quietly into the American blend of moderation. They are determined to put Sheriff Jim Clark out of office.

To get him out, it seems likely that they will team up with Wilson Baker, one white leader who kept the Negroes' constant, if grudging, respect all through the civil rights turbulence last year. Mr. Baker, who recently resigned as public safety director of Selma to enter politics, is Sheriff Clark's opponent in the Democratic primary on May 3.

Things to Remember

It was Sheriff James G. Clark Jr., and his men who used cattel prods and night sticks on the Negroes, who marched their children into the countryside until they were exhausted after they had gone to the Court House to demonstrate and who jailed thousands of Negroes for marching to the voter registration system.

And it was Jim Clark and his men who joined the state highway patrol to stop 525 Negroes from marching to Montgomery one year ago Monday. The officers tear gased the marchers and clubbed them and herded them back across Pettus bridge with horses. When the terror subsided, 17 persons were in hospital and 50 had been treated for minor injuries.

That day's event led directly to the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Not more than 300 Negroes were registered here a year ago. Almost 9,500 whites were on the voting books.

Now the whites have about 12,000 registered and the Negroes nearly 11,000. Exact figures are not available. The Negroes, slightly more than half of the county's population, are expected to overtake the whites in registration before the generel election in November.

Another segregationist officeholder threatened by the new political force is State Senator Walter Givhan, the dean of the Alabama Senate and a longtime segregationist leader.

A year ago, Senator Givhan was safe. Now, because of Negro registration and legislative reapportionment that expanded his district to take in two nearby counties, the Senator is in danger of being unseated by David Ellwanger, a young white liberal.

Mr. Ellwanger is a brother of the Rev. Joseph Ellwanger of Birmingham, who led a group of white integrationists in a demonstration of sympathy with the Negroes here last spring.

Five Negroes are running for lesser Dallas County offices. They have little chance of winning, but their candidacies demonstrate that the Negroes must be reckoned with from now on.

The Rev. P. H. Lewis, pastor of Brown's Chapel A. M. E. Church, the scene of the nightly mass meetings during the civil rights upheaval, is running for the State House of Representatives. He said he had noticed changes in the whites' attitudes already.

"They put 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' on your letters now," he said "They used to call me 'P.H.' Now it's 'Reverend Lewis.' That might not seem like much in Chicago and New York, but down here it's important."

Whites Promise Help

White officeholders and candidates have begun to promise to "look out for all the the people," Mr. Lewis said.

On "Bloody Sunday," one of the women clubbed down and left gasping in the tear-gas was Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton, a civil rights leader who is a real estate and insurance agent.

Mrs. Boynton this week expressed optimism and said that Selma had improved greatly.

She and a group of friends are trying to promote a garment factory and a poultry processing plant to employ Negroes. A Negro-owned supermarket, opened here in September, is reported to be prospering.

Not all the Negroes are happy. The movement barely touched those of the rural area last year. It is just now arriving there.

"The system is not broken at all," said Miss Shirley Mesheh, a white woman who is Dallas County project director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"The only thing the Negroes have gotten is the vote," she said.

POLITICS

AC 3/11/66

RALPH McGILL

Politics In Alabama

Politics in the Yellowhammer state has a light-opera aspect with a cast that included for a while two lovely lady candidates for the Democratic nomination for governor. A note of seriousness has been temporarily introduced. A federal court has ordered an end to the poll tax, describing it accurately as a device calculated to deter the Negro citizen in the right to select those who will govern him. (It also deprived a large number of white citizens who had bread and butter needs that were more immediate and pressing than a poll tax receipt.) Appeals will perhaps delay application of the tax. Its passing will, in good time, however, spur the registration of additional voters.

In the months since passage of the federal voting bill, Alabama's registered Negroes have increased from about 115,000 to about 200,000. More are being added daily. The chore of bringing citizens to the registration books is not glamorous. It is tiring shoe-leather-and-leg work.

Door-to-Door

Some of the activist civil rights groups while, of course, endorsing voter registration still have avoided participating in the door-to-door campaign that is necessary to educate many eligible persons to their eligibility and to the duty of registering. The gains, therefore, are spotty. But they continue and will increase as work and education reach the unregistered.

The two young charming ladies, in the order of their announcement, were Dolores

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The two young charming ladies, in the order of their announcement, were Dolores Price and Lurleen Wallace. The implications were that it would be the husband who would take charge, should either of the ladies win. Feminists over the state are objecting to this. They insist that such dogmatic dismissal of the rights of any woman who might be elected governor is not good manners, especially in the region which has had so much to say for so many years about the abilities, charms, and rights of Southern womanhood.

Governor Wallace, whose wife, Lurleen, is to be one of the candidates, minced no words in his declaration that candidate Lurleen would have nothing to do with being governor if elected. "If my wife is elected," he said, "we are frank and honest to say that I will be by her side and shall make the policies and decisions. . . ."

'Little Giant'

Governor Wallace, who enjoys being called "The Little Giant," would have been, in a sense, an indirect opponent of Ralph (Shorty) Price. Mr. Price is no taller than the governor. Since he has never won a political office, he has accepted the democratic "Shorty" and leaves being little giants to others. Nor did Mr. Price so emphatically exclude his wife, Dolores, from the voicing of opinions or the making of decisions. Apparently Mr. Price was seeking the feminist vote. Sad to say, however, Dolores made a last minute decision not to run.

The dilemma of the Democrats and the Republicans in Alabama is that with one exception all candidates are segregationists working the same side of the street. James Martin, a former Democrat who broke with his party because of its civil rights plank, is now a Republican. He still opposes civil rights, if one reads his pronouncements correctly. At least two so-called Democratic legislators have announced they are now Republicans and will support him. These men, angry with the leadership of their party, ignore the fact that the Republican national civil rights platform accepts everything the Democrats have stood for. The political development of the Republican party in the South is, in general, racist. It ignores the planks of the national party.

In Alabama the GOP, mostly defecting Democrats, presently is given a slight edge. But there is hardly a dime's worth of difference in principle or outlook.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12

NEGRO TO GET POST ON TOP G.O.P. UNIT

POLITICS

Bliss Also Vows to Name 3 Others to National Staff

3/12/66

By DAVID S. BRODER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11—The Republican National Chairman, Ray C. Bliss, agreed today to add a Negro as a top-level staff member of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Bliss promised a delegation of 10 Negro Republicans who met with him today to appoint a Negro special assistant and three other Negro staff members "to recruit Republican voters among the nation's Negro population."

Mr. Bliss said he would meet with the delegation again "within the next few weeks" to review applications for the jobs of special assistant, a woman deputy special assistant, and two public relations and research aides for them.

The new special assistant will, in effect, be a replacement for Clay Claiborne, who was transferred last month from his old position as head of the committee's minorities division to a new job on the staff of the public relations division.

Mr. Claiborne is awaiting trial in Atlantic City on a charge of violating the election law in 1964. The charge stems from the allegation that he ordered the printing of a pamphlet urging Negroes to write in the name of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for President.

Mr. Clairborne, a Negro, was a member of the committee at the time of the incident.

Dr. King repudiated the effort, which the Democratic National Chairman, John M. Bailey, had described as "a desperate last-minute effort by Goldwater supporters to persuade Negro voters to waste their ballots."

It was understood that the members of the Republican Negro Advisory Committee, which met with Mr. Bliss last August and again today, had told the chairman that Mr. Claiborne's removal was necessary to reestablish Negroes' confidence in the national committee.

Committee aides said Mr. Claiborne had been out of the office, because of ill health, in recent weeks.

The Democratic National Committee has had a Negro, Louis Martin, a former Chicago publisher, as its deputy chairman since 1961.

Mr. Bliss has frequently identified increasing the Republicans' share of the Negro vote as one of his major objectives. However, he has been criticized by some party progressives for the pace of his efforts in this direction.

Municipal elections in New York, Philadelphia, Louisville, Ky., and other cities in 1965 showed a sharp increase over the Presidential race of 1964 in the share of the Negro votes received by Republican candidates.

Clarence Townes, executive assistant to the Virginia Republican chairman, commented after today's meeting with Mr. Bliss that "Negroes desire as much as all Americans to maintain two roughly balanced parties, because two-party competition tends to protect the rights of all citizens."

Mr. Townes said he believed the maintenance of a two-party system would be "one of the best arguments" for Republicans among Negro voters this year.

Another participant in the meeting, J. Earl Dearing, the prosecuting attorney of Louisville, said that "the Republican party must stand for progress in urban America" in order to attract the support of Negro voters.

"We can't oppose everything," he declared.

POLITICS

26 NYT C 3/25/64

REP. MARTIN JOINS RACE IN ALABAMA

Seeks G.O.P. Nomination for the Governorship

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 24 — United States Representative James D. Martin announced today that he would seek the Republican nomination for Governor of Alabama.

Alabama Republicans nominate by convention and he is considered certain to be named.

Mr. Martin, 47 years old, mad his long-expected announcement in his home town of Gadsden, 50 miles northeast of here in the Alabama hill country.

"The whole nation will be watching this election," he said, "for in the balance hangs the political realignment of the South, which has voted the Democrat ticket, with minor exception, for 100 years."

Mr. Martin's candidacy is an important link in the Republican party's plans for a two-party South. Knowing that a party must have the Governor's office to control patronage and build a state organization, the Republicans are making their strongest effort in modern history this year to elect Republican Governors in the South.

Could Win in 4 States

The party stands some chance of winning gubernatorial races in four Southern states, with Alabama being the most likely. The other possible winners are Representative Howard H. Callaway of Georgia, Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Winthrop A. Rockefeller, Republican National Committeeman of Arkansas.

Neither Mr. Callaway nor Mr. Williams has announced his candidacy and Mr. Williams would have to transfer from the Democratic party, as Mr. Martin and Mr. Callaway have already done.

Mr. Rockefeller has been an announced candidate since 1964 when he was defeated by Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who announced Monday that he would not seek a seventh term.

Mr. Martin will probably oppose Mrs. George C. Wallace, wife of the Governor, in the November general election. Mrs. Wallace, who is running because the Governor is barred by the State Constitution from succeeding himself, is favored to win the Democratic primary May 3.

Close Friends

Mr. Martin and the Governor are close friends and there had been speculation that the Representative would not oppose the Governor's wife.

The two men disagree on political issues, except on racial matters. Both are strong segregationists, although Mr. Martin has not been as vociferous as Governor Wallace.

Mr. Martin is a stanch conservative. He voted against the Appalachia bill last year though it promised Federal funds to 11 of the 12 counties in his Seventh District.

His economic conservatism is reflected in the support he has already attracted in his race for governor. As an oil jobber, he once was president of the Associated Industries of Alabama. Many businessmen are said to be supporting him.

His campaign manager will be Hall Thompson of Birmingham, a wealthy contractor and dealer in heavy equipment.

Governor Wallace, although widely thought to be a conservative, has made an exceptionally liberal record in spending for state improvements. He has engineered large increases in educational expenditures. He has practiced deficit spending on a large scale, issuing many millions of dollars worth of revenue bonds to finance various improvements.

POLITICS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MARCH 25, 1966.

WAR CRITIC ENDS RACE FOR SENATE

Dugger, Texas Independent, Cites Debate on Vietnam

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., March 24—Ronnie Dugger, editor of a liberal political journal, The Texas Observer, withdrew today as a candidate for the United States Senate seat once held by President Johnson.

Mr. Dugger, an independent, said he had originally become a candidate to stimulate debate on the Vietnam war and what he felt was a slow drift toward a nuclear conflict.

But he cited reasons for a change.

"The televised Senate [Foreign Relations Committee] hearing [on the Vietnam war], Senator Robert F. Kennedy's increasing national leadership for a compromise peace in Vietnam, and the Gallup and other opinion polls—including the one showing that 88 per cent of the people favor negotiating with the Vietcong if they are willing to negotiate—leave the President no grounds for not knowing that the country is gravely divided on Vietnam, that the people do not want a general land war in Asia, and that we want the Vietnam fighting stopped—honorably, but stopped," Mr. Dugger said.

He observed that this left him no reason for running.

Many Texas political observers had predicted that Mr. Dugger's candidacy would siphon away enough liberal Democratic votes to insure the re-election this fall of Senator John G. Tower, a Goldwater Republican who has been President Johnson's No. 1 political target.

Mr. Dugger said he thought his decision to withdraw from the race would aid Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr, who is expected to win the Democratic nomination for the Senate seat on May 5.

In 1961, many liberal Democrats refused to vote for the conservative incumbent Democratic Senator, William A. Blakley of Dallas, who was appointed to succeed Mr. Johnson. As a result, Mr. Tower was elected as the state's first Republican Senator in almost 100 years.

If Mr. Carr will avoid the "rigid" unyielding conservatism of the Texas Democratic party, "my withdrawal ought to help him," Mr. Dugger said.

Mr. Dugger said there had been no White House pressure on him to withdraw, although the President favors Mr. Carr.

"I have consulted many of my friends, but the decision is mine alone," he said. "No one from the White House or the other candidates' camps asked me not to run."

"Those who believed or alleged that my motive in filing was to beat Mr. Carr were, as I have said, mistaken," Mr. Dugger said. "I meant to beat them both. I hope, at least, that I have suggested to independent Texans a way to end one-party, big-money domination of Texas life if the Texas Democrats continue to offer the Texas voters only reaction and a tragic provincialism."

Italian Daylight Saving Set

Special to The New York Times

ROME — Daylight saving time will start for Italy May 22, Ansa, the semi-official news agency reports and will end Sept. 24.

POLITICS

Georgia Democrats Fear a G.O.P. Race for Governorship by Rep. Callaway

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 27 — Georgia Democrats are worrying for the first time since Reconstruction about the possibility of a strong Republican bid for the governorship.

Their concern centers on Howard R. Callaway, who was elected in 1964 as the state's only Republican Congressman while Georgia was backing the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, 616,600 to 522,557.

Mr. Callaway refuses to say whether he will enter the race, but he is increasing the size of his staff and the frequency of his public appearances in the state. He has made no move to discourage a statewide petition drive for 125,000 signatures to put his name on the ballot.

A Callaway campaign would assure the Republican party of at least two strong challengers in seven governorship races this year. In Alabama, Representative James D. Martin, who was elected to the House in 1964, has already announced his candidacy for Governor and is regarded by many professional and amateur political analysts as the favorite.

Harding Sweep Recalled

If a Republican candidate wins, it will mark the party's first governorship victory in the South since 1920, when the landslide Presidential victory of Warren G. Harding carried Alfred Taylor into the Governor's mansion in Tennessee.

Although few Georfia Democratic leaders will publicly concede that they fear a challenge by Representative Callaway, many privately regard him seriously.

"How can we not take him seriously after what Barry Goldwater did here in 1964?" said one Democratic politician. "In addition, Callaway [a West Point graduate and owner of Callaway Gardens, a state tourist attraction] is a very personable candidate."

"I can't really believe that Georgia will ever elect a Republican Governor," said another Democrat. "But he sure could make us spend a lot of money. We wuld have to wage a major campaign against him."

Politicians in both parties talk of private polls, which show that Representative Callaway's name is widely known in Georgia and that he would command an unusually high vote for a Republican.

Arnall Trails in Poll

One Republican poll is said to show that Mr. Callaway is running ahead of former Gov. Ellis Arnall and is favored by 45 per cent of the voters against former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, another leading Democratic contender.

Mr. Callaway's supporters consider this a respectable starting point for a Republican campaign in the state. They appear confident that intensive television exposures will strengthen the 38-year-old businessman still further.

Many Democrats as well as Republicans are saying that Mr. Callaway can count on votes from segregationist rural areas, especially from southwest Georgia where his Congressional district is.

Two well-known Democrats—former Gov. Griffin, who polled 35 per cent of the vote in his last political race, and Harry Jackson, president pro tem of the Georgia Senate, have announced that they will support Mr. Callaway is he runs.

Mr. Callaway, who regards his victory in 1964 as much a "pro-conservative" mandate as an expression of "anticivil rights" sentiment, opposed President Johnson's bill that led to the Voting Rights Act of 1964 and is considered "safe" on civil rights legislation by segregationists. Negro registrations have been lagging here.

Meanwhile, it is widely believed that Senator Herman E. Talmadge will campaign for the Democratic candidate in an effort to hold white voters in line.

House Race Is Planned

WASHINGTON, March 26 (UPI)—Representative John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, announced Saturday he would seek a fourth term.

Romney Says Government Is Restricting Flow of News

KANSAS CITY, Kan., March 26 (AP)—Gov. George W. Romney of Michigan attacked Saturday what he called "a mounting threat to the people's right to know . . . particularly in Washington."

The Governor, a Republican, told the Kansas Press Association in an address here that "the flow of news is being dammed at the source."

He said:

"Too often, the press is treated as an enemy and public opinion as a nuisance. Release of information is centralized. Security is invoked to cover up political indiscretions. Press conferences are rigged with planned questions.

POLITICS AC 4/1/66

Eugene Patterson

Sanders' Day Is Later

WASHINGTON—Everything was coming up cherry blossoms for Sen. Richard B. Russell Wednesday. The pink blossoms are in fact bursting forth a week early in the capital. And spring was in the stride of the senator as he hiked along a Senate Office Building corridor. Word from back home was that Gov. Carl Sanders was pulling out of the race against him.

With his reelection thus assurred, and his health in good repair, Dick Russell's worries were over.

As for Gov. Sanders, even his best friends would tell him he made a smart decision. This didn't look like his year. At 40, he has a lot of years left and much to build on. The liability that cancelled out his chance against Russell this year was a nine-letter word spelled Goldwater. Sanders unreservedly championed Johnson and the Democratic party when the state was going the other way (and Sen. Russell was going to Spain). That hurt the governor in the short run. He could form no adequate support to budge Russell after that.

* * *

But time is likely to make Sanders' 1964 loyalty into an asset. Georgia is not going back to segregation or to reactionary isolation, but forward to a more modern time. When and as it does, Sanders' stand as a modern Democrat will pay off.

One smart observer who has always thought so is Lyndon Johnson.

He has been forming a school of modern Southern governors or ex-governors whose future he wants to help along. The President has counted Sanders a class leader from the start. He has brought some of them to Washington for postgraduate work—Tennessee's Buford Ellington, for instance, and Florida's Leroy Collins and Farris Bryant. He put Mississippi's James P. Coleman on the federal bench until the dust blows over out there. Considering Mr. Johnson's careful cultivation of promising perennials in the New South garden of the future, it will not be surprising in the least if he takes Sanders under the presidential wing for special preparation in the acquisition and dispensation of power over the long run.

* * *

For the present, the tide obviously has not turned in Georgia. The Democratic politicians who must run soon fear they are still under threat of Goldwaterism. So their engines are full astern. Witness the current onslaught on the desegregation efforts of the Office of Education.

But the Democratic party of South Carolina is already reconstituting itself as the party that can represent, among others, the Negro citizenry.

Such adjustments in party position are bound to spread around the South. The day will come when the voters will send for those modern Democrats who stayed Democrats when the going was hard.

Sanders has the time to wait.

POLITICS

Liberal Republicans Urge Party to Appeal to Negro and Punish Lily-Whites'

By DAVID S. BRODER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12—Two liberal-Republican groups urged the Republican National Committee today to help register Southern Negroes and to discipline "lily-white" G.O.P. organizations in the South.

The liberals charged that it was sheer madness for Southern Republicans to run as segragationists.

Their recommendations, in a joint report, drew a cautious reaction from National Committee officials and immediate condemnation from some Southern G.O.P. state chairmen, presaging a major intraparty debate.

The groups that joined in the report are Republican Advance, an organization of some 50 students and teachers at Yale University, and Republicans for Progress, a national organization of liberal Republicans headed by Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati.

The report was based on a survey of Southern Republicanism by a six-man team headed by John Topping, chairman of Republican Advance. The project was financed by Republicans for Progress and by former Gov. Elmer Andersen of Minnesota.

Stress on Moderation

The main argument of the report was that the long-term interests of the Republican party, nationally and in the South, require that Southern Republicans appeal to Negro and moderate white sentiment, rather than to segregationist viewpoints, in their campaigns.

"The future of the Republican party in the South and in the nation rests heavily upon its ability to respond to the forces of change rapidly transforming Southern society," the report said. It continued: "If the Republican party bets on the forces on the way up — the Negro, the white middle class, the young professional— it will continue to grow. Yet should the Republican party choose instead to court segregationist white or Birchite extremists, while it may realize short-term gains, it surely will pay a heavypenalty for de-cades

The report commended Republican organizations in North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Virginia for efforts to build a "broad-based" party. It said a recent change in the party chairmanship in Mississippi offered "some hope that the Mississippi Republican party will seek to become a genuinely biracial party."

On the other hand the report assailed the Republican organization in Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama as "lily white." It condemned a clause in the 1964 Mississippi Republican platform supporting "segregation of the races." It also charged that "strong forces are at work in a number of Southern state parties, particularly those of South Carolina and Alabama, to establish the Republican party on a white-only basis."

Report's Authors Assailed

Harry S. Dent, the South Carolina Republican chairman, said the authors of the report "don't know what they're talking about."

"This is no lily-white setup," he said. "The people of South Carolina are accepting the changes that are coming about. There are no whooping, hollering, chest-thumping segregationists in the Republican party here."

Mr. Dent acknowledged that there were no Negroes at last month's state Republican convention, but he said that was because no Negroes had offered themselves as candidates. "We had Negroes attend our precinct meetings and they were made welcome," he said.

Clark Reed, the Mississippi party chairman whose election was hailed in the report, said that "Negro leadership in this state is so extreme I see no way

United Press International
Charles P. Taft

at this time to get Negroes into the Republican party. I think it's a long way off."

Mr. Reed said he was endeavoring to "play down race" as an issue in Mississippi politics, but said, "I don't think much" of the liberal groups' recommendation that the Republican National Committee force Mississippi to revoke the segregation clause in its party platform. "We're loyalist Republicans," he said, "but I believe in live and let live."

Showdown Foreseen

The liberal groups' report said that a "national committee resolution requiring the elimination of such discriminatory provisions would both remove an ugly stain from the Republican record of fighting racism and strengthen the hand of fair-minded Southern Republicans in a showdown with racists in their party ranks."

The report said "the Southern Republican moderate desperately needs some assurance that he is not fighting alone." In many states, it added, "progressives who in the nineteen-fifites saw the Republican party as the best hope for surmounting the politics of race have recently joined the Democrati party, which has captured the torch of progress in much of the South."

In place of the progressives, the report said, "thousands of the most reactionary Democrats" have come int the G.O.P. In the 1964 Presidential campaign, the report said, "the Republican party appeared to be pandering to those elements in the South intent on turning back the clock of history."

The report said that former Senator Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign had "failed to crry any of the states of the moderate South, such as Florida, Tennessee and Virginia, and had caused a "precipitate decline in Negro support [that) cost the Republican party probable gains of at least one Senate seat in Tennessee, house seats in Memphis, New Orleans and Atlanta and two House seats in North Carolina."

The authors noted that the five Southern states Mr. Goldwater carried—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—were all states where more than 60 per cent of the eligible Negroes were unregistered, suggesting that such victories could only be temporary.

The report argued that "if the Republican party is to win elections in California, Ohio, Illinois, New York and Michiga it cannot afford the albatross of staunchly segregationist Fraternal parties in the Deep South." It urged the National Committee to take steps to assure biracial parties in the Southern states.

In addition to a reactivation of the committee's Minorities Division, already ordered by the national chairman, Ray C. Bliss, the report called for the creation of a special committee to enforce rules against racial or religious discrimination in any state or local Republican party activity.

It also said the National Committee should undertake, with Southern state parties, to encourage Negroes in the South to register as Republicans.

Mr. Bliss was out of the city today, but other committee officials expressed skepticism about the National Committee's authority to police the platforms or racial practices of state party organizations. As for registration of Negroes, they noted that Southern G.O.P. leaders attending recent meetings on "big city politics" had been urged to register all potential Republican voters.

Other steps urged in the repo include a Republican-sponsored civil rights conference in the South this year and nomination of Negro Republican candidates for offices in predominantly white areas.

POLITICS

GOP Report Bars Segregation

4/13/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Republicans must reject "the albatross of segregation" in line with rising new political forces in order to build a party of power in the South, an Eisenhower-oriented group declared in a report released Tuesday.

Actions taken by Republicans in the year ahead will be critical, said the report, and "will strongly shape the direction and influence the success of the Republican party in the South for the next generation.

"If the Republican party bets on the forces on the way up—the Negro, the white middle class, the young professional—it will continue to grow.

"Yet, should the Republican party choose instead to court segregationist white or Birchite extremists, while it may realize short-term gains, it will surely pay a heavy penalty for decades."

Direction of southern Republicans, said the report, will be crucial to national party elections in populous states outside the South.

The report, which by name needles some of the South's segregationist Republican leaders, grew out of a study made last summer and fall under sponsorship of the Republican Advance at Yale University and Republicans for Progress, described as a citizens organization of "leading Republican laymen and former members of the Eisenhower administration."

The Republican party can become the "bearer of the torch of reform" in the South by "gearing its programs to the solutions of long-festering local problems" that remain unsolved by the dominant Democratic party, said the report in laying out a formula for success in the changing region.

"However, the time is short for the Republican party to cast itself as a party of southern reform," warned the report. "Republicans must devote themselves to toppling racist and reactionary Democratic officeholders by Republican candidates committed to the advance of all races.

"If the Republican party chooses to campaign by going to the right of Senators James Eastland or Allen Ellender, it will only have itself to thank for its continuing irrelevancy in southern politics in coming decades. . . .

"The Republican party will face in its campaigns the choice of whether to repeat its 1964 appeals to the fears and prejudices of the old South or to offer to all southerners hope for a new tomorrow."

The report noted that Republicans made steady gains in the South during the era of former President Dwight Eisenhower and in 1960 Richard Nixon got a majority of the vote in Negro precincts in Atlanta.

The report continued, "It would seem an exercise in sheer madness for southern Republicans to write off the Negro vote . . . after race has ceased to be a crucial issue with southern whites, Negroes may still remember which party years before tried to block their advance."

The GOP image in the South cannot be confined to the region, said the report.

"If the Republican party is to win elections in California, Ohio, Illinois, New York and Michigan, it cannot afford the albatross of staunchly segregatonist fraternal parties in the Deep South," asserted the report.

"Defection of Dixiecrat politicians" such as Sen. Strom Thurmond and Rep. Albert Watson, both of South Carolina, was termed a source of embarrassment to Republicans.

Republican Rep. James Martin's campaign is likely to "center on where the Republicans believe the votes will be" in the Alabama governor's race this year, said the report, but there is little indication the Alabama GOP is moving toward a "moderate position."

Hundreds of thousands of Negroes are registering under the 1965 Voting Rights Act and an overwhelming majority are becoming Democrats, said the report. For example, it was reported that of 49,000 new Negro voters in Louisiana, "a pitifully low 2.5 per cent," registered as Republicans.

Republicans in North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Virginia were found to be building "broad-based, aggressive parties."

A ray of hope was seen in Mississippi with the replacement of arch-segregationist Republican chairman Wirt Yerger by moderate Clarke Reed.

The report also recommended that to promote the GOP in the South Southern GOP parties should nominate capable Negroes for office in predominantly white areas. It was pointed out that Negro Republican Q. V. Williamson was elected to the Atlanta aldermanic board over a white Democrat although the election was officially nonpartisan.

Opera in Spotlight

SPOLETO, Italy (AP) — Claude Debussey's opera Pelleas et Melisande will open the ninth Festival of Two Worlds here June 24-July 17.

Decision for GOP

POLITICS

Wash. Post 4/13/66

By Roscoe Drummond

Race Attitude to Determine Party Future

THE Republican Party must soon make a fateful decision.

It must decide whether to make a clarion appeal to the increasing number of moderates in the South or, as in 1964, to play on the racial fears and prejudices that the South is putting behind it.

Drummond

Some Republican leaders may think they can have it both ways—tell the Nation as a whole how consistently the Party has stood for racial justice and allow Southern GOP candidates to stand for racial discrimination.

It won't work. Even if it worked for the Democrats sometimes in the past, the past is not the present and it will not work in 1966 and 1968.

Nowhere has this GOP problem been as impressively stated as in the "Southern Project Report" just released by the Republican Advance of Yale University and Republicans for Progress, a citizens' group of Party moderates most of whom were active in the Eisenhower Administration.

THE AUTHORS of this report spent several months studying the problems and opportunities of the Republican Party in every Southern state. I think its conclusions are unanswerable.

It points out that the one-party system of the South is in the throes of change and that the political alignments of tomorrow will depend largely on which party allies itself with the forces of the future. And then this challenge to the GOP:

"If the Republican Party bets on the forces on the way up — the Negro, the burgeoning new white middle class, the young professional — it will continue to grow. Should the Republican Party choose instead to court segregationist white or Birchite extremists, while it may realize short-term gains, it will surely pay a heavy penalty for decades.

"It must be evident that the 1965 Voting Rights Act will shortly make race a dead-end political street. Will the Republicans react too late to the inevitable to develop meaningful biracial Southern parties?"

MANY WILL agree that any Republican retreat from an unwavering commitment to equal opportunity for all citizens would be morally blameworthy. But the "Southern Project Report" also shows it would be sheer political folly.

Here is the evidence:

While Sen. Goldwater carried five states of the Deep South, he failed to carry any of the states of the moderate South. What is more important is that the Negro citizens in all of these five states who are now registering will hold the balance of power in any future election. These are the telltale figures:

State	Goldwater's	No. of unregistered
Alabama	268,353	388,583
Georgia	94,043	445,247
Louisiana	122,157	349,988
Mississippi	303,856	393,756
South Carolina	93,348	232,560

Since Lyndon B. Johnson received more than 90 per cent of the Negro vote, Goldwater would have lost every one of these states if Negroes had been free to register and vote. They are registering today and, have no doubt about it, they are going to vote next fall and in 1968.

By every test of voting in recent years, it is clear that the voters of the Nation are overwhelmingly united behind the cause of equal opportunity and racial justice. It is my conviction that, if the Republican Party tries to hold the Negro at arm's length in the South, at the very time when the Democrats are opening their Party to Negroes, the GOP will lose in the Nation and in the South for a generation or more.

2 Liberal GOP Groups Urge Party To Press for Negro Vote in South

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two liberal Republican organizations have warned their party to seek the Negro vote in the South now or face "catastrophic long-range implications" in the future.

The advice, with recommendations, came from a "Southern Project Report" sponsored by the Republicans for Progress and the Republican Advance.

The report released today painted the South as the "most politically volatile region" of the United States, with a growing Southern middle class and a growing Negro vote but with race receding as an issue.

Choice of Goldwater Hit

It called the 1964 Republican National Convention and the nomination of Barry Goldwater for President "morally blameworthy" and "sheer folly" politically.

Some Republican leaders in the South correctly see the future, the report said, but strong forces are at work—especially in South Carolina and Alabama — to establish the GOP on a lily-white basis.

"It is imperative that national Republican leaders and well-intentioned party leaders in these states act decisively to stem this tragic tide," the report said.

The Goldwater campaign did capture five Deep South states, the report said, but failed to carry any moderate Southern state and probably costs the party one Senate seat and five House seats.

Retaliation at the Polls

The Republican Party cannot afford a lily-white image in the South, the report stated, because Negros will retaliate at the polls for generations and the GOP would suffer at the hands of future voters now on campuses who support civil rights and from the opposition of opinion makers — the clergy and the press.

Some Republicans note that the Democratic Party had its segregationist wing but won elections, the report acknowledged. But the Democrats enjoyed a powerful pro-civil rights Northern wing and Republicans failed to exploit "the Democratic Southern albatross," the report said.

It added that the Democratic Party in 1964 broke with its segregationist past.

"For the Republican Party to adopt the Democratic strategy of ambivalence just as that party is discarding its obsolete posture, it would need to renounce any notions of being the 'party of the future'," the report said.

"Forces on the Way Up"

"If the Republican Party bets on the forces on the way up—the Negro, the white middle class, the young professional — it will continue to grow," the report said. But it will pay heavily for decades if it courts segregationist white or Birchite extremists, the report went on.

It recommended that the Republican National Committee require state parties to repeal segregation clauses, appoint an ethical standards committee to implement this and strip any state organization that refuses.

It called on all Republican state organizations to make an effort to register new Negro voters as Republicans. And it called on civil rights leaders to encourage Negro participation in the Republican Party to influence and moderate it from within.

Conference Urged

Other recommendations included: reactivation of the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, holding a Conference on the Republican Party and Human Rights, announcement by the GOP Congressional leadership that it welcomes Democratic defectors who agree on the principle of equal opportunity.

Republicans for Progress was organized by liberal and moderate Republicans last year under the chairmanship of Charles P. Taft, former Mayor of Cincinnati and brother of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio). Republican Advance was formed in 1950.

Negro Vote in South . . .

POLITICS

By William S. White

WP 4/14/66

Problems for Both National Parties

THE FIRST substantial returns from the Government's campaign to spread Negro voting registration in the South raise perplexing problems for both national parties.

White

Both yearn to capture this new potential vote; but the question of how to do it is opening cans of worms.

The Department of Justice now estimates that in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina Negro registration is up 47 per cent. But in none of the five States does it amount to more than 25 per cent of the white voting registration. Moreover, a bridge yet to be crossed is how many of these Negro registrants will in fact vote this fall. A franchise extended is not a franchise used.

In any event, the old vision of Northern liberal politicians in both parties of some overturn in the whole traditional Southern power structure, with the masses of new black voters willy-nilly casting out the old Southern politicians wholesale, is still a pipe-dream.

IT HAS always been irrational, for it has been based on a doctrinaire misreading of the realities of Southern life. These politicians have assumed that given the ballot the Southern Negroes would at once draw up into a monolith automatically obedient to the will of an essentially theoretical Northern racial liberalism. But the white Northern liberal has never realized that Southern Negroes are first of all people and as such have a whole complex of desires of which the vote is only one. Nor are they so ideological about political civic rights as are Northern Negroes. Moreover, they are quite as interested in such things as jobs and housing.

And it so happens that many of the sitting white Southern politicians in Congress have long delivered in these fields even while they have been adamant against civil rights bills as such. Thus, any theory that, say, Sen. John Sparkman will now be punished by the Negro registrants in Alabama is over-simplified out of sight.

Equally oversimplified is the supposition of liberal Republican groups like Charles P. Taft's Republicans for Progress that about all the GOP need do is to go about proclaiming a total liberalism on the race question. The new Southern Negro voter is not going to rush to support some Republican candidate simply because that candidate is loudly pro-civil rights.

THAT VOTER, again no different from a white voter, will first ask himself whether the GOP candidate has the slightest chance of being elected anyhow.

The truth is that both parties will have to approach this new situation with all wariness; to give up any idea of some all-Southern and unvarying strategy. A line effective in one place could be disastrous in another. Any Republican appeal primarily to Negroes—and to them only in civil rights terms — would fail. For it would alienate a more useful potential bloc—the newly emerging Southern white middle class that is attracted to Republicanism because of its general conservatism.

Similarly, any Democratic campaign overly tub-thumping the party's Voting Rights Act of 1965 would of itself not necessarily draw net gains among the Negroes. And it would speed the departure of the new white Southern middle class into the GOP—so long, that is, as the GOP kept its arms reasonably wide.

WHAT BOTH parties need, in a word, is to play it cool and to walk in moderation with the two races.

This necessity is the keener for the Republicans simply because in the South they are outs trying to get in over a historic Democratic bulge that it will take much doing permanently to cut down. A two-party system will never arrive in the South solely or even mainly because of increased Negro participation in voting. It will arrive upon the ever-rising strength of the new businessman middle class, white and Negro but mostly white.

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POLITICS

Negro Vote Tempers Racism by Alabama Foes

NYT 4/17/66

4 of 5 Democrats in Primary Urge Change in Policy of Rights Resistance

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 16—A major revolution in the tone of Alabama political campaigning is taking place as 11 candidates fight to become the Democratic nominee for Governor in the primary on May 3.

In sharp contrast to past gubernatorial campaigns, none of the candidates is using "race-baiting" as a political tactic. Moreover, four of the five major candidates are promising to alter the state's policy of stiff resistance to Negro civil rights advances.

Many analysts credit the change in political rhetoric to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which has resulted in the registration of 117,000 Negroes since its enactment last August. There are now 228,000 registered Negroes, representing about one-fourth of total registration.

New Era Foreseen

Some believe, also, that the campaign—the first major one in the Deep South since the act was passed—marks the beginning of a new era of political sophistication not only for Alabama, but also for the Deep South as a whole.

"The word 'segregation' has virtually disappeared from the political vocabulary," said an editor of The Birmingham Post-Herald.

An Alabama political reporter said that he had been covering political rallies almost daily for the last month and had yet to hear the word "nigger."

Segregation is a strong silent issue, however, and many politicians say it has made Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, the wife of Gov. George C. Wallace, the front-runner in the current campaign.

The Governor, who is barred by the state constitution from succeeding himself, now omits the word "segregation" from the speeches he makes for his wife, but promises no change in his policy of resistance to civil rights demands.

Defends States' Rights

Governor Wallace still defends "states' rights" and denounces the Federal Government's guidelines for school desegregation as an "encroachment" upon local government. These are phrases that his supporters equate with resistance to racial integration, and they cheer him loudly when he uses them.

The Governor has modified his pronouncements on the race issue, some of his opponents say, because he is concerned that Negro voters might bolt en masse to the Republican candidate, United States Representative James D. Martin, in the November general election if Mrs. Wallace wins the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Martin, once a stanch segregationist, has also modified his position and now says racial differences in Alabama will largely disappear if enough new industry can be attracted to the state to provide employment for both races.

4 Rivals Vying For Run-Off

Meanwhile, many politicians give four Democratic candidates a chance of coming in second in the initial primary and, thus, winning the chance to oppose Mrs. Wallace in a run-off on May 31. They are Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, former United States Representative Carl Elliott, State Senator Robert Gilchirst and former Gov. John M. Patterson.

The supporters of these candidates concede privately that Mrs. Wallace has pre-empted the segregationist vote and that they, as a result, can make it into the run-off only by capturing the votes of Negroes and white moderates and liberals.

In an effort to enhance his position among this wing of the electorate, Mr. Patterson abruptly shelved his segregationist speeches three weeks ago. He now promises to "enforce the law equally, fairly and impartially" and to be the Governor of "all the people regardless of who they are."

Mr. Patterson's switch in tactics both surprised and delighted Negro leaders, who remember him best for preventing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from operating in the state and for refusing to invite Negro high school bands to march in his inaugural parade in 1959.

Although Mr. Patterson was widely believed to be the favorite in the campaign only three months ago, his chances of even making it into the run-off dropped sharply when segregationists began bolting to Mrs. Wallace.

Meanwhile, many of the state's white moderates and liberals are campaigning hard for Mr. Elliott, who established a liberal voting record in Congress before being upset in 1964 during the Republican Presidential landslide in the state.

"Alabama cannot afford to be known," Mr. Elliott says, "as a state wracked from top to bottom by discord year after year."

Mr. Elliott needs some Negro votes, however, and standing in his way is Attorney General Flowers, who is campaigning directly among Negroes and promises, if elected, to give state jobs to Negroes who are active in the civil rights movement.

Mr. Flowers received the endorsement tonight of the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, which was organized by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is favored to win the endorsement tomorrow of the Alabama Democratic Conference, which has the support of many leaders of Negro business, professional and labor organizations, along with the N.A.A.C.P.

A third Negro political group, the Black Panther party, which is supported by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is skeptical of all the candidates. It is dominant only in Lowndes County.

Strength in North

Mr. Flowers's best chance for gaining the white vote to supplement his Negro support lies in the cities in north Alabama where voters are less sensitive to the racial issue than in the heavily agricultural southern areas of the state. But the same white voters are being wooed by Mr. Elliott and Senator Gilchrist and both are drawing more white Alabamians to their rallies than is Mr. Flowers.

"For too long the demagogues have planted the seeds of discord," says Mr. Gilchrist, who has the support of both The Birmingham News and The Post-Herald, "and no state can prosper in such an atmosphere."

Meanwhile, with the primary less than three weeks away, the only certain winner for the run-off position against Mrs. Wallace appears to be the state's Negroes.

"Things are looking up in Alabama," said Orzell Billingsley, a Negro lawyer who heads the Democratic Conference. "Times are changing."

AC/4/20/66

POLITICS: Sanders Is a Poser for Callaway

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

If Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway runs for governor this year and wins it will be the biggest political victory in Georgia's history.

However, many now believe that the political cards are so stacked against him that he could wind up as the joker in the deck if he runs.

There is no doubt that Rep. Callaway has some of the credentials necessary to win a race at this time—the main one being that he is an out-and-out conservative.

Many candidates strongly feel that "conservative" is the magic word that will open the door to political victory in Georgia this year.

But it is becoming more and more apparent that since Gov. Carl E. Sanders announced last month he wouldn't oppose Sen. Richard B. Russelll that Callaway will give a more serious analysis to his chances of defeating the Democratic nominee.

Sam Hopkins

Although there might be some of the same bitter feelings this year as in 1964 when Georgia went Republican for the first time in its history, there will be

Comment and Analysis

no national candidate against whom disgruntled voters can vent their spleen.

INCRESASES UNITY

Gov. Sanders' withdrawal from the U.S. Senate race has definitely resulted in more unity among Georgia Democrats. A Sanders-Russell race would have split them wide open.

So now Callaway is faced with the prospect of not only defeating the Democratic nominee for governor, but to some extent every other major Democratic officeholder.

This imposing array includes Sen. Herman Talmadge, Gov. Sanders, Sen Russell, Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell, Compt. Gen. James Bentley, members of the Georgia Public Service Commission, Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton.

It is believed that most of these Democratic leaders would actively work for the Democratic nominee if Callaway were in the race.

LOOKING AT 1968

Sen. Talmadge in particular could be expected to openly oppose Callaway because some persons feel Callaway will be shooting for Talmadge's seat in the 1968 elections.

Most Democrats think Callaway will have a hard time finding a key issue on which to build a platform. The main one may boil down to, "Let's be different and put a Republican in office."

Despite all the pitfalls, Callaway is by no means out of the race yet. He knows he would get a considerable vote.

And he is aware that if he has aspirations for the governor's chair at the State Capitol this is the best possible year to go for broke.

HOPEFUL OF WORD

Many Republicans will be hoping Callaway will announce his candidacy on May 6 at the state GOP convention in Macon.

But Callaway himself says he may wait till the middle of summer before he discloses his plans.

Still, the Macon meeting would be the perfect place to announce. And Georgia politics could stand a surprise or two here and there.

POLITICS

Alabama Negroes Urged Not to Vote

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., April 19—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is urging Negroes to boycott the Democratic primary on May 3 in several of Alabama's predominantly Negro counties.

It wants Negroes to withhold their votes until the November general election and then support candidates of independent county political parties that it is organizing.

Stokley Carmichael, the committee's senior field secretary in Alabama, said his civil rights organization was "unconcerned" over the possibility that its action might defeat some Negro and moderate white candidates in the primaries and result in the nomination of Dallas County Sheriff James G. Clark Jr. and other segregationists.

He said he and other committee leaders preferred to see segregationists get Democratic nominations for office because this would show "the real face of the Democratic party."

"The Negro can't control the Democratic party on the state or county levels in Alabama," said Courtland Cox, another of the committee's field secretaries, "and he ought to organize something he can control."

Boycott's Impact Seen

Albert Turner, state director of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian leadership Conference, which is active in the primaries, believes the committee cannot influence enough Negro voters to affect the outcome of statewide races. However, he said that its boycott could affect campaigns in Dallas and "one or two other counties."

Mr. Turner considers the Dallas County sheriff's race one of the state's most important political campaigns because it pits Public Safety Director Wilson Baker against Mr. Clark.

Civil rights workers regard Mr. Baker as a "moderate" in racial matters and look upon the sheriff as one of the leading enemies of the civil rights movement.

In an effort to repair his reputation with Negroes, Mr. Clark has stopped wearing his "Never" button, but Negroes remember that he and his deputies used nightsticks against them in an attempt to disperse voter registration demonstrations in Selma last year. However, Mr. Carmichael declared.

"We'd rather see Jim Clark elected than Wilson Baker, because Baker would give the Democratic party a respeitability that it doesn't deserve.

"To ask Negroes to get in the Democratic party is like asking Jews to join the Nazi party."

The political parties the student committee is organizing vary from county to county. In Lowndes County it is the Freedom Organization, in Dallas County the Independent Free Voters Organization.

Organizers are also attempting to set up parties in Greene, Wilcox, Perry, Sumter and Macon Counties.

Mr. Carmichael said he would not put the committee in the position of being held responsible for the defeat of Negro candidates in the primary "unless we are sure we can get a party going in the county; then, it would be worth the risk."

He said the Negro candidates in the Democratic primary were making a mistake in going after offices such as sheriff before gaining complete control of such key boards as revenue commissions and boards of education.

"Until the Negro gets complete control of a county," he declared, "I would just as soon have harassment [by white sheriffs] continue so Negroes can see what they are dealing with."

Electioneering Law Scored

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP)—The Supreme Court was asked today to strike down Alabama's Corrupt Practices Act and throw off what was called the "blanket of silence" the state places on news media on election day.

The plea was lodged by an attorney for James E. Mills, editor of The Birmingham Post-Herald, who is charged with violating the law by writing an editorial on election day in 1962 that was construed as "electioneering."

"We see no legitimate interest in Alabama's curtailing expression," Alfred Swedlaw of Birmingham said in attacking the law as a violation of the First Amendment's guarantee of a free press. Its broad sweep, he said, "has had a chilling effect on the press of Alabama generally."

However, Burgin Hawkins, chief deputy District Attorney of Birmingham, said the law, enacted in 1940, "plays an important part in having an orderly election."

"The evil sought to be prevented is corruption of the electorate" and this is particularly desirable now, he said, because many people who will vote for the first time under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are "illiterates who will have difficulties at the polls."

Mr. Mills has not yet been brought to trial, but the Alabama Supreme Court has ruled that the law would apply to the charge against him.

5 COLLEGES IN SOUTH GET RIGHTS WARNING

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP)—The Office of Education told five Southern colleges today that they might lose their Federal aid for failing to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It was the first time the Government had threatened to move against colleges.

The colleges were cited for failing to file assurances of compliance with Title VI of the act, or for filing unacceptable ones. The provision of the act bars Federal financial assistance to any program or activity that discriminates on the basis of race, color or national origin.

The colleges are Marion Institute, Marion, Ala.; Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.; Bob Jones University, Greenville, S. S.; Freewill Baptist Bible College, Nashville, Tenn., and Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.

The Office of Education said today it had sent notices to the colleges informing them of the opportunity to request a public hearing on its action.

One issue involved is the eligibility of the institutions to receive Federal aid during this fiscal year for student loan programs under the National Defense Education Act. Other questions are whether the colleges can make loans from funds carried over from previous years, or retain Federal money received for loan purposes in previous years.

School Compliances Rise

WASHINGTON, April 18 (AP)—The Office of Education said Monday it had received 687 assurances of compliance with the 1966 school desegregation guidelines for districts in the 17 Southern and Border states.

NEGROES OPPOSE NEGRO CANDIDATE

POLITICS

Group in Alabama Works for Balance in Government

NYT 4/21/66

By GENE ROBERTS

TUSKEGEE, Ala., April 20—If he could use ordinary political arithmetic in computing his chances, Lucius D. Amerson would be a heavy favorite to become one of Alabama's first Negro sheriffs since Reconstruction.

He is running in a county in which registered Negro voters outnumber whites by more than two to one and in a year in which the color of a candidate's skin is an important political qualification.

But Mr. Amerson's county is Macon, the home of predominantly Negro Tuskegee Institute, and Mr. Amerson has problems.

His candidacy is being quietly opposed by Negro leaders who feel that Negroes ought to preserve racially balanced government by reserving some offices—the sheriff's office for one—for the county's white minority.

The Macon County Democratic Club, the county's dominant Negro political organization, adopted the "balanced government" concept two years ago when, after a prolonged Negro boycott of white merchants, the county became the first in the state to have more Negro registrations than white. The idea was to move slowly and attempt to promote integration throughout the South by showing that a Negro majority could be tolerant of a white minority.

In the Tuskegee municipal elections in 1964, the club refused to endorse all of the Negro candidates and thus helped elect a white mayor and a city council composed of three whites and two Negroes.

A sizable percentage of the club's active members want to use the same approach in making endorsements for the Democratic primary, May 3, in which Negroes are seeking 7 out of 8 available offices. But still others are arguing that the time has come to put more key offices in the hands of Negroes.

"I don't know how it is all going to come out," said Mr. Amerson this week while he sat in his new automobile, which is adorned with a loudspeaker and campaign posters.

"I'm well received everywhere I go," the 32-year-old former Wrmy sergeant said, "but we do have some Negroes who feel the time is not right for a Negro sheriff."

Running against Mr. Amerson are three white men, including incumbent sheriff Harvey A. Sadler, who recently won favor among some Negroes by appointing a Negro deputy.

The Macon County Democratic Club, meanwhil, is withholding any endorsement until the night before the election. "I wouldn't attempt to predict what the club will do — many people want a Negro sheriff," said C. G. Gomillion, the retired dean of Tuskegee Institute who heads the organization. "But I would expect that the club will support some white candidates. We would be vigorously opposed to anything that could lead to all-Negro government."

But sone Negroes in the county believe that the club, while still powerful, may not be asb strong a force as it was in the 1964 elections. Then, the county had 4,000 registered Negroes, many of them connected with Tuskegee Institute. Since then, however, another 2,600 Negroes have registered and many of them are rural Negroes with few ties to the college community, which controls te Democratic club. Tere ahre about 2,7000 white voters.

"A lot of Negroes may not follow the endorsement this year," said Frank Reid, a Negro service station owner. "A lot of them want to see more Negroes in office."

Mr. Gomillion and his supporters have argued that if Negroes are not cautious in exercising their power, they could drive the 200 white students out of Tuskegee's integrated public schools and into the white school, Macon Academy, which has recently been losing support.

With Negro Vote Rising in South, Liberals Run for Office Again

POLITICS

By GENE ROBERTS 4/25/66

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 24 — Some of the South's best-known liberals and racial moderates are emerging from political retirement this year to enter Democratic primaries in which large numbers of newly enfranchised Negroes will be voting.

Most of them are underdogs, but they appear confident that the attitudes and composition of the Southern electorate are changing rapidly enough to give them another chance at political office.

Among those trying for a comeback are Ellis G. Arnall of Georgia, Brooks Hays of Arkansas, Armistead L. Boothe of Virginia, Carl Elliott of Alabama and Camille Gravel of Louisiana.

They are being joined in Senatorial and governorship races by younger liberals and by one-time segregationists who are revamping their images to woo Negro and moderate white voters.

Although there is still no shortage of conservative and segregationist candidates in most Democratic primaries, the resurgence of liberals and moderates is upgrading the party's position among Negroes in the South.

This is coming at a time when Republican organizations in Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi are being assailed as "lily-white" by liberal Northern elements within their own party.

In a recent joint report, the Republican Advance and Republicans for Progress said it was madness for Southern Republicans to run as segregationists in the face of a rapidly increasing Negro electorate.

Republicans for Progress is a national group of Republican liberals headed by Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati. The Republican Advance is a group of 50

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

POLITICS

Gain in Negro Voters Spurs Liberals

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

instructors and students at Yale University.

The Justice Department has estimated that 340,000 Negroes have registered in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi since the passage of the voting rights act last August. A Democratic spokesman also said that the act has spurred Negro registration in the six other states of the Confederacy, but that no figures are available.

Among Democrats likely to benefit from the rising Negro vote is Armistead Boothe, who as a Virginia legislator in the middle and late nineteen-fifties led the opposition to the "massive resistance" program fashioned by former Senator Harry F. Byrd in an attempt to halt school desegregation.

Views Helped Defeat Him

Mr. Boothe's racial views contributed to his defeat in 1961 in a race for lieutenant governor. After that, he remained out of elective politics until this spring, when he announced he would run in the July primaries against Harry F. Byrd Jr., who succeeded his father in the United States Senate.

"The progress has been astounding," said Mr. Boothe, who believes his opponent's name and not his own views on race is his biggest obstacle among white voters.

"Ten years ago, I thought it would take Virginia 20 to 25 years to reach this point," he added. "And just five years ago, after I was defeated, I thought I was through in politics."

Another comeback is being attempted in Georgia by Mr. Arnall, who as the state's Governor between 1943 and 1947 came under sharp attack by segregationists for having abolished the state's poll tax. Fiscal conservatives also joined in the criticism against him when he sharply increased spending for public education.

Near the end of his administration, Mr. Arnall wrote a book that added to the agitation of his critics. He called the book "The Shore Dimly Seen" and used it to describe his vision of a South in which racial friction and poverty would no longer exist.

20 Years After

After the elapse of 20 years, Mr. Arnall, now 59 years old, has changed the title of his book to "The Shore Clearly Seen" and is using it as campaign literature in his race for a second term as Governor.

Despite reports of confidential polls which show him to be trailing, Mr. Arnall says he will pick up more support before the September primary and defeat former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, who said, "No, not one . . ." in 1958 when Negroes were demanding school desegregation.

Ellis G. Arnall, the former Governor of Georgia.

"It is time for Georgia to move forward again," said Mr. Arnall, who prefers to call himself a Democrat "with both a capital and a little D," rather than a liberal, a term he considers vague.

In Arkansas, some politicians rank Brooks Hays as a favorite to win the Democratic nomination for Governor in the July primary. His career seemed over in 1958, when, during Little Rock's turmoil over school desegregation, Dale Alford, a segregationist ousted him from his seat in the United States House of Representatives. The chief issue was Mr. Hays's plea for peaceful acceptance of desegration.

Now, after working as an aide to both President Kennedy and President Johnson, Mr. Hays is campaigning again. And the race may show more clearly than any other whether there has been a substantial shift in the attitude of the Southern voter.

Test in Louisiana

Another test will come in Louisiana where Camille Gravel, former Democratic National Committeeman, is opposing Senator Allen J. Ellender in the August primary. Mr. Gravel's ties with the national Democratic party as well as his moderate views on the race issue stripped him of much of his following in Louisiana in the early sixties.

His close relationship with President Kennedy kept him in the public eye until Mr. Kennedy's assassination, and then he dropped quietly from the state's political picture.

In Alabama, Carl Elliott is campaigning for the Democratic nomination for Governor in the primary of May 3 after having been ousted from the United States House of Representatives by a Republican in 1964, during the Johnson presidential landslide in the state.

Once the state's most liberal Congressman, Mr. Elliott has the support of organized labor and many of President Johnson's white "loyalists," but he is losing support among Negroes to Attorney General Richmond Flowers who frequently quotes President Kennedy and promises to appoint civil rights activists to state posts.

Mr. Flowers is one of several candidates who believes that the mood of the South has changed sufficiently to make an identification with President Kennedy an asset rather than a liability.

Friend of President Kennedy

In South Carolina, former Gov. Ernest F. Hollins, a candidate for the Senate, is known as an admirer of Mr. Kennedy, as is Miami Mayor Robert King High, who is running for Governor of Florida.

And in Tennessee, John Jay Hooker Jr., a young lawyer and friend of the Kennedy family, is campaigning for the Democratic nomination for Governor against former Gov. Buford Ellington, who no longer calls himself an "old-fashioned segregationist."

Except in Tennessee, however, where Mr. Hooker is widely known to be an ally of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Mr. Ellington is considered a personal friend of President Johnson, few candidates in the South are linking themselves publicly with either the Johnson Administration or with Senator Kennedy.

"If you want to attract Negro and liberal white supporters it is only essential that you quote from President Kennedy," said an aide to one liberal candidate. "People know immediately where you stand."

St. Patrick's Mass Opens Catholic Charities Appeal

Cardinal Spellman presided yesterday at a pontifical mass that opened the 1966 Catholic Charities Appeal. About 1,500 persons attended the 10 A. M. service in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The annual appeal, which will be conducted in the 403 parishes comprising the New York Archdiocese, has a goal of $3.7-million.

Volunteers will conduct a 10-day house-to-house solicitation of Roman Catholic families.

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POLI HIS

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS 4/30/66

Gimmicks Drum Up Crowds

Country Music To Go-Go — Alabama's Campaign Story

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — You've got to have a gimmick to drum up the crowds when you run for governor in Alabama — anything from country music to go-go girls.

The candidates seeking the Democratic nomination in Tuesday's primary have given their campaign audiences some of the highest-priced entertainment in the hillbilly music world.

But the real eye-popper is a curvaceous go-go girl who travels with a rock 'n' roll band to assemble the crowds for Decatur attorney Sherman Powell.

The office seeker may or may not tell the people what they want to hear, but no one — in the male audience at least — complains about the white-clad figure of Jackie Whitley and the skin-tight slacks and sweater she usually wears.

Former Congressman Carl Elliott, another of the 10 candidates, has alternated with Hank Williams Jr., one of the hottest numbers in the country music fraternity, and the Statesmen Quartet, one of the South's best-known gospel singing groups.

Candidate Flowers
No Gimmicks

* * *

IN THE closing days of the campaign, Elliott has used both young Williams and the Statesmen at a cost which may run well into four figures a week.

Gov. George C. Wallace's wife, Lurleen, also has turned to the Grand Old Opry for some of its top recording stars — the Wilburn Brothers, George Morgan, Hank Thompson. When the big-name entertainers aren't around, she has a guitar-strumming Alabama group.

Former Gov. James E. Folsom, who started the hillbilly band technique of campaigning 20 years ago, still has some of his original musicians. They call themselves the Red Raiders in tribute to the Alabama volunteers who fought in the war against Mexico.

* * *

EX-GOV. John A. Patterson campaigns with Rebe Gosdin and the Sunny Valley Boys, the same band he used in his successful race eight years ago.

Occasionally, State Sen. Bob Gilchrist comes out with a night club entertainer and his swing band.

Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd also features a string band. He calls them the Todd-O-Longs.

Eunice Gore, who says he has a divine call to run for governor, offers chances on an expensive boat and motor to those who contribute to his campaign fund — one chance for $1, three chances for $2.

The other two candidates, Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers and millionaire businessman Charles Woods, have done little stump speaking, and have used no crowd-luring gimmicks.

AP Photo

Country Music Star Backs Lurleen
Hank Thompson Warms Up A Crowd

Chris' Tips For Better Gardens

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King Foresees as Many as 50 Alabama Negro Nominations

POLITICS 5/1/66 AC

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., April 30. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., predicted Saturday that as many as 50 negroes might win nomination to office in Alabama's Democratic primary Tuesday.

He said he thought Negroes would vote heavily and that 95 per cent of them would cast their ballots for Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers for the Democratic nomination for governor. Dr. King has not endorsed Flowers, but he has made clear in his public utterances that the liberal attorney general is his favorite.

KING made his election prediction in an interview here as he continued a two-day pre-election tour of Alabama.

He rushed by automobile through the heavily Negro populated counties, urging large crowds at each stop to go to the polls Tuesday.

His plea has been a mixture of religious fervor and practical politics.

He told 500 persons at the First African Baptist Church here Saturday morning that Negroes must "stick together" and vote as a bloc to make their votes effective. Then in a crescendo of rhetoric at the end of his speech he shouted:

"Let us be dissatisfied — until men have food for their bodies, education for their minds, and freedom and dignity for their spirits."

THE NOBEL PRIZE winner visited nine Black Belt counties in South Alabama Friday, drawing crowds of 300 to 1,000 at each stop. Saturday, he spoke at Tuscaloosa, Bessemer, Birmingham, Gadsden and Anniston.

Negroes Control Vote In 3 'Bama Counties

POLITICS 5/1/66 AC

By The Associated Press

The Southern Regional Council said Saturday Negroes will control more than 50 per cent of the voting strength in three Alabama counties in the state's Democratic primary Tuesday.

In one of the counties—Greene—the council's voter education organization estimated Negroes can control more than 66 per cent of the total vote. In Wilcox County the figure is 52.4 per cent and in Macon County 50.6 per cent.

In addition, the SRC said, registration figures based on field reports and other sources give Negroes a near-equal share of the vote in five other counties: Hale 47.6 per cent, Bulloch 44.1 per cent, Sumter 46.9 per cent, Dallas 46.3 per cent and Marengo 44.9 per cent.

An over-all Negro balloting power of about 40 per cent is estimated for the 15 counties in which Negro candidates are seeking nominations for such offices as sheriff, tax assessor, coroner, county commissioner, board of education membership and Democratic executive committeeman.

SRC SAID figures are based on a running total of Negro registration in Southern states kept by the council's voter education project. The council said Negro registration in Alabama's 67 counties has risen from 112,000 to an estimated 226,000 since the 1965 Voting Rights Act was passed last August.

"Estimates of the Negro percentage of the voter totals are conservative," the SRC said, "because many of the counties involved show a white registration higher than the 1960 census figure on the number of whites eligible to vote."

The SRC said that in Lowndes County, where Negroes plan to run independent Black Panther party candidates in the November general election, Negroes have approximately 45.8 per cent of the total voting power.

In three Alabama House districts where Negroes are aiming for representation, Negro registration is estimated at 44.5 per cent in District 27, 46.3 per cent in District 28 and 38.1 per cent in District 31.

Almost all of the counties involved are in the south Alabama area known as the Black Belt, named for its rich soil.

ALABAMA NEGROES KEY TO VOTE TODAY

POLITICS

122,000 New Registrants to Put Segregation Politics to a Test in Primaries

NYT 5/3/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 2 — Racial segregation in Alabama's state and local governments will face its first massive electoral challenge of this century when voters take part tomorrow in statewide Democratic primaries.

Nine opponents — all but one of them promising to modify the state's militantly segregationist stance on the race issue — are attempting to defeat Mrs. George C. Wallace, wife of the present Governor.

And 54 Negroes are campaigning for such offices as sheriff, county commissioner and state legislator against white incumbents who say the "Southern way of life" is at stake.

Tomorrow's contest was set in motion last year when Negro civil rights organizations carried out a series of voter registration demonstrations that culminated last August in the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Since then, 122,000 Alabama Negroes have registered under the law, raising the total number of registered Negroes in the state to 235,000.

Although Mrs. Wallace is favored to come in first in the primary, many politicians expert that the new Negro voting strength will prevent her from getting a majority and thus

Continued on Page 32, Column 3

ALABAMA NEGROES KEY TO VOTE TODAY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

force her into a runoff against a modernate or liberal opponent.

Negro votes may have a still greater impact in the Black Belt, the rich farming area where a white minority has had political control since Reconstruction.

In Wilcox County, for example, Negroes now have a 1,000-vote majority and are seeking to elect a sheriff and four other nents. Before last year, none of the country's Negroes were allowed to register or vote.

The candidates closed their campaigns today on a light-hearted note. At some rallies "hillbilly" singers twanged their guitars and warmed up the audiences with such old favorites as "Your Cheatin Heart" and "Y'all Come." And at others Negro spirituals, transformed into campaign songs, held the crowds' attention.

There were problems for all concerned, however. Republican leaders in Alabama, where voters are not required to register by party, were urging their followers to shun the Democratic primary — a development that could weaken Mrs. Wallace's showing and enhance the prestige of Representative James D. Martin, a Republican who is waiting in the wings to oppose any gubernatorial candidate the Democrats nominate.

And Stokley Carmichael, the senior field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Alabama, has urged voters to stay out of the Democratic primary and participate instead in nominating conventions for independent county political parties.

Other civil rights organizations thought that the student committee's appeal would siphon off large numbers of voters only in Lowndes County. And while the state Republican party chairman, Alfred Goldthwaite, said that the Republican plea would push the voting total in the primary to below 700,000, the state's major newspapers were predicting that between 750,000 and 800,000 would vote tomorrow.

Senator Robert Gilchrist, who led the anti-Wallace forces in the State Legislature, and former Gov. John Patterson, who switched midway in the campaign from a segregationist to a moderate stance on the race question.

Other gubernatorial candidates include former Gov. James Folsom and former Secretary of Agriculture A. W. Todd, who have also made strong pleas for racial unity, and Charles Woods, a multimillionaire businessman, Sherman Powell, a Decatur lawyer, and Eunice I. Gore, who says he is running with "the support of the Lord" and, like Mrs. Wallace is a militant segregationist.

Senator John Sparkman, a former Democratic vice-presidential candidate, faces opposition tomorrow from Frank E. Dixon, a Huntsville space engineer, and John Crommelin, a retired admiral who has run repeatedly in Alabama elections on aplatform of anti-semitism and anti-fluoridation. While neither are taken seriously by Mr. Sparkman's supporters, Republicans will be watching the race closely as a test of Mr. Sparkman's current vote appeal in the state.

If Senator Sparkman's opponents draw more than a token vote, Republican officials almost certainly will attempt to persuade John Grenier, the former state party chairman, or one of their five Congressmen to make the race against the Senator in the general election next November.

Politicians were quietly trying to predict the Negro turnout tomorrow.

According to state registration statistics, Negroes make up only 16 per cent of the total number of eligible voters, but many politicians feel the percentage may be higher because many of the registered white votrs have died or moved away since the registration lists were last purged.

Spokesemen for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, estimated thata virtually all of the Negro registrations were valid and that as many as 85 per cent of the registered Negroes would vote. But many observers doubted that the Negro vote would exceed 160,000, or about 70 per cent of the registered Negroes.

Few doubted, however, that the possibility of a heavy Negro vote has given Alabama political oratory a new, and probably permanent, tone of moderation.

"Race baiting and the word 'nigger'," said one Montgomery editor, "have disappeared from Alabama politics."

Trustees of Y.M.C.A. Elect President

The election of Charles W. Buek as president of the board of trustees of the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States for a year that began Sunday was announced yesterday.

Mr. Buek, president of the United States Trust Company of New York, succeeded Reese H. Harris Jr., executive vice president of the Manufacturers Han over Trust Company, who recently was chosen president of the Y.M.C.A. of Greater New York.

The board of trustees is a subsidiary of the national board, the corporate body of the national council, which is the legislative and policy-making body of the Y.M.C.A. movement. The trustees handle investments for local associations in this country and for the Y.M.C.A. retirement fund, which provides retirement benefits for Y.M.C.A. secretaries.

Mr. Buek is a trustee of New York University; a director of the General Reinsurance Corporation and a member of the executive committee of the trust division of the American Bankers Association.

Pach

Charles W. Buek

Rumanian Premier in Geneva

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, May 2 — Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Rumania's Premier, arrived here unexpectedly today from Bucharest for what a Rumanian Embassy spokesman in Berne, the Swiss capital, described as a "totally private" stay in Switzerland.

LEARN TO SWIM
Overcome fear with personal instruction — no spectators or general swimming permitted.
DALTON SWIMMING SCHOOL
FOR 67 YEARS AT 19 West 44th St. N.Y. 36
SEND FOR FOLDER

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

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Wallace Campaign Closes

Today, the Wallace primary campaign ended as it began. The Governor, who is barred by the state Constitution from succeeding himself, delivered the major campaign utterances for his wife and said he would serve as chief adviser, handling all major decisions.

If Mrs. Wallace is elected, she would be the third woman to serve as Governor in the United States. Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross was elected Governor of Wyoming in 1924, in the same week that Mrs. Miriam Ferguson was elected Governor of Texas.

Mr. Wallace continued his attacks today on Northern newspapers, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, President Johnson, the Federal courts and Communists—charging that all have opposed Alabama's "states' rights."

But he carefully pronounced the word "Negro" and, in contrast to his campaign four years ago, did not mention the word "segregation."

He has kept segregationist support during the campaign, however, by quietly marshaling local resistance to the United States Office of Education's school desegregation guidelines and by ordering a state board to rescind a week-old desegregation program in the state's two mental hospitals.

Segregationists also cheered him throughout the campaign when he vowed that his wife would keep the Confederate flag flying from the State Capitol.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who hopes to get into the runoff with Mrs. Flowers, appealed to Negroes by attending civil rights rallies, pledging to give state jobs to civil rights activists and promising to place the state's Confederate flag in a museum.

Mr. Flowers's aggressive campaign for Negro votes was the first of its kind in modern times by a major Southern candidate. It has stripped most Negro support away from former Representative Carl Elliott, who has the support of organized labor and many of President Johnson's "loyalists" in the state. The two are considered by many to be the frontrunners in the fight to come in second and oppose Mrs. Wallace in a May 31 run off.

Close behind them are state Senator Robert Gilchrist, who led the anti-Wallace forces in the State Legislature, and former Gov. John Patterson, who switched midway in the campaign from a segregationist to a moderate stance on the race question.

Other gubernatorial candidates include former Gov. James Folsom and former Secretary of Agriculture A. W. Todd, who have also made strong pleas for racial unity, and Charles Woods, a multimillionaire businessman, Sherman Powell, a Decatur lawyer, and Eunice I. Gore, who says he is running with "the support of the Lord" and, like Mrs. Wallace is a militant segregationist.

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If Senator Sparkman's opponents draw more than a token vote, Republican officials almost certainly will attempt to persuade John Grenier, the forming to predict the Negro turnout tomorrow.

According to state registration statistics, Negroes make up only 16 per cent of the total number of eligible voters, but many politicians feel the percentage may be higher because many of the registered white votrs have died or moved away since the registration lists were last purged.

Spokesemen for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, estimated thata virtually all of the Negro registrations were valid and that as many as 85 per cent of the registered Negroes would vote. But many observers doubted that the Negro vote would exceed 160,000, or about 70 per cent of the registered Negroes.

Few doubted, however, that the possibility of a heavy Negro vote has given Alabama political oratory a new, and probably permanent, tone of moderation.

"Race baiting and the word 'nigger'," said one Montgomery editor, "have disappeared from Alabama politics."

board of trustees of the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States for a year that began Sunday was announced yesterday.

Mr. Buek, president of the United States Trust Company of New York, succeeded Reese H. Harris Jr., executive vice president of the Manufacturers Han over Trust Company, who recently was chosen president of the Y.M.C.A. of Greater New York.

The board of trustees is a subsidiary of the national board, the corporate body of the national council, which is the legislative and policy-making body of the Y.M.C.A. movement. The trustees handle investments for local associations in this country and for the Y.M.C.A. retirement fund, which provides retirement benefits for Y.M.C.A. secretaries.

Mr. Buek is a trustee of New York University; a director of the General Reinsurance Corporation and a member of the executive committee of the trust division of the American Bankers Association.

Pach

Charles W. Buek

Rumanian Premier in Geneva

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, May 2 — Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Rumania's Premier, arrived here unexpectedly today from Bucharest for what a Rumanian Embassy spokesman in Berne, the Swiss capital, described as a "totally private" stay in Switzerland.

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Politics and People AC 5/5/66 POLITICS

Wallace Blazes Trail for Callaway?

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

Some Georgia Democrats fear that Lurleen Wallace's landslide victory in Alabama Tuesday is an indication that Republican Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway may have a chance of being elected governor.

The political conditions this election year are similar to those in 1964 when Georgia voted Republican for the first time in its history.

Two examples:

More civil rights legislation is up before Congress.

And most political observers believe there is just as much—if not more—anti-Johnson administration feeling in Georgia as there was in 1964.

In addition to this, there is strong emotional opposition to the new federal guidelines for desegregation of schools and teaching staffs.

All this could mean that many Georgians will be voting against Washington in the November general election rather than for a particular candidate for governor.

And it may well be that many voters would feel that voting for a Republican candidate would be a better way of protesting than voting for a Democratic candidate.

Of course, there will be some Democrats in the governor's race who will do everything possible to convince the voters

Comment and analysis.

that they despise President Johnson, the federal government, the Democratic-controlled Congress and the whole national Democratic Party.

As an example, former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, one of the likely candidates for governor, already has repeatedly emphasized that he is a Georgia Democrat and has no ties with the national Democratic Party.

It appears that former Gov. Ellis Arnall, another candidate, may be the only one in the race who will refuse to disown the national party.

"You mark my words," one high-level Democratic official declared Wednesday, "Bo Callaway is going to surprise a lot of people this fall. He's running strong in south and middle Georgia, and that Wallace election is a good indication of the anti-Washington feelings in the South."

Insiders say there seems to be no doubt now that Callaway will definitely run for governor and that he is only waiting until after the June 15 deadline for Democratic candidates to qualify before he announces officially.

NO OPPOSITION — State School Supt. Jack Nix apparently is going to get by without opposition. DeKalb County School Supt. Jim Cherry, the only one who could have given him a race, has gotten cold feet and will not run.

A Voice for Negroes

5/5/66

Fred David Gray

POLITICS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 4—By a curious twist of irony, it was the State of Alabama that helped to pay for the legal education that enabled Fred David Gray to carry on his 10-year battle against the state segregation laws. When Mr. Gray decided he wanted to become a lawyer, no Negroes were admitted to the only state-supported law school, but the state—under the "separate but equal" doctrine—would pay the expenses of those who wished to go to out-of-state institutions.

Man in the News

Mr. Gray went to Western Reserve Law School in Cleveland, but he "never doubted for one minute" that he would not come back to Alabama.

"I wanted to be a lawyer because I felt that if there were more Negro lawyers they could do something about our situation," he recalls.

Associated Press

Seeks offices as "the best qualified man."

Runoff Is Indicated

Today, Mr. Gray stands an excellent chance of becoming next January one of Alabama's first Negro legislators since Reconstruction. After yesterday's Democratic primary, it was at first reported that he had won a clear majority over his two white opponents, but late returns indicated he would face a runoff election May 31. If he wins, among his constituents will be Gov. and Mrs. George C. Wallace.

Mr. Gray was born Dec. 14, 1930, in Montgomery. He was 2 years old when his father died, and his mother supported the family on her earnings of $8 a week as a domestic in white households.

He worked his way through Montgomery's Alabama State College—a state-supported college for Negroes—by earning $25 a week as a district circulation agent with a local newspaper. He entered college hoping to become a minister or a teacher, but as he rode segregated city buses to and from the campus each day he grew increasingly concerned over the Negroes' lack of access to the courts.

Plunging into civil rights litigation almost immediately after completing his law training at Western Reserve, Mr. Gray was the first lawyer Martin Luther King Jr. in civil rights litigation. He still handles Dr. King's legal work in Alabama.

As his role in civil rights litigation took on greater proportions, Mr. Gray found himself involved in legal controversies of his own. Once he was arrested for disorderly conduct when he refused to leave a white waiting room in a Montgomery airport, but the case was never prosecuted.

In 1956 local draft board officials protested that Mr. Gray was using his status as a minister to avoid the draft, and an Alabama Congressman sought an investigation. The controversy died down whne Mr. Gray passed the draft age, but he is still a minister and preaches each Sunday at the New Town Church of Christ in Montgomery.

Fought Districting Case

Without question his biggest case was the Tuskegee gerrymander case of the late nineteen-fifties. When the Alabama Legislature sought to redraw the boundaries of Tuskegee County to exclude Negro voters, Mr. Gray appealed the case to the Supreme Court and won a decision that, in some measure, led to the historic reapportionment decisions of later years.

Married to the former Bernice Hill of Montgomery and the father of four children, Mr. Gray is active in community affairs. He has just completed a term as president of his college alumni association.

He is widely respected by white lawyers and court officials alike for his legal skill, his sense of humor and his indefatigable prosecution of his cause.

"A vote for me," he observes, "will place a voice, not an echo, in the Alabama Legislature, a voice that is unafraid to speak out for my constituents' interest, one that will not be silenced until heard."

ALABAMA DOUBTS BLACK TAKEOVER

Selma Sheriff May Lose to Baker—Ballot Counting Slowed by Inexperience

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

ers in local elections, breaking into factions to support first one candidate and then another.

The closest local parallel to the anti-Wallace vote yesterday was in Selma where Negroes voted solidly against Sheriff James G. Clark Jr., who, like Governor Wallace, has become a symbol of segregationist oppression to them.

Incomplete returns show that the Negro vote may have unseated Sheriff Clark.

The outcome of his race probably will not be known before tomorrow. Counting of ballots bogged down early today, partly because of the inexperience of Negro election officials manning the polls in Dallas County for the first time. Only a handful of Negroes had ever voted in Dallas County before yesterday.

Wilson Baker, former Public Safety Commissioner in Selma, who was Sheriff Clark's main opponent, led this afternoon by 92 votes with 74 of 80 voting units reported. The remaining units were from Negro neighborhoods where Mr. Baker was likely to be the havy favorite.

One Negro Nominated

The unusually heavy Negro vote in the state, perhaps 150,000 or more, nominated one Negro for the Legislature—to represent Gov. George C. Wallace's home county—and put at least eight others in run-off elections with white opponents for legislative seats and sheriff's officers.

Only one of the five Negro legislative candidates who face runoffs is considered likely to win the Democratic nomination. The three sheriff races are a toss-up, with the outcome apparently dependent on how energetically whites and Negroes get out to vote in the run-off election May 17.

Fred D. Gray, a Tuskegee lawyer who was an attorney for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956, was thought last night to have emerged as the only clear winner for a legislative seat. But the official count showed that he was 531 votes short of a majority over his two white opponents.

Negroes were jubilant over the crushing defeat of Al Lingo, a former state public safety director and militant civil rights foe, in his race for sheriff of Jefferson County (Birmingham). With most precincts reported, the incumbent sheriff, Mel Bailey, was leading 9,269 to 8,143.

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Complaints from Negroes of discriminatory treatment during yesterday's election. Federal officials tended to minimize them, but said the complaints were being studied.

Dr. Nixon said that he stood in line to vote five hours and that his wife waited five and a half hours. He attributed the delay to a shortage of voting machines and he said he thought white officials had permitted the shortage deliberately.

Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, also complained of the way the election was handled in some predominantly Negro counties.

He said many Negroes were given misinformation on voting by white officials. Some Negro illiterates were told to wait until others had voted, he added, and some ballot boxes were found unlocked.

Macon L. Weaver, United States Attorney at Birmingham, said, "We had the same kind of confusion and complaints that you have in any election." He said he doubted that whites had tried to keep Negroes from voting. Many whites also stood in long lines to vote, he said.

Mr. Weaver said voting by illiterates also slowed the balloting. One man stayed in a voting booth 28 minutes, he said.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said in Washington:

"From the information which has reached me, at least in most areas the election was conducted fairly and well and people voted freely and comfortably."

Sheriff Clark raised the possibility that the Dallas County sheriff's race could end in a court contest. He said that at least one ballot box had been left unattended and that one other had been turned in before the votes had been completely counted.

All six remaining boxes were placed in the custody of the probate judge early today when the election officials bogged down in exhaustion and confusion.

Two lesser known candidates received about 1,000 votes, raising the possibility of a Clark-Baker runoff unless the uncounted boxes are heavily for Mr. Baker.

Negroes in Hale, Bullock and Macon Counties led their white opponents in sheriff races, but none apparently won a clear majority. Still incomplete returns indicated that all three would face runoff elections.

A Negro candidate for tax assessor of Bullock County was ahead of two white opponents. He, too, apparently will face a runoff.

Several others among the 54 Negroes running for office in Alabama may yet be among the nominees when the ballots are finally counted and certified. The counting has been slow in some rural areas.

Four Negro candidates for legislative nominations in populous Jefferson County will face whites in runoffs. They have little chance of winning because the total white votes against them yesterday were in a majority.

Another Negro running for the Legislature in Mobile faced the same prospect in the runoff.

SPLIT NEGRO VOTE IN ALABAMA EASES FEARS OF WHITES

POLITICS

Division in Local Contests Is Noted Despite Bloc Action Against Mrs. Wallace

May 5, 1966

CLARK RACE IS IN DOUBT

Selma Sheriff May Lose to Baker—Ballot Counting Is Slowed by Inexperience

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By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 4—Negroes, the newest power in Deep South politics, voted as a bloc yesterday against Mrs. George C. Wallace for Governor in Alabama's Democratic primary.

But they split in voting for candidates in many local elections.

The divisions in local races tended to dispel fears among whites of a black takeover in predominantly Negro counties where the large new Negro voter registration has had a dramatic impact.

Dr. John W. Nixon of Birmingham, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, studied the scattered results of the Negro vote today and repeated an oft-stated disclaimer of Negro leaders.

Black Government Denied

"We're not trying to get black government," he said. "We're trying to become part of the democratic process."

If a white officeholder does a "good and just job," Negroes will vote for him, he said.

Negroes who had never before voted in Black Belt counties as Wilcox and Greene apparently decided that some of their white officials had done a "good and just job."

P. C. Lum Jenkins, sheriff of Wilcox County for 27 years, a man known to hundreds of Negroes as Mr. Lummie, defeated his 30-year-old Negro opponent, Walter Calhoun, even though Negroes had a decisive majority on the voting rolls.

Sheriff W. E. Lee, whose family has held the sheriff's office of Greene County since 1923, defeated a 25-year-old Negro civil rights worker, the Rev. Thomas Gilmore. Negro voters outnumber whites 2 to 1 in Greene County.

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The election results trickling in today were indecisive in many places, but there were indications that none of the 54 Negro candidates running for local and legislative offices had won a clear victory.

Several will be in runoff elections with white opponents May 17. In some places, it seemed that white candidates were saved from outright defeat only by Negro votes.

Politicians in the upper South, where Negroes have voted freely for years, discovered long ago that Negro voters behave generally like white vot-

Continued on Page 30, Column 1

Associated Press Wirephoto

MANY HAPPY RETURNS: Fred D. Gray, in center, being congratulated by supporters, including the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., right, in Birmingham yesterday. Mr. Gray became run-off candidate for Alabama Legislature after primary votes were counted.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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POLITICS

Alabama Teaches

5/5/66

Hope springs eternal but realism is more reliable. Minds in the Deep South do not change rapidly. Most Alabama whites want George Wallace. They are the majority. They will have him.

His unsurprising reelection in his wife's name reemphasizes realities that have always been plain.

They follow a classic though curious pattern: Evade state duty to guarantee rights of the humblest; instead, deny rights to the humble so flagrantly that the national government must at last provide even their right to vote; then turn on the national government angrily for meeting the responsibility the state evaded, and thereupon win reelection as a defender of "morality."

It is not a flattering view of the South, as reflected in Wallace's reelection. But it is the real one, and realities, not wishes, prevail.

The national government faced reality when it decided the Wallace South was not going to change itself, and therefore would have to be changed, if the humblest minority was to gain its rights. Forced change is a thoroughly unpleasant experience. The bruises showed in Wallace's margin of victory. But what option was left?

Now the national government has done about all it can do. It has given Southern Negroes the right to vote. It cannot win elections for them.

The realities connected with the use of the vote were seen clearly in the Alabama election. The Negro vote was, and will remain, in forlorn minority on the statewide level for as long as the politics of race is polarized in the Deep South.

The Wallaces will seek to keep it polarized for that is their ticket to power.

For the Negro minority to do the same will be sheerest folly. Only when Negro voters make common cause with moderate white voters can their power be felt. This will take some moderating of the revivalist political attitude. It will take some readiness to go along with something less than all-the-way candidates. "Freedom Now," as a Negro political slogan in the Deep South, will translate at the polls to mean "Wallace Forever."

Polarization of the races is the segregationist's game. Integration of the interests of both races should be the Negro voter's goal.

G.O.P. IN ALABAMA REBUFFS NEGROES

POLITICS

Dashes Hopes for Moderate Bid Against Mrs. Wallace

5/5/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 4 —Mrs. George C. Wallace's landslide victory in the Democratic governorship primary yesterday has dashel Negro hopes that the Republicans conduct a racially moderate campaign against her in November.

United States Representative James D. Martin, the Republican candidate, made it clear today that he would be as vocal as Mrs. Wallace's husband, the Governor, in assailing "federalism" and "socialism"—political synonyms here for enforcel racial desegregation.

Results from 3,371 of the state's 3,654 voting units gave 52.3 per cent of the vote to Mrs. Wallace, a stand-in candidate for her segregationist husband, who is barred by the State Constitution from succeeding himself. She had 399,-024 votes, compared with a combined total of 364,176 for her nine opponents. By winning a clear majority, she averted the necessity for a rnoff election for the nomination.

Republican Outlook Gloomy

Although Republican leaders still insisted they hal a chance to make Mr. Martin the party's first Southern Governor since 1920, John Grenier former state party chairman, conceded that the heavy Wallace vote "gives little reason for optimism."

However, both he and Mr. Martin vigorously denied that Mr. Martin will bow out of the race.

Of the Martin-Wallace race, one civil rights leader, Hosea Williams, said, "Martin is equally rejected by the Negro at this time. Negroes may have to go fishing in November."

The poor showing of Mrs. Wallace's racially moderate opponents in the primary could have ramifications throughout the deep South. It could cause moderate politicians in other states to stiffen their resistance to racial desegregation and make it more difficult for Negroes to find new white champions for their cause.

The Wallace sweep also posed problems for the Federal Government in its campaign to coax Southern states into compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination in schools, hospitals and other facilities that receive Federal aid.

Governor Wallace has already rescinded a desegregation program in the state's mental hospitals and has recently been mobilizing local opposition to Federal school desegregation guidelines.

With a new mandate from the voters, the Governor can be expected to step up his opposition and thus force the Federal Government either to back down or cut off Federal funds in a state whose expenditures for education and hospitals already rank far below the national average.

Federal officials would like to avoid cutting off funds to Alabama because this would penalize Negroes and white moderates as well as die-hard segregationists. But failure to take action could encourage defiance elsewhere in the south.

Alabama Negro leaders consoled themselves by citing local primary results that put Negroes into runoffs May 31 against white opponents in a number of races for the State Legislature and for sheriff. The results were still in doubt in many of the 54 races in which Negroes opposed whites for local office.

Although many Republicans were stunned by the magnitude of the Wallace victory, they said that United States Senator John J. Sparkman had showed surprising weakness among voters and immediately began looking for a Republican to oppose him.

Grenier Considers Race

One possibility was Mr. Grenier, who said he had been "seriously considering the race for a month" and was "greatly encouraged" by Mr. Sparkman's "failure to make a good showing against three opponents."

Mr. Sparkman, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee in 1962 on Adlai E. Stevenson's ticket, won renomination, collecting 292,729 votes against 232,731 for his three opponents. They were Adm. John Crommelin, retired; Frank Dixon, a Huntsville space engineer, and Mrs. Frank Stewart, widow of a former State Superintendent of Education.

About 200,000 voters did not cast ballots in the Senate race, another encouraging sign for Mr. Grenier.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Leadership Conference, siad that his aides would file formal complaints with the Justice Department because of the "great question and serious suspicion" abou the handling of elections in several counties in which Negro candidates were known to have been defeated.

"In many areas such as Green Dallas andC hoctaw Counties, they (Negroes) were given misinformation about voting," the civil rights said. "Several counties reported ballot boxes that were not locked and in Choctaw, in one precinct, ballots were stacked up on a table."

A spokesman for the Justice Department said that Federal voting observers, the first in the state since the Reconstruction, were checking complaints in Dallas and Greene Counties.

"It seems obvious that white Alabamians were desperately grasping for a way to return to the old days of white supremacy," Dr. King said of the governorship race. "But the overwhelming turnout of Negro voters and the number of candidates in the runoffs throughout the state indicate that there is a new day in Alabama."

Because returns were still coming in, civil rights leaders and politicians were uncertain how many of the state's 235,000 registered Negroes had voted. But it appeared that at least 150,000 had cast their ballots. And the total could be substantially higher.

Wish 8 per cent of the voting units yet to report, Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, who had the support of Negro political organizations, came in second in the governorship race. Many politicians thought almost all of Mr. Flower's votes were Negro.

Because of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, some 122,000 Negroes, or more than half the total Negro registration in the state, registered to vote in the Democratic primary for the first time in their lives.

POLITICS

Nixon, in the South, Bids G. O. P. Drop Race Issue

By DAVID S. BRODER
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., May 6 — Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon said today that there was "no future in the race issue" for either party in the South.

He urged Southern Republica to drop the issue from their campaign arsenal, but said national party leaders could not "dictate" an antisegregation stand to the states.

In a news conference prior to a speech at a fund-raising dinner for the Mississippi Republican party, Mr. Nixon. The party's candidate in 1960, also called on Democratic opponents of the Vietnam war to grant the President "a pause in their criticisms."

He said the attacks on Amer can policies in Vietnam by Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas and other Democrats were encouraging the enemy and prolonging the war.

Appearance Upsets Liberals

Mr. Nixon told newsmen that the suggestion by former Senator Barry Goldwater, the party's candidate in 1964, that Mr. Fulbright resign as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee "would get the desired results." It might be "mor realistic" to hope, he said, that just as the Administration agreed to a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam last winter, so the Democrats who had urged such a pause "might give the President a pause in their criticisms now."

Mr. Nixon's scheduled appearance here has been a source of controversy in the national Republican party, with some liberal Republicans charging he is raising money to aid "segregationist candidates."

Asked about this by a local newsman, Mr. Nixon said:

"I will go to any state in the country to campaign for a strong two-party system, whether or not I agree with the local Republicans on every issue."

Then, in replies to other questions, he clearly distinguished his own civil rights views from those of his hosts.

"I am opposed to any so-called segregationist plank in a Republican platform," he declared. "I would fight it in the national Republican platform and speak against it in any state I appear in."

Mississippi Republicans in 1964 adopted a platform endorsing "segregation of the races" as "absolutely essential to harmonious racial relations."

Proposal Called 'Unwise'

Two liberal Republican organizations last month urged the Republican National Committee to require state parties with such clauses in their platforms to repeal them "without delay."

Mr. Nixon said he thought the recommendation was "unrealistic and unwise."

The national Republican party, he said, should state its own support for civil rights forthrightly and try to convince state parties to agree.

"It cannot dictate to them," he insisted.

In asnwer to another question, Mr. Nixon iterated his support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, including the latter's sanction of voting by illiterates.

He declined to take a position on President Johnson's recent request for new legislation to prohibit discrimination in housing. Mr. Nixon said he had discussed the proposal with the Senate Republican leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, earlier today and "he said he saw significant constitutional problems."

"I will not make any statement on the bill as long as my party leadership in the House and Senate is still evaluating it," Mr. Nixon said.

Mr. Dirksen said last week he believed the bill, aimed at outlawing racial and religious discrimination in the sale and the rental of private housing, was "plainly unconstitutional."

There have been indications, however, that some influential House Republicans may support it.

Urges Bombing North Vietnam

Mr. Nixon also repeated his previous calls for astep-up in American bombing of military targets in North Vietnam and the closing of the port of Haiphong.

"The present Administration," he said, "seems resigned to a long war which would cost us hundreds of thousands of American casualties and destroy the political stability" of South Vietnam in the process.

Withdrawal or defeat in Vietnam, he said, "would mean the beginning of the end for freedom in Asia."

Predicts Gains for Party

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP) —Mr. Nixon predicted today that Republicans this fall "are going to make bigger gains in the House, in the Senate and for Governor across the nation than in any year since 1946."

He told several thousand Republican women workers, in a telephoned address from Newark, that this year's candidates were the best he has seen in two decades, and th at the party as a whole showed "unity such as I have not seen in many years."

The Democrats, Mr. Nixon continued, "are hopelessly divided over Vietnam and they are divided in the contest over heir apparency."

He said the Democrats were actually two "competing parties in Washington today, one headed by Bobby Kennedy and the oth er by Hubert Humphrey"—the New York Senator and the Vice President.

POLITICS

GOP Executive Board Gets Negro Member

Atlantan's Choice a Frank Bid For Support for Rep. Callaway

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

MACON, Ga., May 7—Georgia Republicans Saturday elected an Atlanta Negro to the party's executive committee in a frank bid to entice Negro voters to support Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway for governor—if he runs.

Dr. C. Clayton Powell, an optometrist and one of few Georgia Negroes to support Barry Goldwater in 1964, defeated Mims Wilkinson of Decatur for the post of parliamentarian by a vote of 320-229. Wilkinson had been the choice of the nominating committee. Dr. Powell was proposed from the floor.

Among others, John Maddox of Wayne County endorsed the Atlanta optometrist as a means to get Negroes back into the party—and specifically to help Callaway.

"It is imperative that we have a broad base," he said. "We must let the people know."

SEN. DAN MacINTYRE of Atlanta put it even blunter. "We know that Dr. Powell is a Bo Callaway man," he declared.

Dr. Powell was nominated by Bill Dowda of Atlanta, a possible GOP candidate for Congress in the 5th District. Mr. Dowda spoke of the optometrist's "courage" in backing Goldwater in 1964.

An earlier attempt to get a Negro on the executive committee failed when Dr. Charles Price of DeKalb County, a political science professor at Atlanta University, was defeated by Ed Peavey of Waycross for the post of assistant treasurer by a vote of 338-238. Dr. Price was nominated by Sen. Frank Miller of DeKalb, and again the pitch was made that a Negro was needed on the executive committee to boost the chances of Callaway.

There have been no Negroes on the party's executive committee since the take over of the state organization by Gold-

urged Rep. Callaway to run for governor. He again indicated he is going to, before leaving for Viet Nam with a congressional committee, and the platform sounded a lot like one he would endorse as a candidate.

Nationally deplored were "the questionable programs" on poverty, anything less than military, economic and political victories in Viet Nam, and "wrongs done to the equitable division of powers as outlined in the constitution by the current administration in Washington."

IN A SPEECH to delegates Friday and at a press conference, Rep. Callaway said the State Highway Department, which long has been administered by Mr. Gillis, will be an issue if he runs.

So, in effect, did the platform.

A panel asserted the party favors "a highway department system responsive to the needs of the people, implemented by qualified professionals, dedicated to the sole purpose of providing better roads for Georgia, and devoid of outside influences."

There were several bids here for a return to the party of Negro voters. But there were only a smattering of Negro delegates in the audience.

The party chairman was authorized to appoint a committee which would seek ways and means of wooing support from Negroes, lost in the Goldwater campaign of 1964. A plank called for "good-will, tolerance, and common sense" in race relations — and keeping them out of politics.

"All laws should be interpret-

trying to do and it's time somebody tipped off the people," he said.

State Rep. G. Paul Jones was elected State Executive Committee chairman without opposition at the convention. Other officers elected were Frank Troutman of Augusta, first vice chairman; state Sen. Fletcher Thompson of East Point, second vice chairman; Mrs. Carolyn Brooks of Dalton, vice chairwoman; Mrs. W. C. Calhoun of Augusta, secretary; Tom Addison of Atlanta, treasurer; and Mrs. Connie Russell of Atlanta, assistant secretary.

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By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

MACON, Ga., May 7—Georgia Republicans Saturday elected an Atlanta Negro to the party's executive committee in a frank bid to entice Negro voters to support Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway for governor—if he runs.

Dr. C. Clayton Powell, an optometrist and one of few Georgia Negroes to support Barry Goldwater in 1964, defeated Mims Wilkinson of Decatur for the post of parliamentarian by a vote of 320-229. Wilkinson had been the choice of the nominating committee. Dr. Powell was proposed from the floor.

Among others, John Maddox of Wayne County endorsed the Atlanta optometrist as a means to get Negroes back into the party—and specifically to help Callaway.

"It is imperative that we have a broad base," he said. "We must let the people know."

SEN. DAN MacINTYRE of Atlanta put it even blunter. "We know that Dr. Powell is a Bo Callaway man," he declared.

Dr. Powell was nominated by Bill Dowda of Atlanta, a possible GOP candidate for Congress in the 5th District. Mr. Dowda spoke of the optometrist's "courage" in backing Goldwater in 1964.

An earlier attempt to get a Negro on the executive committee failed when Dr. Charles Price of DeKalb County, a political science professor at Atlanta University, was defeated by Ed Peavey of Waycross for the post of assistant treasurer by a vote of 338-238. Dr. Price was nominated by Sen. Frank Miller of DeKalb, and again the pitch was made that a Negro was needed on the executive committee to boost the chances of Callaway.

There have been no Negroes on the party's executive committee since the take over of the state organization by Goldwater supporters in 1964.

The delegates adopted a new party platform which appeared aimed at making targets of LBJ nationally and Jim Gillis locally in the coming governor's race.

The Executive Committee decided to open qualifying to candidates at noon, May 23.

Meeting after the convention, the committee set the dates and qualifying fees for candidates. Qualifying will close June 15.

Fees included $1,500 to run for governor, $1,500 for Congress, $1,000 for all other state house offices, $400 for state legislative seats and $750 for superior court judge and solicitor general posts.

The state convention earlier urged Rep. Callaway to run for governor. He again indicated he is going to, before leaving for Viet Nam with a congressional committee, and the platform sounded a lot like one he would endorse as a candidate.

Nationally deplored were "the questionable programs" on poverty, anything less than military, economic and political victories in Viet Nam, and "wrongs done to the equitable division of powers as outlined in the constitution by the current administration in Washington."

IN A SPEECH to delegates Friday and at a press conference, Rep. Callaway said the State Highway Department, which long has been administered by Mr. Gillis, will be an issue if he runs.

So, in effect, did the platform.

A panel asserted the party favors "a highway department system responsive to the needs of the people, implemented by qualified professionals, dedicated to the sole purpose of providing better roads for Georgia, and devoid of outside influences."

There were several bids here for a return to the party of Negro voters. But there were only a smattering of Negro delegates in the audience.

The party chairman was authorized to appoint a committee which would seek ways and means of wooing support from Negroes, lost in the Goldwater campaign of 1964. A plank called for "good-will, tolerance, and common sense" in race relations — and keeping them out of politics.

"All laws should be interpreted and applied on an equal basis," said the platform, "without regard to race, creed or national origin."

House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, in a speech prepared for delivery to the convention Saturday, blamed the Johnson administration for the inflation threat and said the only solution is to elect more GOP congressmen.

HE SAID A MORE evenly balanced Congress would be better for the nation and would stem from what he said were excessive spending programs that the people did not want.

"The big spenders have been running the show on Capitol Hill . . . but the 'savers' have them scared — or maybe they're beginning to hear the voice of the people," he told the Georgians.

Rep. Ford predicted his party would gain 40 congressional seats in the fall elections.

And when it does, ". . . this nation's course will change."

He said the balance of power in Congress — which now is 2-1 in favor of the Democrats — will shift "to those who would turn this country away from free spending . . . (that is) eroding the hard-earned dollars of American workers."

The GOP national leader said President Johnson is trying to fool the American public by "sticking the Viet Nam war in his pocket and saying, 'Now don't you all worry about this war. I'll take care of it.' "

The Johnson forces are trying to condition the people for another tax increase this year, "this time a direct bite of their paychecks," said Rep. Ford.

"It's obvious what the Johnson-Humphrey administration is trying to do and it's time somebody tipped off the people," he said.

State Rep. G. Paul Jones was elected State Executive Committee chairman without opposition at the convention. Other officers elected were Frank Troutman of Augusta, first vice chairman; state Sen. Fletcher Thompson of East Point, second vice chairman; Mrs. Carolyn Brooks of Dalton, vice chairwoman; Mrs. W. C. Calhoun of Augusta, secretary; Tom Addison of Atlanta, treasurer; and Mrs. Connie Russell of Atlanta, assistant secretary.

POLITICS

Arnall Would Hire Negro Troopers

AC 5/8/66

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who is a candidate again this year, promised Saturday that he will hire Negroes as state troopers if he's elected.

Mr. Arnall, appearing at a statewide meeting of Negro Democrats here, also said he refused to speak on the same platform with Negro Julian Bond because he didn't want Mr. Bond's views associated as his own by implication.

"I do not think Julian Bond acted prudently when he said what he did," Mr. Arnall said. "I thought he was wrong."

Mr. Arnall, answering a question posed by Negro civil rights leader Hosea Williams, said he feels every person has a right to speak his views. "I didn't fall out with him (Mr. Bond) for that," he said.

MR. BOND, an Atlanta Negro, was denied his seat in the Georgia House because he endorsed a statement saying "Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law."

Mr. Arnall appeared at a meeting of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and got the best reception of six candidates for state office who spoke before the organization. One candidate — Labor Commissioner Ben Huiet — did not appear but sent representatives.

Others appearing were Clarke Rep. Randall Bedgood, a candidate for lieutenant governor; Comp. Gen. Jimmy Bentley; Fulton Superior Judge Jeptha C. Tanksley, a possible candidate for governor; Sam Caldwell, who will oppose Mr. Huiet, and Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell.

About 125 Negroes from throughout the state attended the all-day meeting at the Butler Street YMCA.

Among actions taken was adoption of a resolution asking politicians in Georgia to stop resistance to new federal guidelines speeding up school desegregation so integration will occur more smoothly.

IN HIS STATEMENTS, Mr. Arnall said he doesn't think Negroes ought to be hired as troopers unless they're qualified. But he said one-third of Georgians are Negroes and the State Highway Patrol "ought to embrace a broad spectrum of our people."

In a statement opening the meeting, Fulton Negro Sen. Leroy R. Johnson cautioned politicians that "Georgia is not an Alabama" and said a coalition of "responsible" Negro voters and the "best element of the white community" will elect Georgia's next governor.

Sen. Johnson said he is "afraid that some politicians are miscalculating the signs of the times."

"They are erroneously equating and comparing the politics of Alabama with the politics of Georgia," he said.

"Georgia is not an Alabama." He said this coalition of voters has provided "reasonably good government" in Atlanta, Macon, Savannah, Augusta and Brunswick and will determine the governor in 1966.

"To those politicians who in the 1960s fear talking to the Negro in public, or fear meeting with Negroes in public, I should think that they might have some scruples about receiving his votes in privacy," Sen. Johnson said.

"In other words, it would be difficult to support those politicians who want to romance the Negro at night or behind closed doors, or in privacy, and divorce him in public.

"We do not at this moment seek a public wedding with any politician, because we recognize the reality of politics, and we resent deeply a shotgun courtship."

In their questions to candidates, the Negroes seemed most concerned with whether more state jobs are going to be opened to Negroes in the future.

Mr. Bentley, who said he will formally announce in a few days his intentions to seek re-election, admitted his office now employs only four Negroes in about 110 employes.

But he said he has no doubt that other Negroes will be hired as time passes.

ANSWERING A question, he said the four Negroes hired are all college graduates, but that this is not a requirement. He said most of his employes must be highly educated, however, because his office enforces more regulations than all other state agencies combined.

One Negro in the audience complained that "one of our problems is that they want all of us to be Jackie Robinsons."

Judge Tanksley said that if he's elected governor "no jobs will belong exclusively to one group of citizens."

He said state personnel will be hired during his administration on a basis of merit. If a person is qualified he should get the job whether he's white or Negro, he said.

Rep. Bedgood, an announced candidate for lieutenant governor, replied to a question that the new federal guidelines on education "are not arbitrary."

He said all but 15 school systems have indicated they'll implement the guidelines and he supports them, too.

ASKED ABOUT the House's refusal to seat elected Mr. Bond, Rep. Bedgood said he favored seating Mr. Bond and said so at the time.

In a formal statement, Rep. Bedgood said, "It is time for the responsible people of Georgia of all races to show maturity and with it some degree of intelligent thinking.

"Let me caution you to consider seriously the recent elections in our neighboring state to the west," he said. "Remember that only an invisible line separates our two states. Animosity and militant action is not the answer at this moment or any other moment in Georgia history."

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HE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 9, 196

Lesson in South's Vote

(See other side)

Texas Results Confirm Alabama Point: Liberals Still Face Long, Uphill Fight

POLITICS

By DAVID S. BRODER

News Analysis

HOUSTON, May 8—Yesterday's Texas election results confirmed the lesson of the Alabama primary that free access to the polls is no guarantee of victories for leberal in the South.Texas liberal and labor forces challenging the supremacy of Gov. John B. Connally's conservative Democratic establishment suffered almost as sharp a disappointment as the opponents of Gov. George C. Wallace and his wife, Lurleen, did in Alabama last Tuesday. In both states, the liberals hadw pinned their hopes on Federal legislation and Federal court decisions that expanded the electorate to include many new voters from low-income and minority groups.

In Alabama, the number of Negro voters doubled to 235,000 after Federal registrars had been sent in under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In Texas, a Federal court decision against the state poll tax permitted the free registration during March of 630,000 new voters, a 25 per cent jump.

But in the first elections held in these expanded constituences, the Governors, employing their political organizations, easily overcame the liberals' challenge.

The results were viewed as meaning that the political transition of the South, which observers have said for years was inevitable, are likely to come about far more slowly than some expected.

Two Situations Differ

The issues and personalities of the Alabama and Texas primaries were far from identical. Race questions, which dominated the Alabama voting, have not been a major factor in Tex politics in many years.

But in both states, liberal-labor forces attempting to bring the state Democratic parties into closer ideological agreementn with the national Democratic party were repulsed. As a consequence, the daz stillseems distant when Southern politics is realigned on the national pattern of competition between a predominantly liberal Democratic party and a predominantly conservative Republican party.

True, there werre scattered victories for liberal and minority group candidates for the Legislatures of both states, partly as a result of the expanded electorate and party as a result of reapportionment.

But in the more important statewide battles—for the governorship nomination in Alabama and for the attorney generalship nomination and control of the Democratic organization in Texas — Democrats tinged with the philosophy of the Great Society were beaten by Democrats who, on one issue or another, said they would "stand up" against the Federal Government.

The results can only be viewe as disquieting for President Johnson and other national Democrats. They are probably a mixed blessing for the Republicans.

For Mr. Johnson and other Democratic party leaders, the returns constitute a renewed warning that the once-solid South is melting from under them.

Governor Wallace is likely to find encouragement in his wife's victory for another foray into the Presidential primaries in 1968. He would probably exploit arace issue that the President's proposed open housing legislation has made increasingly sensitive in the North.

Tower's Bid Strengthened

In his home state of Texas, Mr. Johnson faces a stronger possibility of a second-term victory by Senator John G. Tower, a Republican. Liberal Democrats' dislike for Mr. Tower's conservative Democratic opponent, Attorney General Waggoner Carr, was indicated by the fact that his little known opponent received 20 per cent of the vote.

Democrats will present an all-conservative slate for statewide office in November, unless the labor-backed candidate Franklin Spears, can overcome long odds against his nomination for Attorney General in the run-off primary.

Without Mr. Spears, liberal Democrats would have almost no special reason to vote in November; their "going fishing" is Mr. Tower's best hope for

Nor is he the only Republican in the South encouraged by the last week's demonstration that thousands of nominal Democrats will favor the candidate most conspicuous in his opposition to the domestic policies of the Johnson Administration.

Republicans across the South are gearing their campaigns to capture that prevailing conservative sentiment by hanging the Great Society label on even the most anti-Administration Southern Democrats.

The pleasant prospect of additional Republican victories in the South is marred for national Republican leaders by the fact that conservatism in several Southern states is inextricably interwoven with last-ditch segregationism.

5/9/66 POLITICS

Jim Martin and the Negro Vote

By ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

Washington.

ON THE day before the Alabama Democratic primary election, Republican Rep. James D. Martin inserted in the Congressional Record remarks condemning an abortive transfer of patients between two mental hospitals in Alabama — one white and one Negro — to meet federal desegregation guidelines.

This "outrage," stormed Martin, constituted an "inhumane act of using mental patients as pawns in the game of winning votes of minority groups which seems to be the sole occupation of this (Johnson) administration." He then inserted in the Record an editorial praising Gov. George Wallace for intervening against the proposed transfer of mental patients.

TRAILING

Such an outburst would scarcely be exceptional, coming from a Southern congressman, save for the fact that Martin will be the Republican nominee for governor. His foe: Democratic nominee Lurleen Wallace, stand-in for her husband (who is barred from succeeding himself).

What's more, Lurleen's breathtaking victory in the Democratic primary shows that Wallace has cornered the hardcore segregationist vote in Alabama.

Thus, Martin, in order to win, must get Alabama's Negro vote. Ironically, then, Jim Martin's political future depends on "the game of winning votes of minority groups."

Until Tuesday, Martin seemed a solid favorite to be elected governor.

A secret poll conducted about a month ago by a highly respected pollster showed

Martin running ahead of every Democratic possibility — including Mrs. Wallace. Of all the Democrats, she was the only one to show up well, trailing Martin by only 52 per cent to 48 per cent.

But the Wallace showing last Tuesday surprised everybody as an exhibit of the governor's grip on rural white Alabama.

Thus, even granting that 25 to 30 per cent of the state's white voters (mainly in the big cities and suburbs) are now dyed - in - the - wool Republicans, Martin needs heavy, unified Negro backing to win.

Despite continuing his play for the segregationist vote, Martin is a nimble politician who shows significant signs of flexibility.

For instance, as recently as last summer he was the only Alabama Republican congressman who privately described himself as a segregationist. Now he bridles when the term is applied to him.

More to the point, Martin has been trying clandestinely to build a base of Negro support — carefully concealing it from his segregationist support.

Yet Martin needs more than a clandestine movement to win Negro votes. The all-Negro Black Panther party (sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) urged Negroes to boycott the Democratic primary.

GRAB-BAG

But even beyond the extremist fringe of the civil rights movement, there will be solid advice to Negroes to stand clear of the Martin-Wallace showdown.

For instance, Dr. John Nixon, of Birmingham, the state NAACP leader — an activist but no extremist — believes the Alabama Negro should not give his vote to a candidate who does not ask for it.

If Alabama Republicans could bring themselves to make such a request, the reward might transcend the efforts. Sen. John Sparkman's renomination on Tuesday with approximately two-thirds of the vote against a grab-bag collection of three foes was not impressive.

Thus, a Republican candidate of the stature of Winton (Red) Blount, the Montgomery construction magnate, might have a chance against Sparkman.

Blount, who as state Chamber of Commerce president last year took a stand against Wallace racism, might also add a touch of moderation to Martin's candidacy.—(c1966).

Monday, May 9, 1966 AJ POLITICS

Nixon Tips Callaway's Hand On Georgia Governor Race?

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, May 9 — Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon has already put Rep. Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Pine Mountain in the governor's race in Georgia.

Nixon, in a copyright article for North American Newspaper Alliance, said Republicans should support "fiscal sanity and economic conservatism in Southern statehouses" and added:

"Alabama and Georgia are presented with special opportunities this year in the candidacies of James Martin and Bo Callaway, who have surrendered safe seats in the Congress to run for governor.

"Their election would do for Alabama and Georgia what the election of Republican governors in recent years has done for Pennsylvania and Ohio."

The Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter, out Monday, used most of the Nixon article as editorial comment, but omitted the reference to Rep. Callaway and to Rep. Martin, the Gadsden, Ala., congressman who apparently will oppose Mrs. Lurleen Wallace for governor in November.

NIXON, who was the losing GOP candidate for president in 1960 and for governor of California in 1962, said the South cannot build a two-party system "by simply sending Republicans to the national capital on national issues."

He said it must win in courthouses, legislatures and statehouses. The party of the future, he said, "cannot be built upon a foundation of federal handouts."

Richard Nixon

Rep. Callaway

"The Republican party in the South ought to state to the people of the South: Ask not what Washington can do for you, but what you can do for yourselves," Nixon wrote.

The former vice president also declared that the Southern GOP "must not go prospecting for the fool's gold of racist votes."

"Southern Republicans must not climb aboard the sinking ship of racial injustice," he said. "They should let Southern Democrats sink with it, as they have sailed with it.

"Any Republican victory that would come of courting racists, black or white, would be a defeat for our future in the South, and our party in the nation. It would be a battle won in a lost cause."

Callaway Eyes Negro Blocs, Byrd Charges

Former Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd says Republican Rep. Howard Callaway has softened his civil rights stand and is actively "pursuing the Negro bloc vote."

Mr. Byrd, a potential Democratic candidate for governor this year, claimed in an interview Sunday Rep. Callaway has "departed from the image he was successful with" when he soundly defeated the former lieutenant governor for Congress in 1964.

Rep. Callaway is now considered a likely GOP contender for governor.

MR. BYRD SAID the GOP congressman promised to introduce a bill to repeal the 1964 Civil Rights Act. "He hadn't been elected more than 30 days until he apologized for making that statement," Mr. Byrd commented.

"I also noticed an absence in the news reports of the Georgia Republican party convention, which was under his direction and control, of taking any position on the school desegregation guidelines," the Reynolds attorney added. "It would be interesting to know what his attitude is with regard to that."

Mr. Byrd said he is completing legal work on a suit to test federal school desegregation guidelines and will file it later this week in Taylor County Superior Court.

Grand Dragon Is Against Him, Too

POLITICS AC 5/9/66

The grand dragon of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan said Sunday he would get out and campaign for Leroy Johnson, "the very capable Negro senator of Atlanta," if he were running against Fifth District Rep. Charles L. Weltner next fall.

Speaking on a question and answer session on WQXI, Calvin Craig said:

"I assure you that I would get out and campaign for him (Johnson) because I feel that he's an honorable person of his community, an honorable person of his race, and I certainly feel that he would make a more capable servant of the people of the Fifth District than Mr. Weltner because I think Mr. Weltner has used that office strictly as a race-hating organization against the Ku Klux Klan."

Asked if the Klan would actively campaign against Rep. Weltner this summer, Craig replied: "We shall do all in our power . . . not as an organization because we're not a political organization . . . as individuals to defeat Mr. Weltner."

"We just hope we can get a good man to run against him this time," the grand dragon said.

Craig said he would like to question Rep. Weltner about one of his supporters whose name was on his "letterhead of literature that he put out in the last political campaign." Craig said the man was a member of the Civil Rights Congress which has been "identified by the attorney general of the United States as a Communist front organization."

-POLITICS

AC 5/16/64

Thompson Calls Weltner A 'Bigot' in Race Issue Spat

State Sen. Fletcher Thompson of East Point, a second vice chairman of the Republican party of Georgia, charged Sunday that Rep. Charles L. Weltner is being a "bigot" and a "racist" when he says that the Republican party exploited the race issue in the 1964 presidential election.

Weltner, the keynote speaker Saturday at a meeting of the Georgia Young Democrats, said that the Republican party carried the state for the first time in history because of "the clever exploitation of the race issue by the Republican party in Georgia and throughout the South."

Weltner charged that Republicans were employing a new form of racism and said, "The old demagogues would mount the stump and shout 'nigger.' The new Republicans talk about 'crime in the streets,' subsidized illegitimacy,' and 'Washington dictatorship.' "

DEMAGOGUE TAG

Thompson, in a statement to The Constitution, said that Weltner has shown himself to be "nothing more than a demogogue." "It is obvious," said Thompson, "that Weltner is attempting to exploit for his own political gain the racial issue by making unfounded charges against the Republican Party in an attempt to stir up the Negro community."

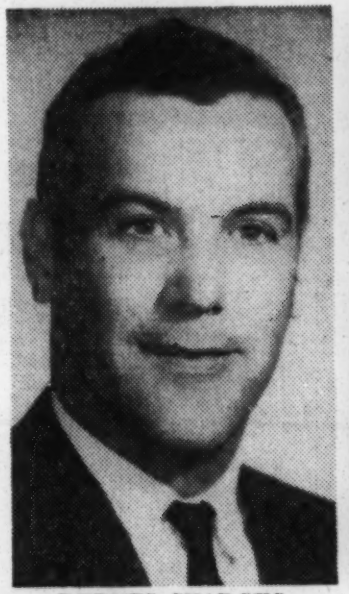
The Republican Party, according to Thompson, has made it clear that it will not condone or exploit racism for political gain.

CROSS RACE LINES

The state senator said that, "Weltner knows he must exploit the Negro voter if he is to remain in power. Because of this he is attempting to bind Republican concern over the crime rate as 'racist'."

Thompson said Republican statements on these matters cross racial lines and are of concern to all Americans.

"I expect," said Thompson, "that the Negro citizen wants most to be considered as an individual with the same rights, desires and needs as everyone else and that he is soon going to grow tired of being used as a pawn by politicians such as Weltner."



REBUTS CHARGES
Fletcher Thompson

CAUGHT IN MIDDLE
Charles Weltner

TALMADGE UPSETS GEORGIA POLITICS

POLITICS

Other Candidates Weigh His Interest in Governorship

5/20/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 19 — Senator Herman E. Talmadge's entry into Georgia's governorship race has completely altered the state political situation leaving Republicans and anti-Talmadge Democrats in disarray.

Until the Senator's announcement yesterday that he would like to return to the state as Governor, both groups had been predicting victory in the race.

But today, United States Rep. Howard B. Callaway, the leading Republican contender for Governor, would not say whether he was still in or was dropping out of the campaign.

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall, an anti-Talmadge Democrat, said he was "definitely" still a candidate. But some of his close associates said that Mr. Arnall was in only because he was not completely convinced that Senator Talmadge would go through with his plan to quit the Senate.

At least one of Senate Talmadge's closet allies, State Controller James Bentley, agreed that the Senator's plans "are not final."

"The Senator merely moved in to fill the breech when Ernest Vandiver got out of the race," said Mr. Bentley, a possible gubernatorial candidate himself if Senator Talmadge does not run.

Qualified Candidacy

Mr. Vandiver, a former Governor, withdrew from the race yesterday because of a heart ailment. Senator Talmadge immediately announced that he had "reached the conclusion that I can best serve my state and its people in these trying times as Governor rather than continuing in the United States Senate."

The Senator qualified his announcement, however, by saying that he would like to hear from his constituents as to whether he should remain in the Senate or run for Governor.

Already, according to a Talmadge associate, bankers, textile mill officials, and other corporate executives are telling him that the state cannot afford to lose his 10 years' seniority in the Senate and in the Senate Finance Committee, where he is fourth in order of seniority from the chairmanship.

But most key Talmadge supporters are saying that the 52-year-old Senator is determined to return to the state as Governor. They said he was tired of Washington and also wanted

gun speculating upon who Senator Talmadge might appoint to his Senate seat next year if he is elected Governor.

Among those figuring in speculation were Judge Griffin Bell of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, State Controller Bentley, Mr. Vandiver, and the present Governor, Carl E. Sanders.

Australia Curbs Hallucinogens

CANBERRA, Australia—Australia is to introduce strict controls on the import of a number of drugs that produce hallucination, among them are LSD and Mescaline, the Australian News and Information Bureau reports. The Minister for Customs, Senator Kenneth Anderson, said that these and other hallucinogens are not to be brought into Australia without his written consent.

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But most key Talmadge supporters are saying that the 52-year-old Senator is determined to return to the state as Governor. They said he was tired of Washington and also wanted to head off Republican growth in the state and to defeat Representative Callaway and Mr. Arnall.

Representative Callaway, who is 37 years old, was elected in 1964 as Georgia's first Republican Congressman since Reconstruction, and Senator Talmadge's supporters see him as a major threat to Democratic control in the state.

Belittles the Threat

Yesterday, however, in discussing the Republican challenge in Georgia, Senator Talmadge referred to the Republican Representative as "Cab Callaway" — apparently in an effort to indicate that he considers him no more serious a threat than the Negro singer by that name.

Senator Talmadge's concern over Mr. Arnall is nearly a quarter of a century old. It began in 1942 when Governor Arnall defeated the Senator's late father, Eugene — a suspenders-tugging orator and segregationist—in a bid for a fourth term as Governor.

His concern increased four years later when his father died after having won an election to succeed Mr. Arnall. The Senator persuaded the Legislature to elect him Governor and then took over the state capitol with the assistance of armed guards.

Gov. Arnall refused to relinguish the governorship, and continued to administer the state from his law offices. He charged that the Lietenant Governor-elect and not Mr. Talmadge was the proper heir to the governorship.

After the court set aside Mr. Talmadge's election by the Legislature, he won a special statewide election in 1948 and served until 1955. Throughout his administration, he assailed Mr. Arnall, who had won a national reputation as a liberal by abolishing the state's poll tax, revamping the state's school system, and taking a moderate position on the race issue.

Change in Talmadge

Senator Talmadge, in contrast, was a white supremacist as Governor and during most of his years in the Senate was considered one of that body's most forceful segregationists.

Recently, however, he has begun wooing the state's steadily increasing Negro vote.

Although the 59-year-old Mr. Arnall has led the anti-Talmadge forces in the state since stepping down as Governor in 1947, he had not sought an elective office since then.

Politicians have already be-

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20 C POLITICS

ALABAMA IS ISSUE IN FLORIDA'S VOTE

6/20/66

Gov. Burns Asks His State to 'Follow Lead' of Another

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 19—"Follow the lead of Alabama" has become a frequent plea of Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida as he stumps the state in the closing days of the second Democratic primary campaign.

He has got applause and cheers from audiences in north Florida with a line about Alabama and also when he mentions Mrs. George C. Wallace, the Democratic nominee for Governor of Alabama.

Mr. Burns has been barnstorming Florida during the last week of the campaign and he has found enthusiasm that was previously lacking. He has placed his hopes for re-election in what he calls the twin issues of "Bobby Kennedy" and the "paid Negro bloc vote."

The Governor, who is currently serving a two-year term, turned to the race issue last week after avoiding it almost completely in the first primary, which ended May 3.

The Governor got 35 per cent of the vote in that election while Robert King High, the Mayor of Miami, who finished second, got 33 per cent. A third major candidate, Scott Kelly of Lakeland, received 32 per cent of the vote.

The second primary election is May 24, and Governor Burns has said privately that he probably is behind. Publicly, he has said, he will be defeated only if his supporters fail to get out the vote on election day.

Wallace Tactics Used

The Burns campaign has been using some of the political tactics that worked for Mrs. Wallace.

Bands of musicians are sent ahead to gather crowds for the Governor, who travels in a plane that is too big to land at some of the small-town airports.

Once on the platform, Mr. Burns charges that Mr. High's campaign has been directed by Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

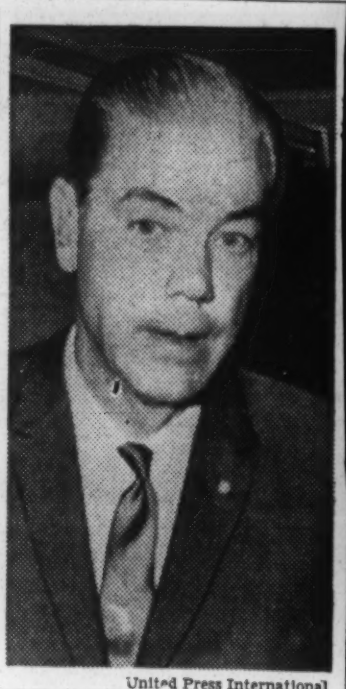
"Bobby High will never be Governor of Florida and Bobby Kennedy will never be President of the United States," the Governor said. He says that Senator Kennedy hopes to control the Florida delegation to the 1968 national Democratic convention by controlling Mayor High.

This "outside influence" he says was rejected in Alabama "and will be rejected in Florida."

"The Miami Mayor is in the runoff only because of the paid Negro bloc vote," was a phrase he used in every speech this week.

The Governor has not commented on newspaper analyses showing that in several large counties he got as many or more Negro votes in the first primary than Mr. High did.

Mr. Burns's strategy has been to appeal to the 320,000 voters who cast their ballots for Mr. Kelly on May 3. Mr. Kelly generally was considered to be the most conservative of the three major candidates.



United Press International

CONFIDENT OF VOTE: Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida. He indicated he expected to win renomination in second state Democratic primary next week.

The Governor has had some difficulty in attracting support after asserting on May 5 that Mr. Kelly had offered to endorse the Burns campaign for $500,000.

Mr. Kelly called the Governor's charge "the biggest political lie ever told in Florida" and set aside plans to rest in the runoff campaign and began traveling and speaking with Mayor High.

Mr. Burns's practice of making spur-of-the-moment charges has caused concern within his campaign organization. On one occasion, he interpolated into a speech that he did poorly in Tampa in the first primary because he had been supported by Tampa's Mayor Nick Nuccio.

The Governor tried to soothe Nuccio supporters later by explaining that he meant that Mayor Nuccio was so involved in local political campaigns that supporters of candidates proposed by Mr. Nuccio voted against Governor Burns in protest.

Governor Burns, who is 54 years old, was Mayor of Jacksonville for 16 years before becoming Governor. He has not appeared to enjoy campaigning this year.

In his first 16 months as Governor, Mr. Burns proposed very few changes. He postponed action on two major projects that had been before the Legislature for several years, revision of state tax laws and rewriting of the state Constitution.

Voters last November defeated by a 2-to-1 vote a proposal that the state borrow $300-million to build new highways. Mr. Burns campaigned vigorously for the bond issue, and its defeat was regarded as a severe blow to his prestige.

Mr. Burns said that he considered the continued expansion of the state university and junior college system to be the major accomplishment of his first year in office.

His critics said this program was well under way before he took office.

STRANGE, BITTER POLITICS

Florida Runoff Nears Verdict

AC 6/22/68

By CHARLES F. HESSER

Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, May 21—One of the strangest and bitterest Democratic runoff campaigns for governor of Florida in the state's history will be decided at the ballot box on Tuesday.

The main antagonists are Gov. Haydon Burns and Miami Mayor Robert King High, who finished in that order in the May 3 primary. But lots of others have gotten, or been brought into the action.

Scott Kelly, for instance, who came in third in the primary, threw his support to High for the runoff and has been out-talking if not out-campaigning candidate High since joining the latter's camp. Burns complains that Kelly has been receiving more publicity than High.

OTHER NAMES injected into the campaign include Gov. and Mrs. George Wallace of Alabama, New York's Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, U.S. Sen. Robert Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Florida Secretary of State Tom Adams, Atty. Gen. Earl Faircloth and Elliott Roosevelt, son of the late President.

Burns started off the second primary campaign by charging that Kelly's support had a price tag of $500,000 on it. Burns later reduced the amount to $150,000 and finally dropped the subject when he said he had no proof.

But, this failed to stop Kelly from hitting the campaign trail

Turn to Page 14, Column 1

Bitter Runoff Near Climax in Florida

Continued from Page 1

with High to haunt the governor with the charge. Kelly implored his supporters time and again "to wipe the smear of the big lie off me and my family" by voting for High and thus insuring the defeat of Burns in the governor's bid for re-election.

IN THE PRIMARY, Burns received 372,451 votes to 338,281 for High and 331,580 for Kelly.

Burns injected the racial issue into the runoff.

Referring to Wallace "and his lovely wife, Laurleen," Burns said, "Alabamans went one by one to the polls to reject outside influence and the Negro bloc vote. The people of Florida must do as the people of Alabama—beat down the Negro bloc vote."

Elliott Roosevelt, mayor of Miami Beach, who had stumped for Burns, called a press conference late in the campaign to rebuke the governor for his remarks on race.

In an obvious reference to Alabama, Roosevelt said, "We cannot permit the State of Florida to move backwards into alliances with other Southern states which have consistently and cynically flouted the federal law of our land."

But, Roosevelt did say Burns by his appointment of a number of Negroes to office did more to make civil rights advances in Florida than "any previous governor."

Rep. Powell made a quick trip to Miami, but stayed just long enough to endorse High for governor.

"If I were a Florida citizen, black or white, I would be behind Robert King High," Powell said at a press conference.

AN ENRAGED High cried foul. He said he didn't want Powell's blessing, that everything the New York congressman "stands for is repugnant to me."

High charged that Powell's endorsement had been engineered by a supporter of Burns. The governor replied he didn't know Powell and didn't know anybody who did.

Earlier at a press conference in Miami, Wilkins said "Mayor High is well regarded by the Negro citizens of Florida with whom I've talked."

Burns construed this as an endorsement of High by Wilkins, charging the NAACP leader had joined a "coalition of radical extremists" against him that included Bobby Kennedy. Burns has since been referring to High as "Bobby" High.

THE GOVERNOR inferred that Kennedy was hopeful of securing the control of the 1968 Florida national convention delegation to further his ambitions for vice president.

High has repeatedly denied that Kennedy has any connection with his campaign.

The Miami mayor announced he had requested Dr. King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, not to come to Florida prior to Tuesday's election "because his presence would be misunderstood."

High said he had information that "politicians were going to try to make something out of Dr. King's presence, to the detriment of good racial relations in this state."

Kelly said he had information that Burns "planned to have a motorcade of Negroes go through Western Florida with Bob High's literature and stickers for no other purpose than to try to influence people of Western Florida on racial matters." Burns heatedly denied any such plan.

SECRETARY OF STATE Tom Adams drew Burns' ire when he charged the governor with state purchasing irregularities and declared Burns was "trying to hide behind the cabinet."

Burns replied with a charge that a corporation Adams was a member of tried to sell a plane to the state. The governor said he blocked the alleged deal because of possible conflict on interest.

An attempt by Burns to link High with a man he called "a big time gambler"—Newell C. Taylor, Miami carnival operator—resulted in a lawsuit being filed against the governor.

Taylor is suing Burns for $100,000. Burns repeated his charge and dared Taylor to sue for a second $100,000.

Taylor went him one better and upped the suit to $250,000 with the remark, "I called him and raised him 50, you might say." Taylor said he would donate any money he collects from the suit to Miami's Variety Children's Hospital, of which he is a director.

Burns had charged that High introduced Taylor to Atty. Gen. Faircloth. Burns said Taylor wanted gambling laws relaxed so that the carnival man could operate games of chance on midways. Faircloth acknowledged High's introduction of Taylor.

"This fellow's wild," High said of Burns. "He realizes he is beaten and is desperate."

High said he was "making it a policy to wait at least 24 hours after the governor makes a charge before I answer. It takes time to get them all compiled."

Burns is a former mayor of Jacksonville. Burns and High have exchanged charges of extravagance and high taxation by each other in the operation of Florida's two largest cities.

Amid the shouting, neither candidate has had much to say about the real issues in the campaign.

The Political Action Committee for Education — a newly organized group of Florida teachers — said at first it was withholding endorsement of either candidate. At a closed-door meeting Friday night, however, PACE gave its endorsement to High.

PACE said neither of the candidates had "shown sufficient concern over the teacher turnover in Florida." PACE endorsed Kelly in the primary.

WITH ONE WEEK still to go in the governor's runoff, Burns reported campaign spending over the $1 million mark. He listed total expenditures of $1,047,289 and contributions of $1,123,932.

Compared to Burns' total, High reported spending $164,243 so far in the campaign and receiving $195,160.

POLITICS

Mrs. Wallace 72,845 Away From Runoff

AC 5/23/72

The Southern Regional Council said Sunday it would have taken Mrs. George Wallace's nine male opponents 72,845 more votes to have forced her into a runoff in the May 3 Democratic primary in Alabama.

Large as this figure was, the council said, it may not be entirely out of reach in future Alabama elections. Negro registration has more than doubled in Alabama since passage of the 1,965 Voting Rights Act.

Present Negro registration is about 49 per cent of the voting age population. White registration is 87 per cent.

The council said that based on returns from selected precincts the Negro vote can be calculated at, or just above, the total vote received by Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers, who ran second to Mrs. Wallace in the primary with 172,386.

POLITICS

Primaries Today Involve Viet and Racial Issues

AC 5/24/72

By the Associated Press

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Oregon primary Tuesday, presenting what amounts to a referendum on Viet Nam policy, could have far-reaching influence on the pattern of campaigns for November's general election.

And in Florida — one of three other states voting Tuesday -a fresh test has shaped up of what tendency there may be in the South toward racial polarization in political contests.

Also voting Tuesday are Kentucky, which makes nominations for the Senate and House, and Oklahoma, where there are runoffs for both Democratic and Republican nominations for governor and a GOP runoff for the nomination for the Senate.

Senate critics of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Viet Nam policy have described their public attacks as intended to influence him by influencing the voters. That is the explanation offered by Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark.

The Oregon balloting will test their success, at least among Democratic voters there for the two principal contenders for the Democratic nomination for the Senate are sharply split over Viet Nam.

Rep. Robert B. Duncan, 45,

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Viet and Racial Issues Involved in Primaries

Continued from Page 1

supports the President's policies while Howard Morgan, 52, a former Federal Power Commissioner, is critical of them.

The winner is expected to go up against Gov. Mark O. Hatfield in the Nov. 8 general election. Hatfield has only nominal opposition in the Republican Senate primary.

Though many votes in the Duncan - Morgan contest may be decided by reasons other than Viet Nam, the outcome inevitably will be interpreted by politicians in other states in terms of the Viet Nam war.

In Florida, Gov. Haydon Burns has raised the racial issue in his contest with Miami Mayor Robert King High for the Democratic nomination for governor. He charged there is a "paid Negro bloc vote" for High and called for Florida voters to "stop the bloc vote candidate as they did in Alabama."

In the May 3 Alabama primary, the prospect of a heavy Negro vote for one of her opponents apparently impelled many white voters to support Mrs. Lurleen Wallace who won the Democratic nomination for governor overwhelmingly.

Oklahoma Democrats choose between former Gov. Raymond Gary and Preston Moore, an Oklahoma City attorney and former American Legion national commander, for their party's nominee for governor.

Republicans will settle runoff races for the senate and for governor. Pat Patterson and Don Kinkaid, both of Oklahoma City, are bidding for the Senate nomination.

Kentucky has contests for the nominations for the Senate, but the opposition is only token for Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper.

GOP Rated Contender By Senator

POLITICS
5/24/66 AC

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway, considered by some to be the first Republican to become the leading candidate for governor of Georgia, shoved his campaign into high gear as U.S. Sen. Herman Talmadge ruled himself out of the race Monday.

The Republicans, with Talmadge not heading the Democratic ticket, have hopes of winning a majority of the Georgia congressional seats this year.

Related stories on Pages 3, 13 and 20.

Callaway has opened a campaign headquarters in Atlanta, it was learned Monday. That makes at least two campaign offices for Callaway in Georgia. The other is at Columbus.

The 39-year-old congressman is lining up his timetable so he can spend as much time as possible campaigning in Georgia without missing major roll call votes in the House of Representatives.

Callaway does not plan to announce formally for governor until around July 1.

However, campaign machinery has been in motion for several months. The machinery skipped a beat last week when Talmadge announced he was available as a gubernatorial candidate.

The Callaway organization began stepping up the tempo when reports that Talmadge had decided against the gorvernor's race mounted last week.

Talmadge called a 10 a.m. press conference Monday to announce that he had decided he could best serve the long-range interest of Georgia by remaining in the Senate where he is nearing 10 years of seniority.

The senator said he had received several thousand communications from Georgians since last Wednesday and his statement was as follows:

"They almost unanimously pledged their support for any course of action that I determined upon.

"The majority thought that I could best serve the state's interests in the immediate future

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Talmadge Declines; Callaway Revs Up

Continued from Page 1

by serving as governor of Georgia.

"The majority also felt that I could best serve the state's interests in the long range by continuing to serve in the United States Senate.

"They pointed out that I have obtained almost 10 years of seniority and have important committee assignments. They further pointed out that most of the political battles of our times now occur in Washington and not in Atlanta, Ga.

"In accordance with what I think to be the overwhelming majority views of the people of Georgia and in the long-range interest of our state, I shall continue to serve in the United States Senate to the best of my ability."

The senator's decision opened up the question of whether the Talmadge political structure had settled on a candidate to support in the Democratic primary.

PARTY PLEDGE

There was no evidence of a ground swell for any such candidate.

"The matter of selection of the Democratic candidate will be for the people of Georgia," said Talmadge. "I expect to vote for the Democratic candidates from the United States Senate down to the state legislature."

Talmadge refused to be pinned down on whether he would campaign for the Democratic nominee for governor.

"That is a bridge to cross when we get to it," he said.

Talmadge said he thinks Callaway will be a "formidable candidate if he runs."

In reply to reports that Callaway had said Talmadge was afraid to run for governor, the senator said, "I think Congressman Callaway knows me well enough to know I don't frighten easily."

CALLAWAY RESPONSE

Callaway, on a speaking tour in northwest Georgia, issued a statement that said in part:

"It would seem apparent that the people have again demonstrated their overwhelming confidence and trust in the senator's ability and performance in congress . . . I join the people of Georgia in expressing my confidence in the junior senator and in his ability to make the right decision for the best interest of Georgia."

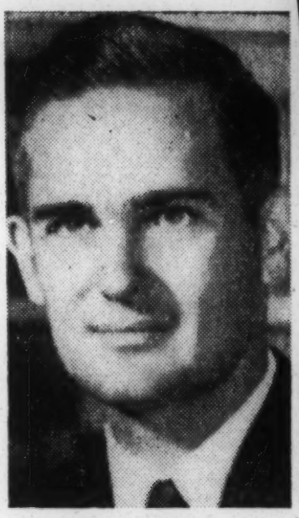
The Republican congressman's supporters were jubilant at Talmadge's decision. They did not waste time in merrymaking, however.

The Republicans had anticipated Talmadge's announcement since Sunday, and they had already begun to buckle down to work toward victory this fall.

Victory in the governor's race is not the single element in the Republican campaign portfolio.

Before the Talmadge thunderclap struck last week, the Republicans were hopeful of winning three of the state's 10 congressional seats.

Monday afternoon, they were predicting the GOP might win as many as six seats in Congress, which is a majority in the Georgia delegation.



HAILS MOVE
Rep. Howard Callaway

Politics and People POLITICS

And a Machine Starts to Crumble

AC 5/24/66

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

The curtain is slowly rising on a new political drama in Georgia.

Its title:

"The Beginning of the Destruction of a Political Machine."

Sam Hopkins

Many will have had a hand in the production, but Sen. Herman Talmadge must be considered the chief author, as well as the principal character.

There are some who will view the event as a classic example of Greek tragedy.

Others will see it as a comedy of monumental proportions.

But let us examine the reality behind the play itself:

Sen. Talmadge, in what many politicians believe was a fatal

Comment and analysis.

mistake, jumped into the governor's race, got wishy-washy and then decided to get out.

LITTLE DOUBT

There seemed to be little doubt in most minds that he could have defeated Republican Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway if he stayed in the race.

Many now are so disappointed at Talmadge that they have their doubts he could beat Callaway if he changed his mind again.

And there are grave doubts that any Talmadge-backed man can run well against Callaway—and this includes any member of the Statehouse "Clique."

IN BAD SHAPE

Talmadge in the future will be in bad political shape regardless of whether Callaway or former Gov. Ellis Arnall wins the governorship.

If Arnall wins the Democratic nomination, that will mean a hard slap in the face — and a

Continued on Page 8, Column 3

Political Machine Starts to Crumble

Continued from Page 1

swift boot in the posterior—to the entire "Talmadge machine" which has dominated Georgia politics for so many years.

And if Callaway should happen to beat Arnall — or whomever the Democratic nominee may be — it could well be argued that Talmadge was responsible for turning over the State Capitol to the Republicans.

NOTHING TO GAIN

So Tamadge has everything to lose and nothing to gain because of the political fiasco which he began last Wednesday after Ernest Vandiver got out of the governor's race.

The prospect of coming up with a substitute for Talmadge —whom he could actively support — appears to be growing dimmer each day.

"They're trying to come up with a Talmadge boy," one veteran politician observed Monday, "but they're all either dyi off or have lost too much luster to make a strong race."

So the curtain begins to rise on the opening scene of "The Beginning of the Destruction of a Political Machine."

And the first act will not be over until Sept. 14 when the Democratic primary is over—with perhaps an extra flourish for the fun off.

The second act will conclude on Nov 8 with the general election.

And then two years from now the third act will be played out when Sen. Talmadge runs for reelection.

Even if Talmadge is reelected, his old political machine by then may be in such poor condition that it could not stay together much longer thereafter.

And as the plot unfolds, it just depends on who you are as to whether you want to laugh or cry over the whole thing.

Callaway Seems In as Governor, Roy Harris Says

AUGUSTA, Ga. (AP) — Roy V. Harris, veteran politician who helped Herman Talmadge become governor of Georgia, said Monday Talmadge's decision to remain in the Senate virtually assures the election of Republican Rep. Howard H. Callaway as governor.

"Our leaders in Georgia have wrecked the Democratic party," Harris said. "You cannot support Lyndon Johnson and his policies and at the same time protect the interests of the people of Georgia."

Harris, 70, was the No. 1 lieutenant to Herman Talmadge in 1947 after Talmadge was inaugurated as governor, succeeding his father, the late Eugene Talmadge.

Los Yanquis

Chileans are called the Yankees of South America because of their enterprise and ready humor.

AU

Washington: Johnson and the Larger Crisis

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, June 30—The Johnson Administration may finally get over its agony in Vietnam — it may even achieve its military objective in the end — but it will probably never regain the confidence it has lost in its judgment and veracity.

With the bombing of targets on the outskirts of Hanoi and Haipong, it has now done almost everything it said or indicated it would not do except bomb China, and the end of this melancholy chapter in American history is not yet.

The Johnson Administration said it was not seeking a military solution to the war, and it is now obviously seeking precisely that. It said it was there merely to help a legitimate government defend itself, and it has ended up by replacing a military clique that is not a government not legitimate and is not really defending itself.

Johnson's Guile

Even when allowances are made for the uncertainties and moral ambiguities of warfare, the guile of this Administration, exercised in the name of high and even noble principle, is hard to match. It was not going beyond the Seventeenth Parallel in Vietnam, but went beyond. It was merely going to respond to enemy attacks on its bases, but it went over to the offensive. It was not going to get involved in a major war on the Asian land mass, but it did.

The President was not even faithful to his bad resolves: He said he would not negotiate, but then offered to do so, and spoiled that by refusing to negotiate with the major elements of the enemy he faces. He has not merely misled his enemies but his friends. His old colleagues in the Congress have not forgiven him yet for tricking them into support of a blank check defense of all of Southeast Asia under circumstances they could not possibly oppose. And even in this last adventure in Hanoi and Haiphong, we are told officially that these bombings are not an "escalation" of the war.

Uncertainty Unlimited

The result here is an atmosphere of uncertainty and suspicion. The hawks are as confused as the doves about what is coming next. There is now not a single major nation in the world that supports Mr. Johnson's latest adventure in Hanoi and Haiphong. Even Prime Minister Wilson of Britain, whose economic policy depends on President Johnson's continued support of the pound sterling, felt obliged to make a public statement against the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, and when he was in trouble about keeping a British military force east of Suez in support of the United States, he produced an interesting defense. He said, in effect, that he thought Britain should stay there rather than leave the Americans alone to use their judgment in a confrontation with China.

This question of confidence in the good judgment and good faith of the United States Government is really more important than anything else. The specific arguments about bombing or not bombing the oil refineries are not vital. Honest men can obviously differ about the wisdom of the decision. Nevertheless, the fate of Vietnam or the United States does not hang on any of these specific arguments. But a great deal does hang on whether the American people can trust the pronouncements of their Government, whether they can remain united on purposes they understand and respect, whether the allies believe Washington really wants a compromise settlement in Vietnam, or merely a surrender on its terms.

Nobody knows in these circumstances what is now ahead —not the people crying "rejoice, rejoice!" about the bombing in Hanoi; or the Allies or Senator Russell of Georgia who opposed the original Vietnam adventure and now supports every new escalation of power; or the friends of Johnson and the press who proclaim their support in whatever he does. For so much has been said and then rejected, that nobody can be sure or feel reasonably confident, and this is the problem.

We must bring more pressure on the enemy "at the source," President Johnson said the other day, warning everybody of the coming bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. This bombing, Secretary of Defense McNamara observed after the attack, "will force North Vietnam to seek alternatives," which is true and raises an interesting question.

Sources in China

What if the enemy now brings in new supplies overland from China's ports to replace the bombed Haiphong stores of oil and places them just over the China border from North Vietnam? Will we then carry the bombing to "the source" in China? Nobody knows, because so many things have been said here and then repudiated that everybody is in doubt.

This is the larger question about the war and President Johnson. There seems to be no guiding principle to what he is doing; there is certainly little faith here in the official spoken word; there is immense power but little confidence in anything except that this power will probably be used by Lyndon Johnson until Jan. 20, 1973.

Negroes and Conservatives in the New South

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6—When Virgina Democrats turned the veterans Senator Willis Robertson and Representative Howard W. Smith out of office a week or so ago, some quick assumptions were made that a "new day" was dawning in Southern politics.

So it certainly is, but the more recent Democratic primaries in Arkansas and Tennessee have made clearer the nature of the new day. They suggest that it will be one in which the new Southern Negro vote will have a marked effect on candidates and government—but not by controlling or dominating elections. And it probably will be a day about which conservatism and a newly vigorous Republican party will have a good deal to say.

Several Factors Involved

Thousands of newly registered Negroes contributed to the defeat of Senator Robertson and Representative Smith, both old-line segregationists and conservatives; but Senator Robertson's advanced age, emphasized by the terminal illness of his former colleague, Harry F. Byrd, and the fact that Representative Smith's district had been redrawn to include urban areas were perhaps more important.

In Arkansas, however, Jim Johnson, a segregationist and conservative, led a badly split field of Democrats for that state's gubernatorial nomination and may win it outright in a runoff primary Tuesday.

In Tennessee, two of the state's most familiar politicians were nominated by Democrats for the governorship and for a seat in the Senate. Former Gov. Buford Ellington defeated a youthful liberal, John Jay Hooker, for the gubernatorial nomination; Gov. Frank Clement, the one-time boy wonder who is no longer so boyish, upset Senator Ross Bass, another liberal.

The Tennessee Pattern

The pattern of Negro participation in the Tennessee primary was significant. First, it was noticeable that none of the four major Democratic candidates made the slightest appeal to segregationist sentiment; on the contrary, each openly sought the support of Negroes, who now constitute about 15 per cent of the state's total vote.

This was a major switch for Mr. Ellington, who in a previous campaign proclaimed himself a segregationist, and a somewhat lesser one for Mr. Clement, who ran a much more conservative campaign when he lost to Mr. Bass in 1964.

Second, despite the respect in which all the candidates obviously held the Negro vote, heavy Negro support for Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bass still could not affect them, just as Negro voting in Arkansas did not defeat Mr. Johnson.

In some precincts, Mr. Hooker scored as heavily as nine to one among Negroes, and in others he often ran as strongly as five to one. Mr. Bass, who voted for the civil rights acts of both 1964 and 1965, also got a high proportion of Negro votes, yet lost. There simply are not enough Negro votes available in Southern states to give Negroes dominance in southern elections.

More responsible for the Tennessee results than Negro voting was the behavior of Republicans and those conservative Democrats who often vote Republican in Southern general elections.

In 1964, 45,335 voters went for Barry Goldwater in Davidson County (surrounding Nashville). This week, the same county cast only 3,394 votes in a Republican senatorial primary won by Howard Baker, a son-in-law of Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The G.O.P. Vote

Statewide, only about 136,000 Republicans appear to have voted for Mr. Baker or his opponent; on the basis of past elections, a minimum of 250,000 might have been expected. Obviously, thousands of Republicans—or Democrats who voted Republican in the 1964 elections—voted in the Democratic primary, probably for the more conservative candidates, Mr. Ellington and Mr. Clement. Tennessee observers considered this a major factor in the Ellington triumph; he carried Davidson County, for instance, by about 20,000 votes, a margin probably supplied by former Goldwater voters.

Thus, Tennessee Democrats in nominating two unexciting party regulars over more promising and more vigorous younger men scarcely moved as far toward a "new day" as did those in Virginia. But the results of extensive Negro participation still were encouraging, because the presence of Negro voters in large numbers may have permanently altered the tone of Tennessee politics. This 15 per cent of the electorate is not likely to be ignored or slighted again, either in elections or by state government. In the long run, that may be more important than the fate of specific candidates.

The Conservative Future

The primary also proved that the South's economic orthodoxy and its suspicion of "big government" provide a substantial conservative voting force that does not have to be aroused with racial appeals, of which there were none in Tennessee. And it further suggests that the Southern Republican party, by putting forward attractive candidates of their own and organizing effectively, eventually may be able to lure thousands of conservative Democrats from their traditional party registration without trying to become the new party of segregation.

Thus, almost as clearly as Virginia signalled the possibility of a moderately liberal Democratic party in the South, Tennessee showed the potential of a moderately conservative Republican party. At least in the upper South, the old order with its racial demagoguery is surely dying and the two-party system is slowly rising in its place.

NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1966.

Arnall Favored to Beat Maddox in Georgia Runoff

United Press International

FACES RUNOFF: Former Gov. Ellis G. Arnall of Georgia led Democratic primary for the office but did not have enough votes to avoid a runoff contest.

POLITICS

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 15—Former Gov. Ellis Gibbs Arnall, a Liberal, will meet Lester G. Maddox, a staunch segregationist, in a runoff primary for the Democratic nomination for Governor Sept. 28.

In a field of six candidates of mixed persuasions, Mr. Arnall led Mr. Maddox 209,845 to 163,838 with 1,710 of the state's 1,910 precincts reported.

Liberals were encouraged by Mr. Arnall's showing.

However, they were unsettled by an unusually light voter turnout. The backlash might simply have been silent and deferred.

Thousands of persons who used to vote in Democratic primaries did not go to the polls yesterday, particularly in the Goldwater strongholds of 1964. It is evident that many of these are waiting to vote for the Republican nominee, United States Representative Howard H. Callaway, in November and that the Democratic nominee will face an up-hill fight.

Some backlash was apparent yesterday. Mr. Arnall had been expected to get 40 to 45 per cent of the vote. One poll gave him 43 per cent, with a large undecided vote projected and included in the total. The former Governor had the backing of many courthouse politicians who fear a Republican take-over in November.

He also had the support of Negroes—which Mr. Callaway will use against him in November—liberals and many of the corporate and financial interests of Atlanta.

With all that, and after 14 months of campaigning, Mr. Arnall received only 29.3 per cent of the vote.

Hurt by Newcomer

He owes his first-place showing to the Negro vote. Almost half of his votes were those of Negroes, judging from the results in Atlanta, where he captured 88 per cent of the Negro vote, and presuming that he fared that well among Negroes statewide. That means that he got only about 15 per cent of the white votes cast yesterday.

He was hurt further by the surprisingly strong race run by a newcomer to a statewide politics, State Senator Jimmy Carter. Senator Carter, of the hamlet of Plains in south Georgia, was almost unknown before the campaign.

Capitalizing on a boyish smile which makes him look like President Kennedy, and noncontroversial public statements, he came in third, well ahead of James H. Gray, a major segregationist candidate, and just behind Mr. Maddox. Incomplete returns gave him 153,173.

Mr. Gray finished fourth with 137,487. He leaned heavily on reaction against Negro violence. A stronger backlash might have aided him.

It might also have helped the fifth-place contender, former Lieut. Gov. Garland T. Byrd, whose main issue was resistance to the guidelines established by the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare to speed school desegregation. Mr. Byrd got only 34,994 votes.

Hoke O'Kelley, a perennially unsuccessful candidate, got 12,324.

In other races, W. S. Stuckey Jr. of Eastman, in southeast Georgia, heir to a chain of roadside candy stores, defeated United States Representative J. Russell Tuten in his bid for nomination to a third term.

Representative Phil M. Landrum, dean of Georgia's House delegation, narrowly defeated Zell Miller, a young challenger who accused Mr. Landrum of being too close to President Johnsonist candidates.

Representative G. Elliott Hagan faces a run-off with State Senator Frank Downing of Savannah.

Maddox Victory Gives Georgia A Choice of 2 Goldwater Men

POLITICS 91

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 29 — Lester G. Maddox's smashing primary victory yesterday put the voters of Georgia in the position of choosing between two Goldwater men for Governor in November.

Mr. Maddox, a segregationist Democrat, will oppose United States Representative Howard H. Callaway, a segregationist Republican, in the general election Nov. 8.

Mr. Maddox defeated former Governor Ellis G. Arnall for the Democratic nominiation by more than 70,000 votes. Unofficial returns from 1,805 of the state's 1,881 precincts gave Mr. Maddox 430,421 votes and Mr. Arnall 360,020.

Mr. Callaway will begin his campaign officially tomorrow at Atlanta.

On Same Side in '64

Both candidates supported Senator Barry M. Goldwater for President in 1964. The Senator carried Georgia, and this was interpreted as a sign of reviving conservatism in the state.

However, the Atlanta area has one of the largest collections of liberals in the South, and the liberals had looked forward to a clear-cut liberal-conservative battle between Mr. Arnall and Mr. Callaway this fall.

They were shocked and dismayed by yesterday's primary.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a resident of Atlanta, issued a statement saying the election made him "ashamed to be a Georgian."

"Georgia is a sick state produced by the diseases of a sick nation," he said.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta, a moderate Democrat, called Mr. Maddox "a totally unqualified individual" and added, "The seal of the great state of Georgia has been tarnished."

Republicans were accused of invading the Democratic primary and voting for Mr. Maddox to give Mr. Callaway an easier target. The Republicans denied that, but a persual of the returns from Goldwater strongholds indicated that some Callaway voters probably did vote for Mr. Maddox.

There was bitter talk among some Atlanta liberals today of a write-in campaign in November. Otherwise, they said, liberals and Negroes will have no candidate.

Callaway Vote Weighed

There was also guarded talk that liberals and Negroes might have to swallow their pride and vote for Mr. Callaway, on the theory that he might be less irresponsible in the face of racial turmoil.

Mr. Callaway's strength rests partly on his image as a "nice guy." His conservative views do not appear to be widely known. He is conservative on both economic matters and race.

Mr. Maddox, on the other hand, strikes a fairly liberal posture on economic problems. His victory statement last night summed up one of his major campaign themes. He said:

"I call on all Georgians to help me provide new jobs and better jobs, better health institutions, better care for the elderly and needy, better roads, and to improve everything that our state government touches."

Business and political leaders who might have been expected to back Mr. Arnall, a millionaire lawyer, seemed to take little part in the runoff campaign that ended in yesterday's voting.

POLITICS

NIXON URGES G.O.P. TO UNITE IN SOUTH

Insists Party Can Win if It Sticks to Fundamentals

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Fla., Sept. 29—Co-eds in bikinis were cavorting in the championship pool, students between classes were lounging under bright umbrellas on the plaza, and in a television studio at the Student Union, Richard M. Nixon was denouncing the Democrats and pleading for unity among Republicans.

For the uniformly bronzed and healthy undergraduates, it was just another day in Miami's perpetual summer.

For Mr. Nixon, it was the end of a three-day tour of four Southern states that had begun in the ornate lobby of an old hotel in Jackson, Tenn., and was now approaching its climax on the modern campus of the University of Miami.

In a symbolic sense, no better bookends could have been chosen for the Nixon swing, which he undertook on behalf of Republican candidates for the House in districts where races are close.

Throughout the trip he has insisted, with steadily rising fervor, that the Republican party could and should win in the South—not only in newer, vibrant cities like Miami, where the living is easy and the politics tend to be liberal, but in the older centers of Tennessee, South Carolina and North Carolina, where wages are sometimes low and the politics more conservative.

Mr. Nixon's view, which he has expressed in numerous speeches during the past few days, is that such unity is essential if the G.O.P. is ever going to return to prominence in American politics.

He also believes just as strongly that such unity is attainable if the Southern wing of the party agrees to bury the race issue—to attack and win, not on what he described to a reporter as a "dead horse," but by sticking to Republican fundamentals such as discipline in government, the primacy of local and state control, the rising danger of inflation and resolution in Vietnam.

He denounced "unconscionable boondoggles" in the poverty program in Memphis, and the crowd roared. He told a North Carolina audience that the President must "cut the Federal budget so that millions of Americans can balance their family budgets", and the allusion to rising prices drew the best applause of the afternoon.

And here in Miami, he brought a placid student audience to life with the assertion that "America has become a great nation not because of what Government has done for people but because of what people have done for themselves."

Mr. Nixon, in his news conference along the way, handled questions touching on the racial issue with a delicate blend of candor and political expertise.

In general, he began by reminding his listeners that he supported the Supreme Court decision in 1954 and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, which made his own position clear. He then said that he could not condone riots, violence in the streets and "mob rule" by any group, which pleased the racial conservatives in the audience.

He finished by accusing the Johnson Administration of "complete failure" to provide jobs for Negroes at a time when white unemployment had declined. This was aimed at those who would read of his remarks in the North.

Neither Mr. Nixon nor his aides appeared particularly alarmed by the victory in the Georgia Democratic primary of segregationist Lester G. Maddo Mr. Nixon said he thought the victory would have no impact on the election strategy of the Republican czndidate, U. S. Representative Howard H. Callaway, who has been moderate on the race issue and has stuck largely to Republican fundamentals.

"He (Callaway) will run the same kind of campaign against Mr. Maddox that he would have if Mr. Maddox had lost," Mr. Nixon said at a news conference today.

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G.O.P. WILL PRESS RACIAL DISORDERS AS ELECTION ISSUE

POLITICS

Poll Shows Rise in Concern on Civil Rights—Violence Deplored by Eisenhower

10/4/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 — Republican leaders said today they had found the race issue to be of increasing concern to Americans. The Republicans moved to give the issue more prominence in the current political races.

In a related development, the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced that it would conduct an investigation into the role of "subversive elements" in the riots that occurred in many American cities in recent months.

The race issue in various forms has been a factor in many political races this year but in most instances it has simmered beneath the surface. Many candidates have avoided mentioning it in their campaign speeches, for a variety of reasons.

Today, the Republican Coordinating Committee received the results of a poll conducted for the Republican National Committee on the sentiment and opinions of voters on various issues.

58% Cite Rights Issues

Ray C. Bliss, the committee chairman and the national G.O.P. chairman, told a news conference that 58 per cent of the persons questioned considered civil rights to be one of the most important domestic problems. He said this was an increase from 44 per cent in a similar poll taken [illegible]

This, Mr. Bliss said, indicated concern over riots and racial disorders as well as the advance, or lack of it, of the civil rights of Negroes and other minorities.

The study was conducted for the G.O.P. by an independent organization, Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton.

In the statements that followed Mr. Bliss's comments today, it was apparent that some of the Republican leaders believed that riots and other disorders were the main cause of the increased concern on the racial issue.

Eisenhower Finds Anger

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower volunteered a statement on law and order, saying that the public was "very rightly definitely angry" about both increased crime and violence.

"I think the Republicans ought to take the strongest possible position and pledge to remove this curse," he said.

The coordinating committee issued a prepared statement saying in part:

"Unfortunately, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has accomplished nothing of substance to date to promote public safety. Indeed, high officials of this Administration have condoned and encoureaged disregard for law and order."

Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michiga, the mnority leader in the House, was asked what "high officials" th statement referred to. He said that Vice President Humphrey, for example, said last summer in New Orleans that he might riot, too, if he had to live under some of the conditions in American slums.

Mr. Humphrey has since advocated law and order in his speeches condemning the results of poverty.

The committee statement also said:

"In this moral crisis, Ameri-

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TIME

G.O.P. WILL PRESS RIOTS AS AN ISSUE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

cans are looking for leadership, inspiration and example. Example is more than exhortatio Inspiration is more than another law enforcement conference. Leadership must stand above the slightest suspicion."

General Eisenhower said he would favor Federal grants to local police departments in an effort to reduce crime and violence.

"If we are going to give grants and aid to states and cities," he said, "I would rather see us do something along this line than some of the programs they are so concerned with."

Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Senate minority leader, said the country was in danger of losing the gains made in civil rights because the Administration was "not restraining some of these people."

Key Campaign Issue

Mr. Bliss said that concern about civil rights and related matters had increased at a greater rate this summer than concern about rising prices.

Although the committee placed no priorities on issues, the members seemed to be trying to push "law and order" to the forefront of the campaign.

The Congressional investigation into possible subversive elements in riots was announced by Representative Edwin E. Willis, Democrat of Louisiana who is chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

He said the inquiry would deal with "only one thing—planned and organized violence by subversive elements." He added that "we have no intention of investigating the civil rights movement or the opinions of postions of any individual or organization on the civil rights issue."

Mr. Willis added, however:

"If we should learn in the course of our investigation, that a certain organization which claims to be a civil rights group is actually controlled or dominated by Communists carrying out the work of the Communist party, we should not hesitate to investigate their operations."

Mr. Willis said that no public hearings had been scheduled and that the investigation would begin with a staff inquiry, the results of which will be presented to the committee, which would then determine whether to pursue the matter further.

G.O.P. THREATENED IN SOUTH BY LOSS OF BACKLASH VOTE

POLITICS

In Many Races, Democrats Are Even Stronger Foes of Integration Drive

GEORGIA TYPIFIES TREND

Admirers of Callaway Shift to Maddox—Republicans Also Lag in Alabama

10/9/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 8—White backlash is threatening the prospects of some of the South's most promising Republican candidates this fall, only two years after it helped the party carry the Deep South for Barry Goldwater.

This could thwart Republican hopes of electing a Southern Governor for the first time in more than 40 years and contribute to holding the party to token, if any, gains in Congress.

The party is better organized and is fielding a larger number of candidates in the South this year than in the past, however, and the general drift continues to be toward a two-party South.

The impact of the backlash is especially strong in Georgia, where Representative Howard H. (Bo) Callaway was favored to become the state's first Republican Governor in 98 years.

His sharp opposition in Congress to the Johnson Administration and to civil rights legislation had won him the admiration of many white Georgians who were concerned that Government was "growing too big" and that the Negro was "pushing too hard."

But Lester G. Maddox, who once sold ax handles to dramatize his resistance to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, won the Democratic governorship nomination last week in a stunning upset.

Switch in Odds

Suddenly, many segregationists decided that for all their admiration for Mr. Callaway, Mr. Maddox would put up an even stiffer fight against desegregation and the Great Society. Now Mr. Callaway is the underdog.

"I'm reminded of Little Bo Peep," Mr. Maddox chortled this week over Mr. Callaway's reversal of political fortune. "Well, Little Bo Callaway has lost lots of his sheep, and he knows where they've gone. I do, too, and he can't get them back."

Mr. Callaway is not alone in his problems.

In Alabama last spring, it was difficult to find a politician who did not think the governorship would go to Representative James D. Martin, a Republican, who also was noted for his opposition to President Johnson and the civil rights movement.

But Gov. George C. Wallace, an archsegregationist and Democrat who was barred by the state constitution from succeeding himself, ran his wife as a stand-in candidate and led her to an overwhelming victory. Now the political consensus is that the Republicans will lose the Governor's race and at least

Continued on Page 65, Column 1

G.O.P. in South Faced With Loss of Backlash Vote

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

two of their five seats in the House of Representatives.

Should Governor Wallace call for a "straight Democratic vote," still more Republican Congressmen might be defeated. If he told voters to vote as they saw fit, it would be interpreted as a move to oppose Senator John J. Sparkman, who appears to be ahead in his race against John Grenier, a top aide to Mr. Goldwater in the Presidential race of 1964.

Image Improved

Although Winthrop Rockefeller, the Republican governorship candidate in Arkansas is not a segregationist, his campaign for Mr. Goldwater in 1964 had improved his ifage among civil rights foes and opponents-of-the-Great-Society. He generally was given a 50-50 chance of winning.

In August, however, James D. Johnson, a founder of the White Citizens Council in Arkansas, won the Democratic nomination as an outspoken critic of President Johnson. Since then, Mr. Rockefeller has also joined the ranks of the underdogs.

The governorship campaigns of Arkansas, Alabama and Georgia are providing the most dramatic examples of white anger over Negro riots, the black power movement, the Federal Government guidelines for school desegregation and general progress by the Negro. But throughout the South, Democrats are concerned over white unrest and are taking steps to minimize the impact of backlash on their campaigns or to turn it against the Republicans.

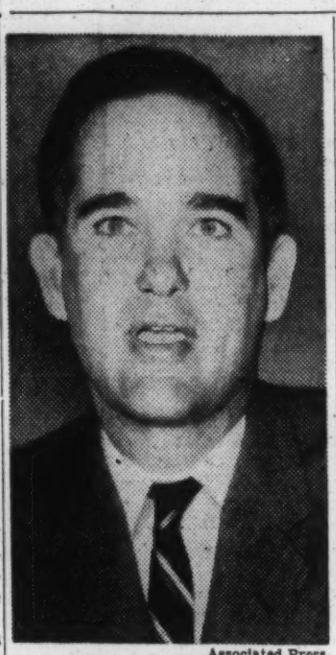
In North Carolina, generally one of the more moderate states in its outlook on race relations and the national Democratic party, most Democratic candidates for Congress rose up in protest when a report spread that President Johnson might come into the state for a campaign talk.

And three Democratic representatives — Harold D. Cooley, L. H. Fountain and Walter Jones — have been calling for the immediate resignation of the United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, 2d the man they regard as most responsible for the desegregation guidelines.

Attack on Eartland

This, according to the political consensus in North Carolina, appears almost certain to insure the re-election of Mr. Fountain and Mr. Jones and while Representative Cooley, the chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, is expected to have a tougher race, he is still ranked as the favorite.

In Mississippi, Representative Prentiss Walker is trying to attack Senator James O. Eastland from the right in the Mississippi senatorial campaign. He is charging that Mr. East-



Associated Press

Howard H. Callaway

land is friendly to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, and that there would have been less racial de- Mr. Eastland's Judiciary Com- segregation in the South if mittee had blocked the appointment of several judges now on the bench.

Senator Eastland, always a foe of civil rights movements, is stumping up his criticism and is still the favorite in what could be a close race.

In the two senatorial races in Virginia, the Democrats and Republicans are each running a moderate and conservative candidate, and the angriest segment of the backlash vote is expected to go to the Conservative party, which polled 14 per cent of the vote in last year's governorhip election and is intensifying its campaign this year.

While the Conservative party is not generally conceded a chance to win a major office, a substantial increase in its strength could siphon support away from Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr., the more conservative of the two Democrats, and cause his defeat by Lawrence Traylor, the Republican candidate. Mr. Traylor, a liberal Republican, is expected to receive the Negro vote.

William Spong, the moderate candidate, is a heavy favorite in the other Senate race. He is expected to receive the Negro vote, and a heavy backlash vote for the Conservative party is more likely to hurt his Republican opponent, James T. Auld Jr., the former Mayor of Lynchburg, who, although more conservative than Mr. Song, would rank as a middle of the roader in the Deep Southern states.

Intensive Drive

In Louisiana, Democrats are not facing a major effort by Republicans, but intensive campaigning is under way by the Republicans in South Carolina. There, Democrats, while not abandoning a relatively moderate posture on race, are guarding against backlash by attacking school desegregation guidelines and taking care not to be identified with the Johnson Administration.

Former Gov. Ernest F. Hollins, the Democratic senatorial nominee, recently declared that he would not vote for President Johnson in 1968. He is being opposed by State Senator Marshall Parker, a Democrat-turned-Republican.

While the Republicans are considered virtually certain to re-elect Senator Strom Thurmond and Representative Albert W. Watson and are causing Democrats concern in other races, for Governor and Congress, they are still in an uphill battle.

Even the widespread debate over the school guidelines is yet to spill into the Florida governorship race, which is being waged without reference to race. But if a backlash develops, it is likely to benefit Claude Kirk, a Republican, who is attacking the Johnson Administration.

Thus far, Mayor Robert King High of Miami, the Democratic nominee and a liberal who is taking care not to be tied to either President Johnson or Senator Robert Kennedy, is still the front-runner, according to recent polls.

In Tennessee, backlash could result in the gain of one, possibly two, House seats in the western part of the state. But in the Senate race, Gov. Frank G. Clement, the Democratic nominee for Governor, and his Republican opponent, Howard H. Baker Jr., who is the son-in-law of the Senate minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen, are both wooing the Negro vote.

And after seven hours of bitter debate, the Tennessee Voters Council, the most influential Negro voters organization, gave its endorsement to Governor Clement.

In Georgia and Alabama, Negroes say their decision is far tougher, for entirely different reasons. Many Negroes, as well as white liberals, consider both the Republican and Democratic candidates in these states to be hostile.

In Georgia, some Negroes are considering a write-in campaign, and in Alabama, some say they may vote for an independent candidate unless one of the major candidates offers them concessions. The final decision is yet to be made.

POLITICS

Negro Unit Supporting Callaway

AC 10/14/66

An agency of Georgia's 500,000-member Negro Baptist Convention endorsed Republican Howard H. (Bo) Callaway for governor Thursday and at the same time urged its members not to participate in a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

William Bowdoin

Also announcing support for Callaway Thursday was Atlanta banker William R. Bowdoin. Bowdoin is chairman of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvetent in Government.

"I intend to support Mr. Callaway and give him whatever assistance I possibly can toward the achievement of the goal he seeks," Bowdoin said.

Earlier Thursday Callaway announced the names of 63 prominent Georgia Democrats of the past who will be active in the "Democrats for Callaway" organization set up Tuesday.

GROUP'S ACTION

The Rev. L. M. Terrill of Atlanta, president and chairman of the Socio-Political Action Commission of the General Baptist Convention, said the Negro church group took 8ts action Wednesday.

The commission's resolution, which was adopted unanimously, said "a vote for law and order is the main issue at the polls on Nov. 8 and supersedes party labels."

It called on Negro Baptists to "join hands for Democrats for Callaway and keep the state one of law and order.

"We do not want our state controlled by the Ku Klux Klan on one hand or molested or upset by Stokely Carmichael, street violence and 'black power' on the other."

Carmichael, a "black power" spokesman, is chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"No write-in candidate has a chance to win," the resolution said. "A vote for any write-in candidate is a wasted vote. A stay-at-home vote is a vote for ax handles."

Maddox, who closed a profitable restaurant business rather than serve Negroes, sold ax handles there as souvenirs and called them "Pickrick drumsticks."

Terrill said the resolution was intended to be defininte and that the commission is empowered to speak for its membership.

"We thought it was time somebody said something," he said.

SCLC STAYS OUT

Meanwhile, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said it is not involved in partisan politics.

Junis Griffin, SCLC information director, said the group upholds the right of any citizen to participate in public affairs as a private citizen.

But, he added, the SCLC "must stay out of party politics. We always have and we always will."

Griffin's statement came after the Alliance for Social, Economic and Political Progress earlier this week said more than 50 civil rights groups, including the SCLC, would endorsse a write-in for Arnall.

In the Tight Races, The Backlash Vote May Mean Victory

POLITICS

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE, Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16—The white backlash is once again a major factor in an American political campaign.

It has already proved to be the decisive issue in primary contests in Georgia and Maryland. It may well make the difference in close contests in nine states north of the Mason-Dixon Line, possibly more.

These include governorship races in California and Massachusetts, the Senate race in Illinois and Congressional battles in California, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, New York and perhaps New Jersey and Connecticut.

It is still the top factor in Maryland, where the Democratic candidate for Governor, George P. Mahoney, will rise or fall on his opposition to open housing. It is clearly a critical factor in most areas of the old Confederacy.

In many states, however, politicians, while apprehensive,

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In Tight Races, Backlash Vote May Mean Victory

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

are uncertain whether the alarm should be sounded. There appear to be large areas of the nation where, for various reasons, the backlash is likely to be of small political consequence.

These findings reflect the judgments of political observers and candidates all over the country who were asked last week to measure the dimensions of the white backlash in their areas and to gauge whether it would be an important factor in the November elections.

They all agreed on one point: Latent or visible, there seems to be growing white resentment to aspects of the civil rights movement, whether it be violence in the streets, the cry by militants of black power or the question of open housing.

There was also widespread agreement that the beneficiaries of any white backlash would frequently be Republican candidates, partly because the major civil rights acts have been written under Democratic Administrations partly because voter resentment tends to penalize the "ins" and reward the "outs," whether or not the "outs" deliberately try to exploit the issue, and partly because some Republican candidates are courting the segregationist vote.

In some areas, however, such as Georgia, the Democratic candidate is even more anti-Negro than his segregationist Republican opponent.

Acordingly, Democrats in Washington are scared, both on the Congressional level and in Administration circles.

In Congress, normally liberal Democrats have joined conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats in an attack on the forcing of racial balance through the busing of pupils. They have also contributed to attempts to slow down Federal efforts to desegregate schools, and, at least in the Senate, they remained absent or silent during the debate over the civil rights bill of 1966.

'Number One Issue'

A high White House source declared:

"I actually feel that the number one issue is the backlash, even though it's hard to talk about."

Alexander E. Barkan, director of the Political Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said:

"Our problem now is race. This is the thing that bothers us."

There is apprehension and caution everywhere. An upstate New York freshman Democrat in the House, Joseph Y. Resnick, said he did not think the backlash would materialize in his district and that the racial issue ranked well below "economic and foreign policy issues as a

in the 1964 Democratic Presidential primary.

Lynn E. Stalbaum, a liberal Democrat, who triumphed in the normally Republican First District in 1964, said:

"There are undercurrents there that may be working against me. There have been disturbances in Wauwatosa and Waukegan, and although neither is in my district, they are close to it, and I think they have had and will have an impact."

Similarly in New York, two House Democratic freshmen—Lester L. Wolff in the Third District, and Herbert Tenzer in the Fifth—are fighting against an open backlash triggered by fears among Long Island residents that their children will be bused to Negro schools to achieve racial balance. Rumblings in Buffalo and Syracuse may also hurt two other freshman Democrats in the House, James M. Hanley and Richard D. McCarthy.

Brooks in Danger

In Massachusetts, according to observers, there is a growing possibility that a backlash will develop and damage the Republican candidate for the Senate, Attorney General Edward R. Brooke, a Negro, despite the fact that his opponent, former Gov. Endicott Peabody, is a descendant of an abolitionist and is closely identified with civil rights causes. It could turn a close race into an unexpected Peabody victory.

The backlash may also provide Republicans with decisive votes in places where there have been no demonstrations but where fears and resentments nevertheless exist.

This is true in some rural areas, such as the 10th District in Ohio, and in contests for normally Republican seats captured by Democrats in the landslide of 1964. Most of the Democrats won by narrow margins, and Louis Harris, the pollster, recently declared that in contests involving some 45 freshman Democratic seats, the white backlash issue "could have an effect in 20."

A check of nearly all these races suggests that the actual number facing possibly important losses on the race issue would be somewhat less, perhaps 10 or 12, though most of them have the same record on civil rights and voted for open occupancy in the civil rights bill of 1966.

Among the most vulnerable are Mr. Tenzer, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Stalbaum, Representative Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana, Representative Thomas C. McGrath of New Jersey, Representative John J. Gilligan of Ohio, Representative George W. Grider of Tennessee, Representative Andrew Jacobs Jr. of Indiana and Representative Ken W. Dyal of California.

The backlash comes in many forms, but the most common, according to Congressmen, is in private conversation and in quiet moves by the opposition. It is rarely baldly stated on the platform. Said Mr. Hamilton:

"Questions are put to you at political gatherings. Haven't we done enough for the Negro? somebody will ask. Then there's the whisper approach, in front of plant gates, in local taverns and pool halls. That's where they begin calling me names.

"It comes up most anywhere, but as far as political impact is concerned it's awfully hard to measure. But I think that for Democrats it's as dangerous as any issue in the election in terms of changing votes."

Running Hard

Mr. Hamilton, running hard in southern Indiana territory where the Republicans dominated for years, said his stand on civil rights was clearly on the record but that this time "it's an issue I just don't talk about."

In the south, the backlash appears to be stronger than ever. Here, however, the Republicans will probably be hurt rather than helped, particularly in governorship races in Georgia, Alabama and Arkansas, and in their bid for Congressional seats in Georgia and North Carolina.

The Republicans may benefit in the Florida governorship race, where the Democratic nominee, Mayor Robert King High of Miami, has been rapidly backpedaling from the Johnson Administration, and in Tennessee, where blue collar resentment could damage George W. Grider.

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There is apprehension and caution everywhere. An upstate New York freshman Democrat in the House, Joseph Y. Resnick, said he did not think the backlash would materialize in his district and that the racial issue ranked well below "economic and foreign policy issues as a factor in this campaign." Many agree with him, but few are taking any chances.

One Congressman, for example, who is heavily favored to be re-elected, said he had considered sending copies of a speech supporting open occupancy to his constituents but then had thought the better of it.

"I put the thing in my desk," he said. "None of my constituents wants to think about the issue, let alone hear about it."

Representative Tena Roncalio, the Democratic candidate for the Senate in Wyoming, has developed a double-barreled response to ward off retaliation. He acknowledges that he voted for the civil rights bill of 1966 in the House, but he also tells worried constituents that he supported an amendment to the bill that would have penalized persons who crossed state lines and incited violence.

Given the existence of the backlash, the key question is where it will surface long enough and dramatically enough to switch votes, persuade people to stay home and otherwise provide what one observer called "that little extra irritant" that means so much in a close election.

The available evidence suggests that if the backlash has any potency at all, it will be important in areas where there have been demonstrations or where there is some other local issue crystallizing the race issue, in some marginal districts and in the South.

In the first category, the showcase is Illinois, where two long-time Democratic incumbents, Senator Paul H. Douglas and Representative Roman C. Pucinski of Chicago's 11th District are in trouble, partly because of repeated racial demonstrations in and around Chicago, and, in Mr. Pucinsky's district, partly because of fears of an influx of Negroes in all-white neighborhoods.

Governor Brown Hurt

In California, the disturbances in San Francisco and Los Angeles and strong voter sentiment against open housing have hurt Gov. Edmund G. Brown in his campaign against Ronald Reagan. Mr. Reagan has not openly exploited the issue, but observers believe that he does not have to. He is likely to profit anyway, perhaps enough to win.

The racial issue could also be decisive in some close California Congressional races, despite the hope of incumbent Democrats that the backlash will be aimed largely at Mr. Brown and not themselves.

Representative Harlen Hagan, whose challenger in the 18th District is the former Olympic decathlon star, Bob Mathias, is particularly vulnerable. So is a liberal Democratic Representative, James C. Corman, who received a mere 50.5 per cent of the vote in 1964, and whose opponent, Robert C. Cline, a Conservative, has openly opposed the Johnson Administration's fair housing proposals.

There is evidence that racial demonstrations could have a crucial impact as well in Wisconsin, where Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama scored well

VOTERS RESORTED TO SPLIT BALLOTS

POLITICS

Results Indicate Moderate Republicans Can Extend Their Role in Big City

NYT 11-10-66

By JOHN HERBERS

The backlash vote in Tuesday's elections was highly erratic, but the frontlash, the Negro vote, showed a high degree of sophistication and selectivity, an analysis of the voting revealed yesterday.

Negroes, who voted in a bloc for President Johnson in 1964, paid little attention to party lines this year. They split tickets in selecting candidates who supported their interests, but they also divided their votes in some races in which both candidates had taken a strong stand on civil rights.

Thus, moderate Republicans, the voting showed, can cut into the Negro vote in the big cities even when they are running against liberal Democrats.

In Virginia, the two Democratic candidates for the Senate were elected. Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. is a conservative who has voted against civil rights legislation. William B Spong Jr. is a moderate who has openly courted the Negro vote.

About 91 per cent of the Negroes participating in the Virginia election voted for Mr. Spong. But only 18 per cent voted for Senator Byrd. The rest supported Senator Byrd's opponent, who had been more liberal than the Senator on civil rights.

The Michigan Outcome

In the Michigan Senate race, the majority of Negroes voted for G. Mennen Williams, a liberal Democrat who had been closely identified with the Negro cause. But the winner, Senator Robert P. Griffin, a Republican, also had supported civil rights. He drew 26 per cent of the Negro vote, which helped provide his margin of victory.

In California, the Republican candidate for Governor, Ronald Regan, had been closely identified with the backlash vote. Only 6 per cent of the Negroes voted for him.

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These estimates of the Negro

By JOHN HERBERS

The backlash vote in Tuesday's elections was highly erratic, but the frontlash, the Negro vote, showed a high degree of sophistication and selectivity, an analysis of the voting revealed yesterday.

Negroes, who voted in a bloc for President Johnson in 1964, paid little attention to party lines this year. They split tickets in selecting candidates who supported their interests, but they also divided their votes in some races in which both candidates had taken a strong stand on civil rights.

Thus, moderate Republicans, the voting showed, can cut into the Negro vote in the big cities even when they are running against liberal Democrats.

In Virginia, the two Democratic candidates for the Senate were elected. Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. is a conservative who has voted against civil rights legislation. William B Spong Jr. is a moderate who has openly courted the Negro vote.

About 91 per cent of the Negroes participating in the Virginia election voted for Mr. Spong. But only 18 per cent voted for Senator Byrd. The rest supported Senator Byrd's opponent, who had been more liberal than the Senator on civil rights.

The Michigan Outcome

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These estimates of the Negro voting patterns were supplied by the Columbia Broadcasting Company's Vote Profile Analysis as obtained from key precincts in each state.

While the Negro voting followed a pattern throughout the nation, the white backlash varied greatly from state to state.

In 37 Congressional districts in which white resistance to integrated housing and other Negro gains was an issue, only 15 of those identified as backlash candidates were elected.

In the majority of these districts, the backlash was considered a contributing but not necessarily the deciding factor. For example, in Memphis, liberal Democratic George W. Grider, the incumbent and the loser, was the target of several charges including rising prices, association with President Johnson and the backlash.

There was evidence, too, of reverse reaction to the backlash. In Maryland, for instance, Negroes and well-to-do whites teamed up to defeat George P! Mahoney, the Democratic candidate for Governor who ran almost solely on the slogan, "Your home is your castle—protect it."

In Arkansas, Jim Johnson, an arch segregationist, won the Democratic primary for Governor in a strong protest against the civil rights policies of the Federal Government. But by the time the election came around, a reaction to the nominee had set in among whites who favored segregation but did not believe Mr. Johnson was generally qualified to be Governor.

The returns from Massachusetts showed virtually no backlash against Mr. Brooke. His stand on civil rights was not as strong as that of his opponent, Endicott Peabody.

But the backlash was strong in other areas such as Illinois, where it helped in the Senate victory of Charles H. Percy, Republican, who did not seek the backlash vote but received it because of his party affiliation.

Polls taken before the election showed that whites believe Republicans will do more than Democrats to slow civil rights.

POLITICS

Alabama party drops 'white supremacy' tag

By Ray Jenkins
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Birmingham, Ala.

The Alabama Democratic Party has long been torn by a bitter rivalry between moderate and conservative factions, making it the unruly bad boy of state parties. Now the state party has taken a dramatic turn toward closer alignment with the policies of the national party.

The unexpected action came Jan. 22 when the State Democratic Executive Committee voted to remove the words "white supremacy" from the party's official slogan which has been printed on ballots in Alabama for 62 years. The committee's vote has these far-reaching ramifications:

- It makes a clear and unequivocal invitation for Alabama's tens of thousands of newly enfranchised Negro voters to join the white moderates of the state in voting Democratic.
- It may frustrate efforts of militant Negro civil-rights groups to organize third parties, which would fractionate the Negro vote.
- It may force the last remaining conservatives who still call themselves Democrats out of the party and pave the way for a traditional alignment along Democratic-Republican lines.
- It substantially strengthens the position of Democratic moderates by alienating from the party the hard-core segregationists who insisted that the "white supremacy" slogan be kept.
- It reduces the risk of Alabama politics polarizing into black and white parties.

Decisive victory

Saturday's vote represents a decisive victory of the state's loyalist Democrat faction —those who want a closer tie with the national party—over the states' rights faction, which is hostile to the national party.

In 1948 the conservatives captured control of the state party machinery and nominated a slate of presidential electors pledged to "Dixiecrat" candidates. The two factions have warred in every presidential race since.

In 1960 the struggle was so close that the state elected a mixed slate of loyalist and states' rights presidential electors. This meant that John F. Kennedy had to settle for only 5 of the state's 11 electoral votes.

Last year a slate of unpledged electors was chosen with the backing of the state's segregationist Governor, George C. Wallace. Republicans carried the state for Barry Goldwater, however, after the unpledged electors refused to campaign.

Negroes serve notice

Against this background, the Birmingham vote represents an unprecedented assertion of loyalist dominance of state party affairs in modern times.

Many weeks ago Negro leaders in the state served notice they would encourage Negroes to boycott the Democratic Party unless the offending label were removed. The state's moderate Attorney General, Richmond Flowers, joined in the demand.

States rights' leaders promptly replied that they would fight any attempt to change the party slogan.

The first order of business when the committee met in a crowded ballroom of a Birmingham hotel was to fill vacancies on the 72-member party governing body. In the first vote a loyalist was seated over a states' righter by a vote of 36 to 28. In rapid fire four more loyalists were elected to vacant seats, establishing a clear majority.

Key motion offered

Then committeeman Charles McKay rose and moved to strike the words "white supremacy" from the party emblem. He said Alabama had to acknowledge a changing political climate and warned that "we cannot take a stick and drive 150,000 or 175,000 votes out of the Democratic Party." Mr. McKay called for only 15 minutes of debate and a secret ballot on his motion.

The states' rights committeemen roared in protest at this tactic, and committeeman Leonard Wilson—an official of the segregationist White Citizens Council—demanded an open vote so the state "would know how each member voted on the nigger question."

State chairman Roy Mayhall, a leading loyalist, overruled this demand. The states' righters then asked for a roll-call vote on Judge Mayhall's ruling, and this turned out to be the only record vote they were able to secure during the rest of the day; the committee upheld the chairman by a vote of 39 to 32.

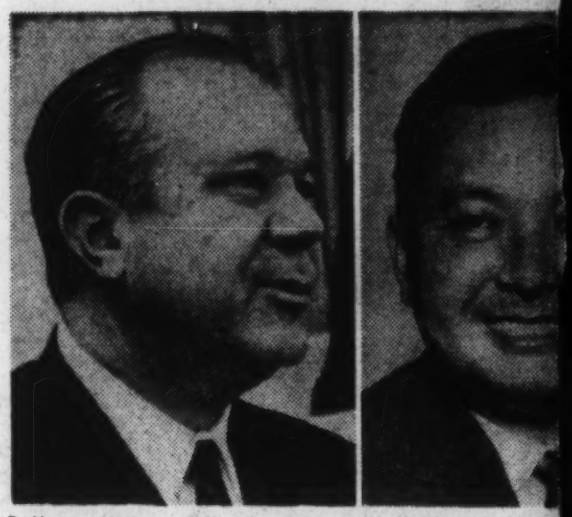
Beaming with the confidence of the unequivocal backing of the committee loyalists, Judge Mayhall took great liberties with the power of the chair in stamping out every parliamentary brush fire the states' righters were able to start.

Request defended

As the brief debate got under way, Sam Venable declared he would vote to remove the "white supremacy" motto "because a man doesn't have a right to judge his fellow man. That's God's right alone."

On the other side, committeeman Earl Goodwin of Selma contended that the retaining of the slogan would not drive the Negroes out of the party because "they have no other place to go. But we're gonna run a lot more people out of the Democratic Party into the Republican Party by changing it."

Then the vote came, and the slogan was stricken from the party emblem by a voice vote. Moments after the action was taken, Sidney Smyer Jr. took the floor to announce he was resigning from the committee in protest over the refusal of the committee to hold a record vote. He stalked out of the ballroom.



By Norman Matheny, staff photographer, and by the Associated Press

'Trained group . to do the job'

Almost as if to show its good faith in welcoming the Negroes into the party fold, the loyalists beat down a desperate plea by the states' rights group to allow county parties to choose candidates by convention rather than primary election. This proposal was designed to rescue white Democratic office holders in black-belt counties where Negroes now have voting majorities.

As the meeting drew to a close, Albert Brewer, Speaker of the state House of Representatives and a close political ally of Governor Wallace, submitted a "statement of principle" embracing most of the states rights' philosophy on centralized government, local control of juries and the voting process, and repression of communism at home and abroad.

"Governor Wallace assisted in the preparation of this resolution and asked that I introduce it," Mr. Brewer said.

It was but a gesture of conciliation in the name of party unity.

This was the only visible hand the Governor took in the day's dramatic events. He was staying in a private room in the same hotel where the committee was meeting, and it was rumored that he might speak to the committee. But when the meeting ended, he promptly left the hotel without giving his views on what had taken place.

The Governor has stated previously that he fears that a strong two-party system in Alabama might mean competition for the Negro vote as it now exists on the national level. The coming general election may tell whether his fears are well-grounded.

The "white supremacy" slogan now goes off the Democratic ballot on a note of great irony:

In the last race that it was used—the 1964 presidential election—Negroes of Alabama went to the polls in overwhelming numbers to vote under the "white supremacy" emblem while states' rights-minded whites, in nearly as overwhelming proportions, voted for Barry Goldwater running under the Alabama Republican slogan, "America First."

Nov. 28, '65

POVERTY

Despite emancipation, the average Negro male has "remained a semi-slave," deprived of the emotional and economic security to play his proper role at the head of the family.

The Absent Father Haunts the Negro Family

By C. ERIC LINCOLN

UNDER pressure of law, public opinion and Negro militancy, progress in civil rights has reached the point where many Americans assume that the practical end of discrimination is only a matter of time. But even the end of formal discrimination falls short of the distant goal: full integration of the Negro into American life. Nor can true integration be achieved until the nation—and the Negro—solves a crucial and immediate problem: how to "Americanize" the fragile, fractured Negro family.

The Negro in America was never a "black Anglo-Saxon," though sometimes he tried to be. He was never simply "another ethnic group" to be assimilated into the mainstream. His family structure is unique in American society.

The U.S. family is primarily patriarchal. The husband and father is the chief breadwinner, carrying the responsibility for his wife and children. Even in families where husband and wife supposedly share equally in making decisions, our society regards the male as "more equal." The law defines this relationship; custom supports and rewards it. But the majority of Negro families do not follow the U.S. custom and are appropriately penalized. Because women have assumed primary responsibility as head of the family, the matriarchal Negro household is at a distinct disadvantage in competing for its rightful share of benefits offered by American society.

About 25 per cent of Negro families are headed by women who have no husbands. These are families where the male is absent because of divorce, separation or desertion, and do not include families with illegitimate children which have never included a male parent.

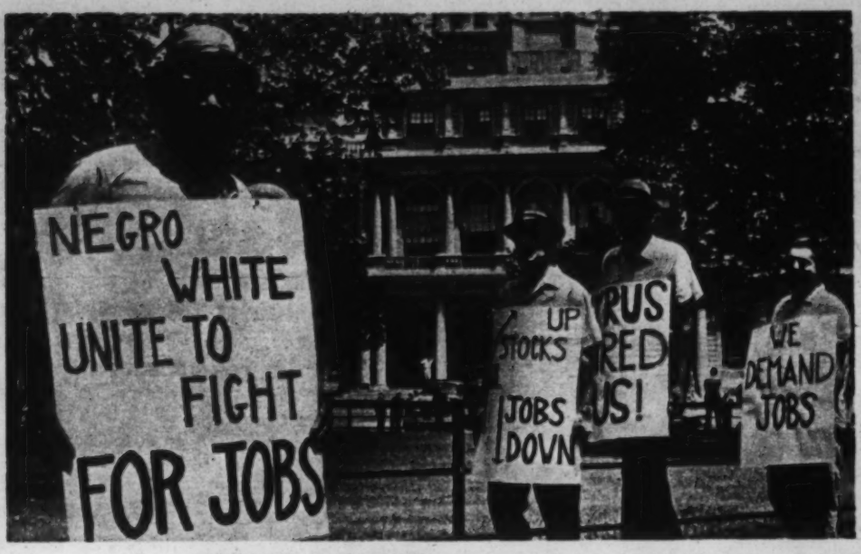
The easy explanation of the shattered Negro family puts the blame on the Negro male, caricatured as shiftless and lazy. A more socially acceptable reason attributes the matriarchal family structure to superaggressive females. In fact, the blame rests on the horrors of a slave society which stripped the Negro male of his masculinity and condemned him to a eunuchlike existence in a culture which venerates masculine primacy.

THERE are no discontinuities in history. Negroes today (like any other people) are largely the product of yesterday. And American slavery, the "yesterday" of the American Negro, ended only 100 years ago. For 250 years before emancipation, slavery ordered the lives, the thinking and the behavior of white people in one way, and of Negroes in quite another.

American slavery was a different institution from contemporary slavery in South America, Portugal, Africa, or from ancient slavery in Greece and Rome. It developed its own institutionalized values uniquely designed to promote its own ends. Its peculiar impingement upon the Negro in America inescapably conditioned his values, his behavior and his future.

When Negroes were slaves, neither the law nor the slave owners recognized marriage between slaves. Males of prime physical condition were mated with females, like so many cattle. Children were left with the mother, giving the Negro mother an early, exclusive interest in the family and forcing upon her full responsibility for its *(Continued on Page 172)*

C. ERIC LINCOLN is a professor of sociology at Portland State College in Oregon. He wrote the book, "My Face Is Black."



BREAKING THE BONDS—To provide the typical Negro family with secure male leadership, says the author, will require basic changes in education and employment. Clockwise from upper left: City Hall pickets

The Absent Negro Father

(Continued from Page 60)

care. In those instances where a male and female were permitted to live together longer than necessary for procreation, the Negro father (he could hardly be called a husband) had absolutely no control over his family or its fortunes. Children were seized and sold. Often the father himself was sold away from his family, never to see them again.

The psychology of castration was viciously applied in other ways, too. No Negro man was given a title of respect, a practice which continues in much of the rural South today. A Negro man was simply "Sam," "Jim," or frequently "boy," no matter what his age. He was never "Mister." If he was "living with a woman"—the nearest thing to marriage—he was known as "Hattie's Sam" or "Mandy's Jim," again denying him a position as head of the family. And if the white man wanted Hattie or Mandy for himself, the Negro male had to step aside; interference as a "husband" meant severe punishment and, not infrequently, death.

When the Negro was freed from bondage all the laws Congress could muster were not effective in wholly transferring him from the category of slave to the category of citizen.

The slaves were freed without any provision for their economic or social well-being. They were almost totally uneducated, for to have educated a slave was a criminal offense. They had no money and no homes. And they were concentrated in a politically and economically distressed society hostile to their presence as freedmen. Even those who made their way to the North quickly found themselves unwelcome, for as indigents with low skills they threatened to glut the unskilled labor market and become a burden on the tax-paying citizenry.

Because of her peculiar relationship to the white woman as a servant, and because she was frequently the white man's mistress, the Negro woman occasionally flouted the rules of segregation. Her impunity was by no means absolute, but because she often reigned supreme in the white man's kitchen and nursery she

protest job bias: clearing a Harlem plot for a "vest pocket" park; Job Corps recruits line up for chow at Camp Kilmer, N. J.; an on-the-job training program for telephone company employes.

could, in times of crisis, "talk to the man" and get concessions that made life a little more bearable for herself and her children.

The practice of sending the Negro woman to do business with the white man became quickly established in the Negro-white pattern of relations. In the ruptured economy of the postwar South, Negro women were frequently paid more than their menfolk and they could ordinarily find jobs in domestic service while their men walked the streets looking for work.

"Freedom" did not improve the image of the Negro male or give him a sense of security as head of the family. He remained a semi-slave, and his slavery was rooted in the centuries he had spent in America.

If you want to understand his hatreds, his resentments, his castration as a husband and father, look back 100 years. And if you ask why in 100 years he has not overcome the past, it is because the past has never died: every day, every hour of that 100 years of semi-freedom has had to be rewon day by day from the prejudice which still promotes, openly or covertly, the old ways of slavery. The Negro did not earn rewards for being manly, courageous or assertive, but for being accommodating—for fulfilling the stereotype of what he has been forced to be.

We may note, in the interest of keeping perspective, that some stable Negro families with male heads existed before and after slavery. Before the Civil War, some free Negroes in the South and the North maintained family structures and customs as closely analogous to those in the prevailing white culture as circumstances would permit. A few upper-class Negro families, mostly along the Atlantic Coast, have an unbroken tradition of more than a 100 years of social stability and cultural progress. And in the Deep South a handful of Negro families that date to slavery, or the first decades after emancipation, testify to the Negro's determined attempt to overcome the scars of thralldom.

THE symptoms of the Negro family's enduring sickness are everywhere evident today.

The Negro crime rate is higher by far than the national

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average. The rate of illegitimacy is higher—regardless of the inconsistency of reporting procedures—and may be as high as 25 per cent. Negro drug addiction, especially among juveniles, is much higher than among whites—dramatic evidence of the attempt to escape the rigors of living in a society which for them bears little promise of a better future. The percentage of Negro high-school dropouts, again far above the national average, reflects the same sense of Negro hopelessness.

This is social sickness of epidemic proportions, and it spreads with the steady deterioration of the Negro family.

As the basic unit of socialization for the young, the family needs the presence of both parents if children are to learn the values and expectations of society. But socialization is a continuing experience which affects not only children, but parents as well. A "family man" is much less likely to lapse into criminal activity than one without ties and responsibilities.

The absent father has not been, until recently, a particularly disturbing factor among Negroes themselves (except for educated Negroes who were particularly sensitive to the white man's blanket charge of racial immorality). Any male in the average Negro family might function as a father-figure: uncles, older brothers, grandfathers, even cousins. Similarly a grandmother or aunt was frequently "mama" to a brood of children not biologically her own.

Television has been one factor in sensitizing the Negro child to the fact that his family is different. Another increasingly important factor is the integrated school. In their association with white children from complete families, Negro kids learn early that something is different about their own households. This awareness is sharpened even further by white teachers who have Negro pupils for the first time. As a Negro teacher in a newly integrated school explained it: "My white colleagues get *so* frustrated when they ask little brown Johnny, 'What does your father do?' and Johnny says he doesn't know. Then they ask, 'Well, Johnny, what does your father look like? Is he big and tall?' and Johnny says he doesn't know. And finally they say, 'Well, all right, Johnny, what is your father's name?' And Johnny says he doesn't know."

The divorce rate among Negro families is 5.1 per cent, compared to 3.8 per cent among whites. But divorces are expensive, and the rate of desertion—the poor man's divorce—is even higher. In many cases, the psychological strain of being a member of a family he cannot support because of unemployment or lack of skills is too much for the Negro husband, and he simply disappears. More often he "deserts" so that his family may become eligible for relief payments, since the family is often better off on relief than depending on the uncertainties of a job. In any event, only a minority of Negro children will complete high school in a two-parent home.

Among middle-class Negroes the battered male ego is frequently a factor in divorce or separation. The Negro professional is in actual or vicarious contact with the American mainstream. He knows his white counterpart is the chief breadwinner and head of the family in *his* home, and the Negro is acutely sensitive to the possibility of his own failings in these respects.

As tangible goods accumulate, and increasingly important decisions are made, most Negro men become restive and uncomfortable if they are married to women who outearn them, and who assume the

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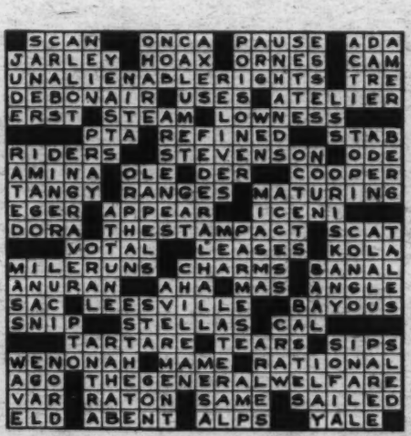
SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES



OWEN CHASE: (THE) WRECK OF THE (WHALESHIP) ESSEX (1821; edited by Haverstick and Shepard)—At best, a whaleboat is an extremely frail thing—the most so of any kind of boat. They are what is called clinker built and are constructed of the lightest materials, for the purpose of being rowed with the greatest possible celerity.

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prerogatives of family leadership as a corollary to their earning power. In Atlanta, for example, I asked a young Negro woman, a teacher, "Who is head of the family at your house?" She thought for a moment, then answered: "Well, Jack is now, but when I get my raise, I'll be head, because I'll be making $27 more than he will."

The problem is considerably more formidable than such naiveté, I assure you. The Negro female has had the responsibility of the Negro family for so many generations that she accepts it, or assumes it, as second nature. Many older women have forgotten why the responsibility devolved upon the Negro woman in the first place, or why it later became institutionalized. And young Negro women do not think it is absurd to reduce the relationship to a matter of money since many of them probably grew up in families where the only income was earned by their mothers; their fathers may not have been in evidence at all.

Even in middle-class Negro families where the husband earns more than his wife, the real cement holding the marriage may be status and "appearances" rather than a more fundamental attachment. The Negro wife who grew up in a matriarchal home finds it difficult to assent to male leadership in the family; the Negro husband with a similar family history may be over-anxiously insistent on male prerogatives in order to align his family in what he conceives to be the American tradition.

I know a prominent professor in Atlanta who has taught there for 15 years while his wife worked as a teacher in her hometown several hundred miles away. They see each other at Christmas and for a brief period at the end of his summer term. This respectable arrangement obviates, or at least postpones, the problem of who will be head of the family—at the price of maintaining a one-parent household.

THE task of giving the Negro husband and father a status in keeping with the larger society requires a basic change in established patterns of Negro education, training and employment.

More Negro women go to college than men, just the reverse of the white educational pattern. Six per cent of all female professionals are Negroes, while just a shadow over 1 per cent of all male professionals are Negroes. Negro females do better in school too, probably reflecting the low incentive of the Negro male who frequently feels that even if he graduates, he still won't be getting anywhere.

The long tradition of educating the girls in the Negro family is rooted in the system of segregated employment which limited sharply the Negro male's prospects of finding a job commensurate with college training. In the typical Negro family the boys leave school and go to work early, frequently pooling their earnings for the education of their sisters. The process inevitably produces a pronounced imbalance in the ratio of educated women to educated men, reinforcing the disproportionate power and prestige of the Negro woman in the family.

"The working husband is usually the key to family stability"—Above, a youth enrolled in the Job Corps training program.

Having to "marry down," if she marries at all, is a common experience of the Negro woman and one which perpetuates the matriarchal pattern while fostering dissatisfaction, desertion and divorce. For that reason, certain Negro colleges are famous as hunting grounds for eligible men, and the tuition of many an indigent medical school student has been paid by the doting parents of aspiring daughters.

The ratio of Negro college men to women is changing slowly as employment opportunities for Negro men are broadened. In time, the existing disparity as a distinctive feature of Negro life may disappear, but not until Negroes can try for success in fields closed to them for so long, and not until the incentives of Negro youth can be sharply increased.

The problem of education is, of course, interwoven with the question of jobs. Since 1930, the ratio of Negro unemployment to white unemployment has hovered steadily at about two to one.

The working husband of any race is usually the key to family stability; when the husband

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loses his job it represents the point at which the family may begin to deteriorate. His loss of self-esteem, the inability to support his family, dependence upon some social agency or the wife's earnings—all these factors generally presage more difficult problems to come. In the case of the Negro family, with its historic weaknesses and the tentative nature of male leadership, a prolonged period of unemployment can be disastrous. The family may break up completely and in the long run society has to pay.

THE problem is far larger than the individual Negro family; it is bigger than the limited resources of the Negro lower class, which is most affected. The Johnson Administration, using the pioneering report on the Negro family by Daniel P. Moynihan as a point of departure, has recognized the dimensions of the crisis and inaugurated the most comprehensive series of social rehabilitation programs ever designed by the Federal establishment.

Even that will not be enough. The Government can make available better schools, better housing and better opportunities for employment. It can enforce the laws protecting the franchise and the right to public accommodations. But the Government cannot establish a pattern of family relationships which will foster the values needed to make all this meaningful and effective. Only the Negro can save his family. The substantive help of law and the Government is essential, of course, but the incentive, the motivation which can transform the Negro predicament into a shining achievement of the Great Society must come from within the group.

The white man destroyed the Negro family and kept it weak by preserving the psychology of slavery, thinly disguised as racial discrimination and prejudice. But the white man cannot give back the values he took away.

For years, myopic but well-meaning whites have been challenging the Negro to pull himself up by his own bootstraps, even though the Negro didn't have either boots or straps. The white man was looking at his own boots and imagining the Negro owned a pair, too. The "straps" of the Negro's family problem are not encouraging, but he must work with what he has.

'You Don't Have A Daddy'

In the typical American family, the father is breadwinner and boss—or is made to think he is. But Negro families, says the author, are typically matriarchal, not patriarchal; in the actual or psychological absence of a man "who wears the pants," many Negro children grow up without ever having known a father. One such child was comedian Dick Gregory, in whose autobiography, "Nigger" (written with Robert Lipsyte), the following passage appears:

It was on a Thursday, the day before the Negro payday. The eagle always flew on Friday. The teacher was asking each student how much his father would give to the Community Chest. On Friday night, each kid would get the money from his father, and on Monday he would bring it to the school. I decided I was going to buy me a Daddy right then. I had money in my pocket from shining shoes and selling papers, and whatever Helene Tucker pledged for her Daddy I was going to top it. And I'd hand the money right in. I wasn't going to wait until Monday to buy me a Daddy.

I was shaking, scared to death. The teacher opened her book and started calling out names alphabetically.

"Helene Tucker?"

"My Daddy said he'd give two dollars and fifty cents."

"That's very nice, Helene. Very, very nice indeed."

That made me feel pretty good. It wouldn't take too much to top that. I had almost three dollars in dimes and quarters in my pocket. I stuck my hand in my pocket and held onto the money, waiting for her to call my name. But the teacher closed her book after she called everybody else in the class.

I stood up and raised my hand.

"What is it now?"

"You forgot me."

She turned toward the blackboard. "I don't have time to be playing with you, Richard."

"My Daddy said he'd . . ."

"Sit down, Richard, you're disturbing the class."

"My Daddy said he'd give . . . fifteen dollars."

She turned around and looked mad. "We are collecting this money for you and your kind, Richard Gregory. If your Daddy can give fifteen dollars you have no business being on relief."

"I got it right now, I got it right now, my Daddy gave it to me to turn in today, my Daddy said . . ."

"And furthermore," she said, looking right at me, her nostrils getting big and her lips getting thin and her eyes opening wide, "we know you don't have a Daddy."

Helene Tucker turned around, her eyes full of tears. She felt sorry for me. Then I couldn't see her too well because I was crying, too.

"Sit down, Richard."

And I always thought the teacher kind of liked me. She always picked me to wash the blackboard on Friday, after school. That was a big thrill, it made me feel important. If I didn't wash it, come Monday the school might not function right.

"Where are you going, Richard?"

I walked out of school that day, and for a long time I didn't go back very often. There was shame there.

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POVERTY

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The Poor Don't Want To Be Middle-Class

by Robert Coles, M.D.

Research Psychiatrist to the Harvard University Health Services has written extensively about the current social scene.

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Wars have a way of spreading. Poverty is now our declared domestic enemy, and we are presumably fighting to save its victims, the poor. Yet some of the poor talk as if they themselves were being attacked, while many of their allies - professors, organizers and activists of one sort or another - say that the poverty program is pitifully inadequate for such a rich nation, and worse, a number of its efforts are insulting to the citizens it aims to help.

In a recent example, a Job Corps center at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, was severely criticized by a group of consultants chosen to evaluate it. The private company running the center was accused of using harshly authoritarian procedures geared toward exacting excessive obedience and compliance. "At Kilmer," the report said, "it appears that a kind of middle-class colonialism is occurring, with the corpsmen subjected to the value system of the Kilmer staff."

This was by no means the first such complaint. Other centers have experienced disturbances, some of them the result of tensions among the recruits themselves, others rising out of angry encounters between the recruits and people from nearby towns. Certain communities have refused even to allow Job Corps camps in their midst, as if the unemployed were some devilish adversary whose mere presence guarantees specific crimes or a vaguely felt contamination. Where the camps have been established it has been claimed that such attitudes from "outside," that is from the middle-class culture, have worked their way through and through the atmosphere and practices of the various projects. As a result, men from the slums, in desperate need of work, have found themselves transported to camps where they face what one report called "a tendency to view corpsmen as culprits, and degrade them in their own estimation;

A failure to understand the nature and 'life styles' of a poverty culture; secrecy and surveillance; and frustrated, angry teachers and group leaders."

Whether such allegations are excessive or even true, the poor and those who patrol their streets or teach them have a long history of barely tolerating one another. Testimony submitted to Congress in support of the National Teachers Corps documented the extremely inadequate quality of teaching in ghetto schools. The very purpose of the corps is that of attracting and training people who would want to work alongside the poor, understand them, and comprehend their assumptions and hopes, rather than compel thei acquiescence to every possible middle-class notion or, failing that, ignore them as both hopeless and undeserving of hope.

In city after city while poor children complain about their schools and the teachers inside them, or ignore all education as irrelevant to the lives they know, their parents protest bitterly the urban-renewal programs that tear down the slums only to scatter the poor and give the rich yet another bonus of land. "Look what they do," a woman in Boston told me recently. "They push us around, then they build their office buildings. The one thing we had was land, and now the're taking it away and throwing us away. You can be sure we won't go anywhere good though - just be moved to suit what the planners want."

What makes that woman so incomprehensible to the urban renewal authorities who claim an earnest wish to advance her cause? Why does she see them as her enemy? Why do some recruits protest bitterly the "attitudes" shown them by their teachers in the Job Corps? Why have I heard Negroes in Southern towns of the tenement blocks of Boston shout

their angry defiance at some of the efforts made to "help" them? They come here to be nice," one mother recently told me "but all they want to do is talk at us, and talk at us, and make us into them."

In order to answer such vexing questions many observers have postulated the existence of a "culture of poverty," with a style of life very much its own. Like all categorizations in the social sciences, the value of such a concept depends upon the vision it supplies. If I find that lack of money eventually sets in motion a rather distinct way of looking at the world and living in it, so that everything from child-rearing to religious beliefs and sexual customs fall in line accordingly, then I am up against a situation not - at least immediately - responsive only to infusions of cash.

Conversely, there are and have been poor, even jobless, people in America who nonetheless retain the same outlook (read "attitude" or "culture") characteristic of the more comfortable. Like most who come upon this article, they worry about the future and about their position in the world. They also have the conviction that their worries, harnessed to their hard work, or quest for hard work, will some day be rewarded by what they want: property, security, comfort, gain, the respect of others; the advancement of their children even further, to more property, more security, more comfort, more success even to significant prestige and influence. If they are now poor, if they are barely getting by, they nevertheless try to keep themselves and their homes tidy, their children's faces scrubbed, their confidence in the likelihood of a better day high enough to avoid daily gloom, or the recklessness and apathy which may express it.

Some other Americans find life a different matter. Because of where they live, or how they look, or when their ancestors came here, they are but another generation in a long story of apartness, plunder, mean living and indignity. They number millions, every article on poverty talks about them, and supposedly they now worry us as a nation.

They are in the Appalachian Mountains, or the Mississippi Delta. They are migrant farmers who have no fixed home, city folk by the dense millions who never venture beyond a few slum blocks, or Indians whose "reservations" are a final territorial summation of our record of home-spun colonialism. They are white, black, red; and it cannot be stated often enough that many of them have been here long before the rest of us.

While waves of immigrants came here, to know poverty, eventually to win against it, never to lose that critical feeling that it is possible to win, these others stood by, as slaves, as yeomen on small farms, as tribesmen under attack, as hard-pressed mountaineers hopelessly removed from the centers of commerce - ironically as a consequence of the courage possessed by their pioneer ancestors.

Slowly such people and their descendants got the point: that life is quick and painful; that what is counts more than what will be, because what will be can only be what is; and that hunger, crowded quarters, uncertainty, are inevitable, only to be offset by the precarious pleasures of the moment.

"They keep on telling us, those welfare ladies, to take better care of our money, and save it away, and buy what's the best in the stores, and do like them for dresses, and keep the children in school, and keep our husbands from leaving us. There isn't nothing they don't have a

sermon on. They'll tell you it's bad to spend your money on a smoke or a drink; and it's bad to have your kids sleep alongside you in the bed; and you're not supposed to want television because you should be serious with your dollar, and it's wrong for the kids, too; and it's bad for you to let them stay out after dark, and they should study their lessons hard and they'll get way ahead and up there.

"Well, I'll tell you, they sure don't know what it's about, and they can't, not if they come knocking on my door every week until the Lord takes all of us. They have their nice leather shoes, and their smart coats, and they speak the right order of words all right, so I know how many schools they been to. But us? Do they have any idea of what us is about? And let them start at zero the way we do, and see how many big numbers they can become themselves. I mean, if you have got nothing when you're born, and you know you can't get a thing no matter how you tries - well, then you dies with nothing. And no one can deny that arithmetic."

I have connected together several hours of tape-recorded conversation with this woman, a tough, shrewd, fiercely angry, occasionally humorous mother of seven children. Nor does she want to be anything but warm and kind to her children, even when she isn't. "I tries to give them what I can when they're little, so when they gets older and leaves they'll have a few good times to look back on."

While some of us marvel at such "folk wisdom" - in songs, stories and spirituals - those who daily pay the terrible price of its acquisition have other things to do. Life is an unending struggle for survival, and each day's shaky victory in that struggle a mere prelude to further hardship.

"They just don't understand" - I hear words like that almost daily in my work. They usually are followed by other words: "They just don't understand what it's like. You are born in a building where it's cold, and the rats keep you company all day and you're lucky if they don't eat you at night, because they're as hungry as you. Then the food, it's not always around when you want it, and you don't have money to buy what you do want. Then you go to those schools, and the teachers, they looks down on you, and makes you think you has done something wrong for being born. They shout and make faces, and they treat you like dirt and then tell you to be a doctor or a lawyer; if you just go to the library and stay in school and be neat, that's all it takes. Once in a while lately they want to take you on a trip crosstown, and show you a museum or something. They tell you that you haven't got any pictures at home, so there, take a look and now you own them, and man, you're rich.

"My father, he tried, and he tried. My mother, she tried, too. My father, he would put his head on the kitchen table and he would cry, all six foot three of him would cry. And my mother would tell him to stop, and say it wasn't his fault; and we would stay alive somehow. But my brothers and I, we knew she wasn't so sure. She tried to make it easy for us by lying, but we knew. Now they all tell us to level with them, and work hard and we'll get ours, what we always deserved."

It is unfair to deny that youth, and his parents, their strength and determination. It is also unfair to overlook how eroded their lives have become - by illness and idleness, by fearfulness and insulting dependency upon the slimmest kind of relief checks.

It is a hard job, trying to do justice to such lives. Those of us who try come from another land. We have gained literacy, work, an on-

going sense of usefulness and purpose, a professional life. No matter how hard we strive to observe and learn how those "others" live we have our own past, our own experiences to fall back upon, even when we try to forget them.

Moreover, we can always leave; whether in days or months or years, somehow we know we can always leave, that we belong, if only out of our past, elsewhere. That past - I am speaking of time spent in the "middle-class" world, that elusive miscellaneous yet somehow quite real abstraction - has given us hope and a number of opportunities. Now, whether in Mississippi, Appalachia or Harlem, the same past gives us coherence, and yet, ironically, bewilderment too.

The signs of bewilderment vary. We flee into romantic notions of one sort or another: the poor are the only virtuous or truly strong left; the poor are everything that is weak and destroyed; the poor see the diseases at work in our society, and in fact by their very condition are immune to them; the poor are the wretched, their existence a total judgment on the rest of us.

"You have to watch your step. You have to be nice, but you can't be friendly. You have to be serious, but you can't have a sour face." I heard those words from a Negro mother in New Orleans. She was telling me what she had to tell her children as they left "home" to walk on white streets, shop in white stores, and eventually seek jobs in white companies.

Those who are involved in both the civil-rights struggle and the poverty program also walk a tightrope. Not only may they themselves make unfair generalizations of one sort or another; but from various directions their every move and word will be scrutinized and quite

possibly misunderstood, perhaps less by the poor themselves than any of their many appointed and self-appointed "voices." I recently heard one youth in a Boston slum say at a meeting, "Everybody says they speak for us, and they want to speak for us, and they all argue about what we want, but all I know is I don't want to speak for the poor people, I want to get out of it and not be poor. That's what I want and that's what I want to say."

What in fact does happen to those of us who now find ourselves - in a poverty program, a civil-rights project, a ghetto school - face to face with other Americans sure or not sure about what they want, but usually at least sure that they have cause to feel afraid, suspicious, bitter and skeptical? Cannot our very presence, our earnest, honest, generous presence undo the distrust of others? Our lives, after all, are gaining meaning from the work we do. Soon - we hope - those we want to help will see that, and then begin to forgo what we find to be their sullen inertia, or their resentful unwillingness to abide by our rules or customs.

Often enough it is we who become confused, and afterwards candidates for weariness and straightlaced flight. Our strict sense of justice having met up with ungracious, even scornful rebuff, we can no longer give any quarter to the improvident. Yet, such disastrous results are by no means inevitable. To a large extent what happens will depend upon the manner of the meeting, the purpose of the encounter between those in need and those wanting to be of help.

The critical element may be the uncanny sensitivity possessed by people with empty stomachs. They are on their guard, or else they have surrendered totally to one form of oblivion or another, even then

retaining a disordered wariness. I have spent a number of years now getting to know Negro and white families in the rural and urban South, in migrant labor camps, and in Northern slums. It is not that these people have inherited some special sociological genius that allows them to see the hard facts of money and power as they operate in the world. It is that the very nature of their lives compels in them a daily confrontation with those facts, even as our lives are shielded in countless ways from the same facts. The more money you have, the more possible it is for you to forget money, turn your attention elsewhere, to "higher" matters.

Perhaps it is better to let a man I have known several years say it. His name is Jim, and he is my age. Jim has no property, no bank account, no car. He works where he can find work, any work. He works hard. He draws relief when he can't find work. He wants his children to have a better life, but all his children can see is his life, the lives of others like him. Why should they think it will ever be better for them?

The school they know is not like the one my children will attend. The teachers in that school - I have visited the classrooms - were once dutiful and eager, then became tired and angry; now, finally, they are indifferent. The school building, like the crumbling walls Jim's children call "home," are a standing reminder to everyone - teacher, children, parents - in the neighborhood that what goes on elsewhere in the America they see on television bears little resemblance to that area's life.

"People say they want to wipe out poverty" - he began with a derisive tone that already anticipated his views. "That's what you hear, but it's a lot of talk, a lot of show, and maybe a little shake of salt here and there. They tell us they want to retrain us. "That's right,"

they say, 'come on along and we'll get you retrained.'

"But I know how to do all kinds of things already, and I still can't get a job. They don't take but a few colored, trained or untrained. I'm as good a carpenter and electrician as anyone is, but can I get a job? No, sir. No union wants me, and no one will hire me on my own. What is all this poverty thing but plugging up a lot of holes, when you need a new dam?

"They should say: 'O.K. man, we're so rich we don't know what to do with it. We're even flying over to visit the moon and into heaven, we got so much money. So here's what we'll do for you cats. We'll say every one of your children can have food, we have so much of it; and we'll give you a good apartment and a real nice school, and enough money so you won't be crawling on your belly for that relief check business. Then we have some work for you to do. Now you, Jim, we want you to help us build that hospital, or that school building for your kids and your brother's kids. Your're a good builder, Jim; so help us build.' Then I'd have my head up and there wouldn't be anyone who would make me bow it and feel ashamed for sitting around or raking in them leaves.

"Isn't that the way to beat old man poverty, instead of taking some of our kids to a camp and trying to get them to learn something, when they figures after they learn it there still won't be the number of jobs we need? And what about that surplus food you have to beg to get, and saying only when you are older than 65 you can get a doctor for free? Who around here lives that long? They know right well all along that we need more than they're going to give. I see those kids on the block growing up, and they starts giving up around 10, I'd say. They just gives up. And it's because they knows the score, and no man can fool them, I don't care how clever he be.

"They try to, though. Instead of giving us what we need, they try to make us be like them. Why don't they give us what we deserve? We been working for them since the beginning, and for free most of the time. Now it's our turn to get our rights as Americans, and they should let us be as we finds it in our hearts to."

What Jim says many others like him have said, or feel like saying. He wants money and he badly needs money. For his family he wants a home, a good school, medical care. He is not sure that he wants to talk and dress like others in the suburbs do, and he resents any suggestion that he make a change in his speech, his appearance or his style of life as the price for food and cash. He does not see any glory in his condition, but he also can spot in a flash a new attempt to humiliate him. Or, as a tenant farmer in Mississippi once put it for me: "If they really mean to help us, we've been ready so long I can't count the years; but if they're kidding as usual, they won't find me buying an extra tie to go beg."

Is it not time for this nation to guarantee every one of its families an adequate yearly income? Then, at least, we will no longer have hungry and needy people in this land of surfeit. What we will continue to have is the presence of people who are still largely outside our middle-class world, with its widespread emphasis on competition, innovation, individual achievement and constantly increasing consumption. Many of the poor have never found such goals, as well as the cautions and restraints of suburban living, possible or rewarding. They have learned to be open and direct with one another, painfully so to many of us, but from another point of view, honestly so.

The warmth they often give to their young children is not part of

a romantic myth. Side by side with the cruelty, impulsivity, deviousness and futility of ghetto life are its fresh and poignant moments, its searing vision - such as I heard from one old woman when I asked her how old she was: "No older now than when I was 15. You're the same age here once you're old enough to know what it's like in the world. Every year is the same thing. I don't think you get older unless you have something different happen to you, or something better."

One by one, at crucial times in our history various immigrant groups have come, to lend a diversity and richness to our culture. Nevertheless, that same culture has plenty of rot in it - cheap abundance, anxious conformity, smug carelessness. Money and work are what the poor people I know demand and need, but I am not so sure that some of the qualities they already have are not in turn needed by the rest of us - the unmasking humor, the caustic distrust of fake morality, hypocritical authority, and dishonest piety. If most of the poor have been terribly crushed by our society, then in other ways so have many from our nervous, acquisitive middle-class.

Perhaps it is impossible for any large group of people to resist the powerful tug of our middle-class society once it decides to extend its welcome. Certainly I know many poor families who want without question what that society offers. They show no interest in rejecting any of it, even those qualities that reformers themselves have spurned, and indeed work with the poor to avoid.

Still, were poverty no longer a rallying ground for behavior, a few of those now in its clutches might resist the worst blandishments of our culture. Once comfortable in the flesh, they would hunger for other things, for vision and coherence, in ways that called upon their dis-

tinctive past experiences, and in so doing make us all pricelessly, truly richer. Presumably - though I am not sure - we are striving to have that choice, that kind of possibility for every American child.

POVERTY ~~1,10,19~~

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POVERTY

SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY

THE GUARANTEED INCOME: Next Step in Economic Evolution? Edited by Robert Theobald. 233 pp. New York: Doubleday & Co. $4.95.

By LEON H. KEYSERLING

THE central proposition of the Preface and 10 essays in this book is that society, presumably starting in the United States, should guarantee to everyone a socially acceptable level of income. This guaranteed income would not be made available solely to those unable to work for reasons such as age or disability, or debarred from work by involuntary unemployment. It would extend to *all*, regardless of whether they are or should be "gainfully employed" in the production of goods and services as this term has come to be understood. It would include all who, for reasons of their own, prefer leisure to gainful employment.

I assume that this guaranteed income should be far above the currently defined poverty-income ceiling of $3,000-plus for a family. For while only about 34 million Americans lived in poverty in 1964, another 49 million lived in deprivation, with incomes below the requirements for a "modest but adequate" budget. The concept of what is "modest but adequate" changes with advances in the industrial arts; today, it implies in the U.S. a family income of about $6,000.

Interest in these essays is heightened by the Feb. 4 release of the long-awaited Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. This Report advocates guaranteed incomes for all, but evidently in the same context as this reviewer, rather than in the different context underlying these essays.

The essays are valuable on several counts, aside from being very readable throughout. The espousal of a guaranteed annual income for all, while not entirely novel, has so little acceptance to date that it should be rated as enterprising and courageous. We do need these virtues today. The position is unassailable that the U.S. economy is already powerful enough to assure a "modest but adequate" standard of living for all our people. In my view, we therefore have a moral obligation to furnish this assurance, and the authors are most commendable in bringing moral considerations to the forefront at a time when they are being seriously neglected in most approaches to economic problems.

Still another merit is that the book brings together a wide range of disciplines; economic and related social policies are too important to be left, even in their technical or professional aspects, to economists alone. The authors' challenge to the conventional economics is telling, notably Meno Lovenstein's. The contributors include four economists (Robert Theobald, Clarence E. Ayers, Lovenstein and Ben B. Seligman); an anthropologist (Conrad M. Arensberg); a psychologist (Robert H. Davis); a psychiatrist (Erich Fromm); an administrator and scholar in the field of culture and technology (Marshall McLuhan); a social-welfare expert (Edward Schwartz); and a conservationist (William Vogt).

MY dissent from the general theme of the volume is partial but vital. When I join in the view that all of our people should be guaranteed a "modest but adequate" income and standard of living, I envisage this as stemming primarily from a full-employment policy coupled with adequate compensation, and secondarily from guaranteed incomes for those not qualified for gainful employment because of age or other disability. But the authors go far beyond this. With probably two exceptions (Mr. Ayers and Mr. Seligman) they appear to relegate far to the rear the goal of sustained full employment and the ever-increasing national output which would result from full utilization of a growing labor force plus an advancing technology. Most of them are mainly interested in incomes, not jobs.

The economic basis of the case is stated simply and with candor by the book's editor, Mr. Theobald, in the Preface, consistently with his voluminous other writings on the same subject. He is a British socio-economist, formerly with the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and now living in New York. As he would have it, the onrush of technology, automation and cybernation is so overwhelming that massive unemployment is utterly unavoidable and full employment a pious dream. This presents to him no difficulties from the viewpoint of available output: advances in industrial techniques are such that, even with only a moderate fraction of the population of working age gainfully employed in the production of conventional goods and services, we will enjoy "an overwhelming abundance" of them. Under these assumptions, it is manifestly more desirable that everybody should live nicely on a guaranteed income rather than that poverty should be the lot of those who cannot be gainfully employed.

In evaluating this case, I am not particularly impressed with the standard argument that income without employment as customarily defined would for motivational and psychological reasons be corrosive of the human spirit. Fromm, McLuhan and Arensberg offer reasons at least worthy of careful consideration to the effect that freedom from the obligation to work, equating with the freedom of every individual to do what he thinks he likes best, might have real value in terms of individual development. Vogt adds the point that the guaranteed income for all would not accentuate the problem of overpopulation. And at least for those who cannot be gainfully employed, Schwartz castigates the "means test" along lines which should help to propel much-needed revision of the prevalent approaches to many current welfare programs which tend to encourage pauperization.

Before going all the way with the authors, we must examine Mr. Theobald's proposition (which most of the others in the group seem to share) that sustained full employment and the ever-increasing production of goods and services which would result as technology advances are neither feasible nor highly desirable. The first difficulty with this proposition is that those among the authors (primarily Mr. Davis and Mr. Seligman) who pick up the task of giving us the facts do not in my view come through convincingly. They offer relevant data with respect to computers and other in- *(Continued on Page 34)*

Mr. Keyserling, an attorney and consulting economist, is a former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and is President of the Conference on Economic Progress.

Something for Everybody

(*Continued from Page* 1)

novations, and valid evidence of long-term acceleration in the rate of increase in output per man-hour worked. But even if they are talking only about the U.S. and its domestic needs, they offer no comprehensive quantitative appraisal as to how long it would take us, even if fully employed, to turn out so much goods and services that we would no longer be concerned about the increased output which would result from sustained full employment.

Let us look at some facts that seem to be most pertinent, first with respect to *when* we might be able to produce more than we would need or want. The average disposable per-capita income in the U.S. in 1965 was about $2,400, or about $7,500-$8,000 on an average consumer-unit basis. I do not suppose that most of the professors and others who write books would regard a family income of about three times this as more than could be used wisely and well (and without corruption of soul) for the needs and niceties of life, including a trip to Europe now and then. Most of them would aspire toward achieving this income and living standard, if they have not already done so, before they would plunk for "retirement" on a guaranteed income of even $6,000 or thereabouts. In all probability, nonintellectuals would make the same choice with even more alacrity, although I have never noted that the intellectual community is congenitally opposed to more income and "material" things.

DURING the years 1955-1965, U.S. per-capita disposable income in real terms increased less than 23 per cent. On this basis, allowing for compounding, it would take more than five decades for average U.S. incomes and living standards to reach levels which the professors and other writers certainly would not regard as "too high" even now. To attain these levels requires just that much more national production of goods and services on a per-capita basis.

Besides, increased output must serve many purposes other than personal incomes and outlays. It must help to build plant and equipment; finance research; conserve and replenish our neglected natural resources; purify our polluted air and waters; modernize our obsolescent transportation systems; rebuild our decaying cities; rehouse the at least one-sixth of the total population who still live in urban and rural slums; generate the additional hospitals and personnel needed to bring adequate medical care to the two-fifths of our people who do not now obtain it at costs within their means. It must also help to overcome enormous deficiencies in educational plant and teachers, and enable to go to college the half of our young people who have the ability and ambition but lack the means; and support (as far as we can see ahead) immense outlays for defense and space exploration and international policies fraught with great uncertainties. This is not the whole list.

All of these things are paid for, in the final analysis, not with money but with production. One of the writers in the volume, Mr. Ayers, does intimate that the guaranteed income for all would provide the purchasing power to stimulate full production and full employment. But this reverses the core theme of the volume: that the guaranteed income for all is essential because massive unemployment is in the cards, and because output per employed worker will soon be so fabulous that high employment will no longer be needed.

And even if we in the U.S. should reach, 50 years hence, a situation where our production at full employment led to genuine saturation of needs and desires at home, what about the rest of the world? This brings us back to 1966, not forward to 2016. While the rich nations get richer, the poor get poorer. The widening gap threatens us no less than them. The prospect is that, by 1970, there will be a billion people in the world who are literally starving. What should we now and henceforth be doing to help them avoid this, not only with know-how, but also with exports of food and hardware and capital, in immensely increased amounts? Are Africa, Asia and South America shuddering at the prospect of an "overwhelming abundance" of goods and services? Is it the advance of technology which explains their massive unemployment?

Before we even talk about dulling the greatest nonsecret weapon in the world, our soaring productive powers, we should reexamine and reconstruct our worldwide economic policies. The Administration has just done much of this in qualitative terms. But we do not yet realize that the quality of what we do to help those who need help most is quantitative at its very foundation.

In the full perspective of human needs, we have room and to spare for all we can produce at full employment, as far ahead as we can see. It would thus be one of the greatest tragedies in human history, if, when the prophets' dreams of abundance (not surfeit) are for the first time feasible in terms of our productive powers and potentials, we should bury these instead of using them to the hilt.

Nor is there any merit in the argument that we have not the organizing skills, economic tools and experience to assure sustained full employment (and the full production that goes with it) in the U.S. Even with some very deficient policies, and despite the advances of the new technology, we have reduced unemployment from 6.7 per cent in 1961 to 4 per cent now. If 4 per cent, why not 3, or even 2?

I project ahead at a more rapid rate than most other economists the likely advances in productivity, or output per man-hour worked, resulting from technological change. Even so, I estimate that we need, for the decade ahead, an average annual economic growth rate of only about 5 to 6 per cent to absorb all increases in productivity plus a rapidly growing labor force. This is far below the 9 per cent average annual rate of economic growth which we maintained for four years during World War II, despite the dislocation of wartime.

THE utilization of our burgeoning productive powers is not an insoluble problem. It is a relatively easy problem, if we apply to it, in the cause of winning the war against poverty at home and disaster overseas, with the added frosting of large material progress for the rest of us, a modicum of the energy and determination we applied during World War II.

The question may legitimately be posed: If the authors are correct in the limited objective of a guaranteed annual income for those who really cannot be employed, what harm is done by going as much further as they do? My concern is that, by attempting to advance a thesis which seems indefensible when pushed so far, they are undermining their effectiveness in winning acceptance of their more limited and splendid theme: that the American economy is powerful enough, and should be socially-minded enough, to guarantee an American standard of living to all those who really cannot participate in the functioning economy, and also to those who are employed but at substandard wages.

We are now paying to our senior citizens, more than three-quarters of whom live in abject poverty and who constitute about 27 per cent of all the U.S. poor, Social Security benefits averaging half of what they ought to be within five years. We are grossly neglecting the 25 per cent of all the U.S. poor who live in fatherless families, with at least half headed by mothers who cannot or should not work. For these, we should establish decent systems of family allowances, similar to those in some

(*Continued on Page* 36)

Something for Everybody

(Continued from Page 34)

European countries. We should commence, for the first time, to make large Federal contributions in the general welfare category. Also with Federal contributions, we should greatly improve our unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation systems.

About 60 per cent of the poor are poor because their breadwinners are unemployed, or employed only part-time, or paid substandard wages when employed, or because of some combination of these situations. The remedy here is an adequate, national, full-employment-and-income policy. This type of "guarantee" was really the mandate of the Employment Act of 1946. But we have moved toward its full implementation only with mincing steps. Grafted upon this rather than pursued independently, guaranteed incomes to those who cannot or should not be employed is eminently desirable. This would also enlarge aggregate demand, and thereby stimulate employment to counteract the displacements due to technological advance.

WHAT I urge, in essence, is that we build upon what we have, more courageously and comprehensively than we are now doing. We really have in place the institutions, the machinery and even the stated purposes to build a Great Society, strong and just. We need only to use them.

This seems to me more promising — economically, financially, politically, and psychologically — than to blur the dividing line between evolution and revolution. It may seem appealing to write an entirely new prescription on a white sheet of paper, but entirely "new approaches" are not meritorious per se.

Even the current "war on poverty" suffers from too much bright new experimentalism. Poverty is not a new problem nor even a recent discovery. There is a wealth of revealed experience, both at home and abroad, bearing upon what works toward reducing poverty. The poor should not be made the victims of a farrago of "new approaches."

Too much of the recent and current writing on economic and related social problems seems to manifest the sentiment that nobody will listen unless there are iconoclastic shockers in the story. We have plenty of real economic problems, some requiring drastic solutions, without ranging off into the wild blue yonder. My good friend John K. Galbraith, in his most famous book, "The Affluent Society," made a tremendous contribution in his plea for more attention to the "public sector." Unfortunately, he elected to spice up his text with forays to the effect that economic growth and full employment are no longer essential in an affluent society. I fear that the heritage of this mistake is reflected in the volume under review.

Speculative but remote thinking and writing about the highly improbable would be more welcome were we not now confronted by so many unmet problems and so many aberrations in national policies that call for quick, precision readjustment. The 1967 Federal Budget makes it clear that we are willing, if need be, to cut back on nonessentials in order to finance an expanding war in Vietnam (I imply no dissent from that). But we are not yet willing, through tax increases, to cut back on scores of billions of dollars of wasteful private consumption (and the private investment designed to feed it), in order to finance adequately the most urgent of our domestic public priorities—the very bricks and mortar of a Great Society.

The servicing of these priorities requires intense efforts to expand production, combined with unalloyed determination to allocate the product in accord with what we need most, not what we need least. We have gone too far already on the assumption that stimulating any kind of demand through incontinent tax reductions can turn the trick.

The tasks ahead will require changes in the structure of the labor force and employment, but no surrender of the goal of full employment. It will require many alterations in the structure of demand, but even firmer commitment than we now have to a high enough level of total demand to expand total output even more rapidly than we are now doing.

The development of the economic means suitable to these tasks, and the enlargement of the popular understanding and support which is so essential, call for the best that the intellectual community can offer. If we make long-range budgets of our needs and resources, and use fiscal and other policies sufficiently to redirect our energies in accord with our needs, we can create a Great Society at home, and do our full share toward spreading its seeds among the 3 billion people of the earth.

Author's Query

TO THE EDITOR:

For a biography of Mary Berry (1763-1852) and her sister, Agnes (1764-1852), English literary figures, I would appreciate any unpublished material. CHARLES MAUSKOPF,
Department of English,
Temple University.
Philadelphia, Pa., 19122.

POVERTY

THE NEW YORK TIMES, 3/9/66

INCOME DECLINE FOUND IN WATTS

Census in Los Angeles Area Shows Broken Homes Up

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — During the last five years, while most Americans enjoyed increased prosperity, the Negroes and Mexican-Americans in the ghettoes of Los Angeles experienced a decline in family income, employment and housing.

The decline was accompanied by an increase in broken homes.

These were the chief findings of a special census released today by the Department of Commerce. The census had been requested by Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affiars.

Dr. Brimmer was a member of the study group appointed by President Johnson to investigate the riots last summer in Watts and adjoining areas of Los Angeles. He recommended a special survey by the Census Bureau to determine the economic status of people living in those areas.

The riots killed 34 persons, injured more than 1,000 and caused $40-million in property damage.

Consistent Pattern

Dr. Brimmer, a Negro who was recently nominated to the Federal Reserve Board by President Johnson, said the census had revealed a consistent pattern of high unemployment, low income and a high percentage of broken families and substandard housing.

"In south Los Angeles, which contains 250,000 Negroes, about one out of every 10 male workers is unemployed, Dr. Bremmer said.

"The male unemployment rate," he continued, "has declined only one percentage point since the recession year of 1960. Purchasing power of the typical family has declined $400 during a period in which the typical American family's income rose 14 per cent and the typical nonwhite family income jumped 24 per cent."

The census covered a cluster of five predominantly Negro sections, including Watts, in south Los Angeles and an adjoining area containing a high percentage of Mexican-Americans.

In south Los Angeles, median family income, adjusted for price changes, dropped from $5,100 in 1959 to $4,700 in 1965. The decline in Watts specifically was about 2 per cent.

In 1960, according to the census, about 75 per cent of all families in South Los Angeles were married couples living in their own households. By 1965, this proportion had dropped to 70 per cent. The proportion of children living with both parents in the area dropped from 68 to 62 per cent.

The percentage of Negroes in the area increased from 70 to 81 during the five-year period, largely in areas outside of Watts.

About 80 per cent of the residents of South Los Angeles had been living in the city for at least five years. Although a large number of families moved into the area during the five years, a larger number moved out.

Dr. Brinner said this suggested that the more successful families had moved to more desirable neighborhoods and had been replaced by lower income groups moving in from other parts of the state and nation.

The census showed a deterioration in the quality of housing in the area. Dilapidated units increased from 3 to 5 per cent and deteriorating units from 15 to 28 per cent. It was pointed out, however, that these figures were based on individual judgments of those taking the census rather than objective measurements.

The census was based on one in every 10 households in the area, which is considered a reliable sample for such a study.

The male unemployment rate for South Los Angeles was 10.1 in 1965 compared with 11.3 in 1960. Nationally, the unemployment rate for nonwhite males declined from 12 to 6 per cent during the same period.

A more detailed report on the census is to be issued in a few weeks.

POVERTY

AC 3/24/66

RALPH McGILL

Watts Nudges Us Again

A minor explosion of human violence in Watts (Los Angeles) by young Negroes and Mexicans quickly was brought under police control. Whether the riot would have reached major proportions is unknown. Left alone, it might have done so.

The reactions were the usual ones.

There was the professional response that noted few, if any, improvements had been made in conditions that triggered the massive violence of last summer. There still are the jobless, the hundreds of unemployed, out-of-school youngsters, ranging from 14 to the early twenties.

There also was the response from those who see the slum riots through the eyes of prejudice or who cannot understand why all slum violence and discontent is not solved by police arrests and jail sentences. These are the most blind of all.

Arduous Program

These critics are right in that the problem is one that involves police as a major part of what, of necessity, must be a long, arduous program. Chicago, for example, thus far has avoided trouble comparable with that of New York's Harlem and Brooklyn's huge slum area. This has been made possible by police who have been educated not merely to the role they must play as law enforcement officers — but also to their role as factors in a long standing, long neglected social problem.

Dr. Martin Luther King has moved to Chicago to conduct a summer campaign against slum housing and slum conditions. Chicago police officials and others involved in social and welfare work already have met with him and his staff. This may not prevent violence

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Dr. Martin Luther King has moved to Chicago to conduct a summer campaign against slum housing and slum conditions. Chicago police officials and others involved in social and welfare work already have met with him and his staff. This may not prevent violence. But it is a common-sense beginning.

Police everywhere are a cross-section of life, as is any organization in our country. They include some with racial prejudices. But police forces, if led and informed in depth about why the problem of slums is acute and dangerous, will react with much more effectiveness than those who have no leadership whatever.

The slum problem is easy to oversimplify. This is dangerous because it is a complex, human condition. But in general, it is a situation in which a great many persons are absolutely helpless to cope with the facts of life and the environment in which they live. They are helpless to do so for many reasons, all related. Most of them are from the South's rural revolution. This includes the collapse of the old cotton economy with its system of tenancy and sharecropping.

Another Facet

Another facet of the overall problem dates to the end of the Second World War. This country's war production, which kept the British, the Russians, the Free French and smaller allied units in weapons, uniforms, trucks, food, ships and aircraft, was massive beyond belief. Hundreds of thousands of persons, men and women, "bucked rivets" and did other semi-skilled jobs in aircraft plants. Hundreds of thousands worked in shipyards and in the thousands of plants that turned out weapons, ammunition, and the varied tools of war.

The mobility of peoples in that period was spectacular to see in the form of sprawling trailer homes and in the crowded occupancy of all sorts of housing where the work went on. Once war ended the productive lives of several million Americans slacked off and slowly came to an end.

The South's out-migration had been stepped up as early as 1914. It continued. Today the slums have second, even third generations that came out of the South to do labor or semi-skilled jobs that no longer exist.

This is merely part of the background. It will take years to change the slums. But the immediacy of the problem requires a strong, continuing beginning. We are all involved.

POVERTY 4/14/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

FARMER PICTURED AS U.S. SCAPEGOAT

Farm Bureau Head Says He Suffers for Inflation Policy

ITHACA, N. Y., April 13 (AP) — Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, said tonight that the Johnson Administration was making the farmer a whipping boy for inflation generated by the Government's own spending policies.

The farm official contended that the producer was getting "the double whammy" from the Administration in the form of legislative recommendations to force farmers to pay higher wages and in administrative actions designed to decrease the prices of farm products.

In a speech prepared for a Cornell University forum, Mr. Shuman said:

"President Johnson knows as well as nearly every taxpayer that his irresponsible spending, which exceeds anything in the history of this country, is the real force driving up prices and deflating the value of the dollar.

"And now that the Administration publicly admits that inflation is here, it is seeking the Administration publicly admits that inflation is here, the scapegoat to divert public attention from the real culprit."

Special Impact Noted

Mr. Shuman said farmers were paying a higher price for inflation than any other group. He said their production costs had increased from $26.2-billion in 1960 to $30.3-billion in 1965.

He listed the following Administration actions designed to depress farm prices:

¶Curtailment of military purchases of pork.

¶Government "dumping" of surplus grains.

¶Increased imports of cheese.

¶Imposition of tight quotas on exports of hides, mainly cattle hides.

¶Forecasts by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman that farm prices would drop 6 to 10 per cent this year.

Mr. Shuman said the economic picture for farmers was much worse than farm income figures indicated.

While realized net farm income—the amount left after deduction of production costs—went from $11.7-billion in 1960 to $14.1-billion in 1965, he said, nearly $2.5-billion of the 1965 income came from Government subsidies and not from the marketplace.

Reuther Asks for More Poverty Funds

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13 — Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile workers, said today that President Johnson had made a "mistake" in not asking Congress for more money for the poverty program.

Mr. Reuther said that the President had asked for what he thought was politically palatable rather than "what he believes is necessary."

"It's a mistake to trim your sails before the fight," he declared.

He warned that unless bold action was taken, the bitter, frustrated poor would begin to "search for answers in the blindness of night, and reason will yield to riots and brotherhood will yield to bloodshed and we will tear asunder the fabric of our society."

Mr. Reuther made his remarks at the opening of a "Poor People's Poverty Convention" sponsored by the new Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a broadly based coalition of which he is president.

"There are people over on Capitol Hill who would like to water down and deny appropriations we need for the poverty program, using the situation in Southeast Asia as an excuse," he said.

$1.75-Billion Asked

President Johnson has asked for $1.75-billion for the program in the fiscal year beginning July 1. It is $250-million more than last year, but the money will be spread among many more communities.

Mr. Reuther talker of "making appropriations with an eyedropper" and said the Citizens Crusade should "mobilize a counter-thrust" to "stiffen the political backbones in Washington and get the kind of legislative decisions we need."

The meeting of nearly 1,000, some from impoverished sections of the country, included militant civil rights and civic action leaders, liberal clergy and philanthropists "the broadest coalition of concerned citizens ever gathered in the national capital."

United Press International Telephoto

Walter P. Reuther addresses the session in Washington.

He said that without the participation of many at the convention today, none of the recent civil rights legislation "would have been written."

Vice President Humphrey, who repeated many of Mr. Reuther's sentiments in a luncheon speech, said that "the war on poverty leaves no room for conscientious objectors. Everybody must participate."

The mood of the convention today was mutinous. Delegates from Harlem, the Mississippi Delta, Appalachia and the Wtts district of Los Angeles expressed outrage at how little was being done to help them, particularly by the Office of Economis Opportunity, which runs the national poverty program.

"O.E.O. ought to be ashamed of itself and the Federal Government ought to be ashamed of itself," declared Mrs. Unita Blackwell, an official of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. "If you don't help us catch up we are going to run off and leave you."

Tired of Speeches

Mrs. Blackwell said she was "tired of beautiful speeches." She charged that "hand-picked people" of white boards of supervisors, plantation owners and police chiefs were running the local poverty programs in Mississippi. "They're going to see me about my poverty," she said scornfully. "They kept me in poverty."

"We is the people, we is the poor people, we is the people you is supposed to help. The same men who pay us $3 a day and are bent in putting people off the land—that's the men who are on the poverty committee," she declared.

"You just come up with the resources, and we'll show you what we can do with the money," Mrs. Blackwell said.

In a workshop earlier, the audience shouted approval when the efforts of poverty office to involve the poor in local programs to help htemselves was described as "a failure so far."

Flag Desecration Bill

WASHINGTON, April 13 (AP) —The Senate Republican leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, introduced today a bill to make it a Federal offense to desecrate the American flag. He said there had been many instances of desecration of the flag recently and he had been surprised to learn there was no Federal law on the subject, only state statutes.

POVERTY

Winning Poverty War, Regional Chief Declares

AC 4/28/66

By ACHSAH NESMITH

"We're winning the war on poverty," Frank K. Sloan, Southeastern regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, told a press seminar here Wednesday.

"Like the war in Viet Nam, it won't be over tomorrow," he said. But he added that he felt the progress made had not been adequately reported by the press because so much of the nation's press had predicted its failure before the program got started.

"Many have a vested interest in being able to say it has not succeeded," Sloan said.

On the Job Corps, which the OEC acknowledges has been the most criticized of its activities, Sloan said the number of incidents of trouble between Job Corpsmen and authorities "is substantially less than at the average military installation," according to military and FBI reports.

CLOSE TO AVERAGE

"It's very close to the average of colleges in your local communities," he said, "and we take youngsters from the most grinding poverty, with less than nothing. They were already problems or they wouldn't be there."

Sloan said the war on poverty won't be won by the $1.75 billion a year or the workers contributed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, however. "It will be won by the genius of the idea.

"The people of this country have fought the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance down through the years since 1776," he said. "What couldn't be done with $40 billion (contributed by all public and private charities last year) and hundreds of thousands of dedicated volunteers can't be done by adding $1.75 billion more and putting a few hundred more dedicated people in the field."

CHANGE FOR POOR

But the change from doing things for the poor—giving him baskets of food or immunization shots or whatever—to doing things with the poor, is the genius of the program, Sloan said.

"The change in prepositions is the most important change in social welfare in the history of this country," he declared.

He stressed the importance not only of involving the poor in the solutions to their problems, but of involving the power structure of each community at every stage. "It's a hometown fight. You can't win unless the community is behind it."

"If we didn't get the message before, we got it from Watts, California," Sloan declared, "that America's lowest are not going to watch the fortunate three-fourths pull their motor boats up to Lake Lanier behind our new cars while their children sleep on the floor and starve."

Job Corps regional director Dr. Joseph Hart told an earlier meeting that less than 2 per cent of all Job Corpsmen had been involved in any incidents since its beginning.

He said 90 per cent of his recruits had medical and/or dental problems, 66 per cent were military rejects, and 70 per cent were on welfare or from welfare families at the time they joined.

"There have been some fantastic reports of the costs of training," he said. "But remember these youngsters have been losers for up to 20 years, and very little has been invested in them previously, while middle income youngsters' parents have been investing $1,000 or more a year in their improvement."

"The dropout rate (for Job Corps) is high, but only about half the dropout rate typical of college freshmen," he asserted.

Counting all the costs of facilities and buildings, he said, the 24-hour a day, seven-day a week program costs between $4,500 and $6,500 a year per trainee, but this relative cost goes down the longer each center is in operation.

"If you figured the costs of high school education that way it would seem prohibitive," he observed, noting that most people compare it with the tuition cost of colleges, without considering the costs of buildings and the substantial private and government subsidies provided colleges.

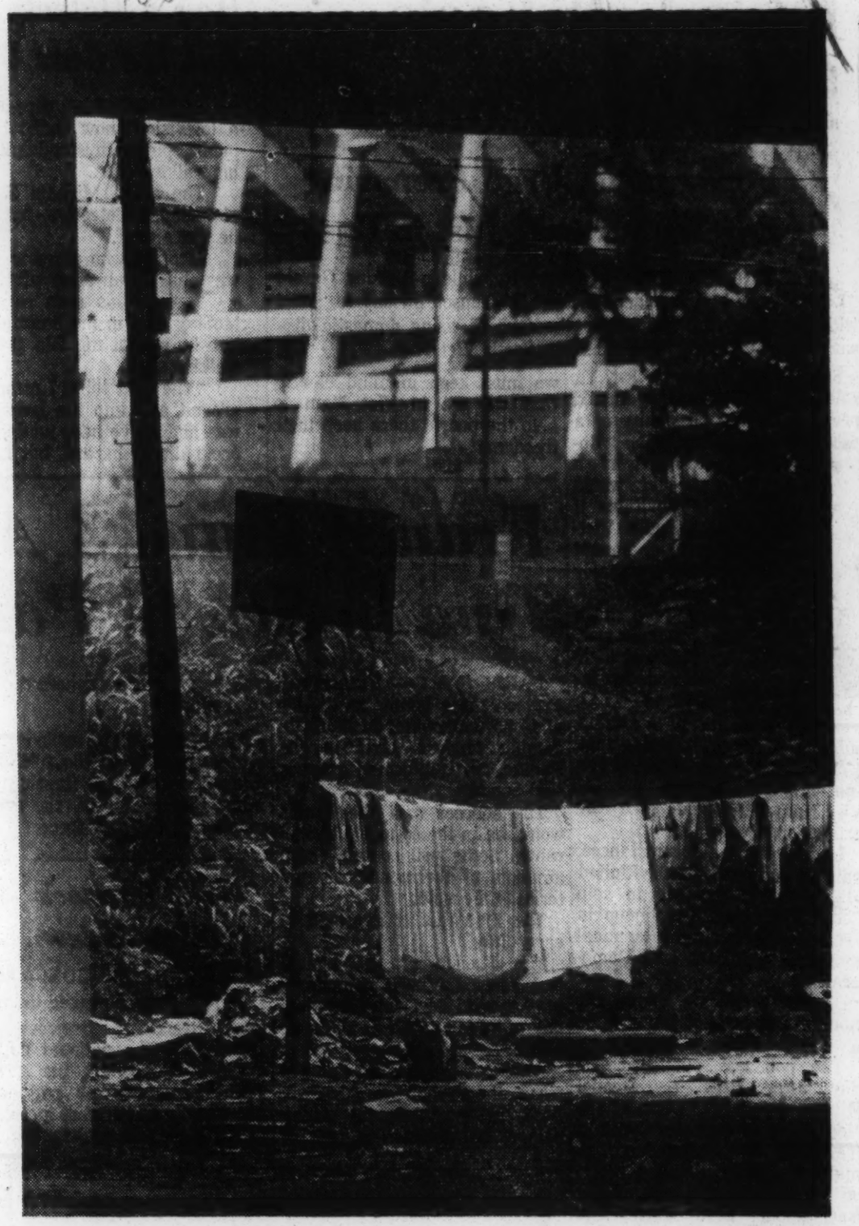
"If only 5 per cent get jobs and lead productive lives they will pay for the program," he said. Currently, 90 per cent of the "graduates" of Job Corps are holding jobs, he said.

Dr. Hart said 800 youngsters have completed their training at various levels and currently 24,000 more are in training.

POVERTY AC 5/23/66

Staff Photo—Robert Connell

Urban Renewal Clearance Often Hastens Decay of Adjacent Areas, Report Found



Staff Photos—Robert Connell

THE NEED FOR A PLACE TO PLAY IS HIGH ON LIST
Lack of Yard Space and Neighborhood Parks Makes It Acute

'THE SYSTEMS, TOO'
Duane Beck

Atlanta Director's Theory

What Is Poverty? It's A Lot of Problems

By ACHSAH NESMITH

"Poverty isn't just lacks—it's a tradition," Duane Beck, executive director of the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, feels.

That's why, as most Americans have come to realize, just filling particular lacks, like not enough food or medicine, or enough money at a given time, will not solve the problem of poverty.

"Poverty is a whole bunch of problems," he adds, involving housing, education, health, motivation, all of them affected by and affecting the tradition from which the individual and the family came.

CALLED A CYCLE

The whole bundle is called the cycle of poverty. The ultimate solution will affect what the society as a whole is and does in a number of other areas — courts, transportation, consumer sales patterns, recreation, even taxes.

grams of pre-natal care at Grady Hospital area basic solution. A family has hope of having time and finances to provide for their children's needs.

In time it should cut down on the percentage on mentally retarded and physially handicapped children who need special training. It should give mothers more adequate knowledge of caring for their children and themselves so that the next generation has fewer of the health problems that made many of their parents unemployable at 40.

That's breaking the "cycle of

for the white — a white boy can find a white banker."

"Inadequacy is never just in the individual — it's in the systems, too," Beck explains. "The systems do much to relieve inadequacy — through education, health and welfare programs, scholarships and other incentives. But sometimes we have to modify the systems, or create new ones."

What is the city's area of greatest need?

"The development of children because it can solve so many of the future's adult problems."

What is the biggest problem

City's Needs Highlighted

TASK FORCE report

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After Only 6 Years, Council's

What Is Poverty? It's A Lot of Problems

'THE SYSTEMS, TOO'
Duane Beck

By ACHSAH NESMITH

"Poverty isn't just lacks—it's a tradition," Duane Beck, executive director of the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, feels.

That's why, as most Americans have come to realize, just filling particular lacks, like not enough food or medicine, or enough money at a given time, will not solve the problem of poverty.

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CALLED A CYCLE

The whole bundle is called the cycle of poverty. The ultimate solution will affect what the society as a whole is and does in a number of other areas — courts, transportation, consumer sales patterns, recreation, even taxes.

As a society and as a city, the social planner from Pigeon, Mich., feels, "We're not very smart yet. We haven't accurately described the problems, related them to other problems. We've never really applied the thought process to social problem solving. We've simply reacted to situations—a hungry child by feeding it, a sick one by treating it. We're only beginning to look at the reasons why he's hungry and sick."

MATCHING SOLUTION

He sees the function of his organization as "compiling as much information as we need to match the solution to the problem. Not as much information as it's possible to find out, but as much as we need."

The council investigates, interviews, studies censuses and other figures and tries to describe the problem.

Then it tries to think up all the possible solutions "without getting cluttered up with how it's being done and your own biases."

At this point, and ideally only at this point, do they weigh the feasibility of any solution.

This means considering community attitudes, possibilities of financing, the relation to existing agencies and their functions. But it goes beyond even those.

"Any planning we do has to include thinking not just about programs but the climate that gives the individual security in that setting, the opportunity to practice" whatever the program is designed to give him.

In concrete terms, that means you can't just teach a person a trade.

WHAT IT MEANS

It means you look at whether a young mother, if taught a new skill so she can get a job, will have any place to leave her children. It means you consider how to instill in people the motivation to do a job if you train them, to learn what you offer to each them, to keep a cleaner house if you build it.

Going deeper, it means you look at the most basic causes and try to get at them.

This means instead of just attacking slow learners from poverty areas as educational problems, the health problems that contribute to their apathy must be attacked.

This may mean not only medical care for children, but prenatal care for mothers, and seeing that potential mothers get adequate nutrition and medical attention so that before the time comes they will be physically capable of producing healthy mentally competent children.

Thus, as Beck sees it, programs of pre-natal care at Grady Hospital area basic solution. A family has hope of having time and finances to provide for their children's needs.

In time it should cut down on the percentage on mentally retarded and physially handicapped children who need special training. It should give mothers more adequate knowledge of caring for their children and themselves so that the next generation has fewer of the health problems that made many of their parents unemployable at 40.

That's breaking the "cycle of poverty," but it involves other things — things like the motivation of a young boy whose father and grandfather never supported their families, whose mother and grandmother accepted this, who lives in a neighborhood where two-thirds of the families or more are like this.

"They need models. One of the problems in our society is creating heroes," Beck feels. This is especially true of the Negro poor. "It may be better for the white — a white boy can find a white banker."

"Inadequacy is never just in the individual — it's in the systems, too," Beck explains. "The systems do much to relieve inadequacy — through education, health and welfare programs, scholarships and other incentives. But sometimes we have to modify the systems, or create new ones."

What is the city's area of greatest need?

"The development of children because it can solve so many of the future's adult problems."

What is the biggest problem of the moment?

"Housing. We don't have any one group thinking creatively about how to better house our community in all areas—private, public, non-profit—including zoning, taxation and all. There are a lot of theories but nobody in the community has handled it all. We need experimental research programs with a premium on new and better ideas, not just low income but all housing."

City's Needs Highlighted

Two reports by the Community Council, one written in February, the other completed this month, point up many areas of Atlanta's needs.

The first, an interim report on Social Blight and Its Causes is one of four scheduled reports designed to help urban renewal deal with the social problems that cause and exist in physical blight.

It highlights several things known in a general way but not quite admitted by most Atlantans:

That city services — street repair, lights, garbage collection, sewers, street cleaning — often completely pass over slum areas, and housing codes are enforced least where enforcement is most needed.

That having to take a day off when they can't earn a living wage working every day often means the poor don't take advantage of free services, particularly preventive health services, that could reduce many more serious problems in the long haul. Transportation problems also cut off many from free services.

NON-ATTENDANCE

A high percentage of slum children rarely, if ever, attend school despite compulsory attendance laws. Reasons include caring for still younger children, lack of clothes and lunch money, parental indifference, poor preparation that makes them behind from the first day.

Average incomes of most mother-supported families and many two-parent families could not provide adequate food and shelter under administration by an expert. Lack of time, transportation and knowledge and the fact that the poor almost always pay more and get less multiply the problems when usually the mothers themselves were born with health problems.

"Backgrounds for Decision Making," just completed, was designed as a guide to budget committees of what now exists in the health and service fields in Atlanta.

It contains suggestions for expansion, filling gaps and where totally new services are needed. Though it is not a depth study or anything like one, it contains some useful discoveries.

There are no facilities or agencies in Atlanta currently treating drug addiction. The problem is handled as a criminal one except that addicts who cannot afford private treatment are referred to the federal installation at Lexington, Ky.

"Backgrounds" recommends first that it be determined why this is so, and if programs for addicts seem practical, that they be designed to avoid duplication of effort or wide gaps in services.

The Council found a duplication of some services for alcoholics while others were totally absent. They recommended adding treatment of alcoholics in hospitals under the diagnosis of their addictions, development of partial hospitalization, allowing the alcoholic to work during the day but live under supervised conditions at night, more emergency clinics for alcoholics and addicts in acute phases.

AND THE RETARDED

Trainable mentally retarded children have received little attention in this area. More training opportunities as well as day care facilities geared to their special needs, perhaps in family day care situations with small groups, were suggested, along with more help for parents facing and coping with the problem.

In the nursing home field, the council found a great need for beds for terminal cancer patients, as well as a general expansion of non-profit homes charging medium rates to meet Medicare's demands.

Because of Medicare, as well as half a dozen other areas of health needs remaining unmet, the Council suggests a significant increase in the size of the Visiting Nurse Association Staff, which now numbers only 23.

Daycare facilities, both for very young children and for older children during after-school hours, could be a key to narrowing the educational and health gaps for youngsters in poverty areas, as well as providing supervision that could cut crime rates later, stimulate motivation that could break the poverty cycle and free mothers who must work.

In addition, the Council found a serious need for expanded dental services to the poor.

Crippled children suffering from certain diseases are currently not eligible for treatment at existing centers.

Some means of coordinating the various services for rehabilitating physically handicapped children and adults is "badly needed."

Council Shaping Atlanta's Future By Coordinating Social Services

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., is one of the quiet forces shaping the future of Atlanta's people by studying, planning and coordinating social services.

Achsah Nesmith

Bob Connell

Constitution reporter Achsah Nesmith talked with executive director Duane Beck about his theories of what the problems are and how to go about solving them and reviewed some of the council's work so far. Photographer Robert Connell zeroed in on some of the problems the council's research and planning aim at solving.

Staff Photos—Robert Connell

THE NEED FOR A PLACE TO PLAY IS HIGH ON LIST
Lack of Yard Space and Neighborhood Parks Makes It Acute

TASK FORCE report

Page 10 Monday, May 23, 1966

After Only 6 Years, Council's Work Is Much in Evidence

For a six-year-old, it's done a lot.

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area Inc., one of the lesser known shapers of Atlanta's future, works through suggestion and research. It has no official power and anything it decides should be done has to be done by somebody else. It plans without power to carry out, the oldest known way to disappear without making the slightest mark.

"We sit around and think," executive director Duane Beck says of his operation.

But six years after its creation the results of the council's thoughts are all about us, not always as the council envisioned them, but recognizable.

The council designed the basic program and structure of Economic Opportunity Atlanta. The West End Project, on which the neighborhood centers were based, was a council demonstration project long before President Lyndon B. Johnson was even in office.

The project represented a new approach to some old social problems in Atlanta. Recognizing the fact that many of the health and welfare agencies in Atlanta had the same customers, and many of these people were still not getting help with the basic causes of their problems, the project tried for the first time to offer all the needed services from one location near where the people lived. It attempted to treat the multi-problem family or individual as a whole, instead of a health problem, a welfare case, a job seeker.

This involved not only cooperation of services from many sources, both public and private, but also going to the people rather than waiting for them to come to the service.

But the war on poverty is only part of the work of the Community Council.

After an initial inventory of hospital and health services in the metropolitan area, which brought out particularly the need for psychiatric beds and the shortage of trained people in all the paramedical fields, the council has set up a Hospital and Health Planning department with a federal matching grant.

Finding recruits and additional training opportunities to meet the current and future needs in the health services has been a major interest from the beginning.

Originally financed by the United Appeal and foundation grants, usually for specific studies and projects, the council still does many of its studies on contract, but is developing a basic budget base from the Appeal and local governmental and private sources of funds. This will allow greater local determination of projects, the board feels, and more continuity.

Staff Photo—Robert Connell

'Poverty Is a Tradition'—Discouragement and Habits Go Back Generations

The Poor, Unable to Buy in Volume, Found to Pay High Prices for Food

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11—The poor pay more for food than consumers in higher income areas, the Government reported today.

The reason, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said, is not that the poor are charged more but that they tend to buy in smaller quantities, which cost more per unit: They often cannot take advantage of the economy of buying in larger amounts.

The report also said that quality and service tended to be better in stores in higher-income areas.

The bureau found in one example that a small independent food store in a low-income neighborhood sold flour in two-pound sacks preferred by local families while five-pound sacks were the most popular in higher-income-area chain and large independent stores.

Price Differential Found

It found that the price for flour ranged from 14 per cent a pound higher in New York to 35 per cent higher in Chicago when purchased in two-pound sacks rather than five-pound sacks. Yet, the price for a five-pound sack in chain stores in low-income neighborhoods was nearly the same as in the higher-income areas.

Sugar sold in two-pound packages, the bureau said, ranges from 13 per cent higher in Atlanta to 39 per cent higher in Chicago than in five-pound packages. Milk in quart containers, the size favored in poor areas, ranges 1 per cent higher in Atlanta to 23 per cent higher in Washington over a half-gallon container.

"No significant differences" exist in prices charged by food stores in low-income areas as against prices charged in higher-income areas even when the same types of stores, same qualities and quantities of foods and the same types of packages are compared, the bureau said.

Small Stores Charge More

"Prices usually are higher, however, in the small independent stores which are most common in the low-income neighborhoods than in the larger independents and chain stores which predominate in the higher-income areas," the bureau declared.

The bureau, which made the study for the National Commission on Food Marketing in six metropolitan areas, found that in New York and Houston small independents charged slightly less for 18 identical food items used in the survey.

Food products that cost $10 in New York chain stores situated in a higher-income area cost 35 cents less in small independents in a low-income area. The same products cost $11.50 in a large independent store.

In Houston, the same $10 chain-store food basket costs $9.37 in small independents but $11 in the large independents.

In Atlanta, however, the $10 worth of items from the higher-income area chain costs $11.50 in the small independents and $11 at the large independent. In Chicago, the small independent collects $10.20 and the large independent $9.50. In Washington, the small independent charges $10 and the large independent got $10.50. In Los Angeles, the $10 cost is the same for all three types of stores.

Subject of Controversy

The foods were of the same quantity and quality used by the bureau in its monthly Consumer Price Index. In some cases they used identical brands.

The study was made Feb. 21-25. It covered 30 stores in each city, 15 each in low-income and high-income neighborhoods.

The question whether the poor pay more for food has arisen frequently recently. It came before the National Commission on Food Marketing during its two-year study of food marketing that ranged from farms to retail stores. The issue also prompted allegations that chain stores avoided low-income areas, leaving low-income families to the mercy of higher prices.

Against Compulsory Law

Arnold E. Chase, Assistant Commissioner for Prices and Living Conditions of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, said in a briefing on the study that the bureau did not direct itself to the question of why chains generally stayed out of low-income areas.

Dr. George L. Brandow, executive director of the food commission, said that "when chain stores consider expansion opportunities for larger profits they find them in urban areas."

"When the poor congregate in slums the market is higher," he declared.

Dr. Brandow said there was no reason for the commission to recommend legislation to Congress to force chain stores into low-income areas. He observed, however, that chains might "tailor stores to fit the needs of a community."

Dr. Brandow noted that one chain in Detroit operated stores in lower-income areas under a different name from its usual company name. He said chains might stock these stores with products that sell at "substantial discounts."

Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of Queens, who is a member of the food commission, said today that he was seeking a way to induce chain stores to enter low-income areas with volume purchasing and lower prices to meet the needs of the poor.

He said that he had been considering a bill that would call for some kind of subsidy, tax incentive or low-interest loans to chains. He pointed out, however, that this might speed mergers and permit domination of markets.

At the same time, he said, Government aid to "Mom and Pop" stores in poor neighborhoods might "subsidize inefficiency."

The commission, authorized by Congress two years ago, has completed its report, which is scheduled to be made public July 1. It reportedly will call for tighter reins on mergers of big food companies to prevent the "concentration of purchasing power" that weakens competition.

This concentration is not yet high enough to impair competition, it was learned, the report says, but it cautions that the Government should set up better safeguards through the Federal Trade Commission and other regulatory agencies. More consumer protection is proposed through compulsory grades in all food products and standardization of packaged products.

The report also calls for more aid to farmers, including the creation of agricultural marketing boards to strengthen producers' bargaining position as their food products enter the market.

For Promotion of Chains

The report was adopted by a 9-to-6 vote recently. Three minority members will publish separate views. Separate dissenting statements are also expected from the other three minority members.

Mrs. Esther Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, said in a statement on the Bureau of Labor Statistics study that positive steps by the Government to promote expansion of supermarkets into high-density city neighborhoods merited consideration.

AN INCOME FLOOR IN GHETTO URGED

POVERTY

Dr. Clark Sees Threat to Negro's Sense of Dignity in Moynihan Proposal

12/14/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—A former Administration official now in academic life told the Senate today that a key element of any program to upgrade the lives of Negroes in ghettos should be some form of guaranteed minimum family income.

Shortly afterward, in the same forum, a prominent Negro psychologist asked whether this could be done without grave risk to a Negro's sense of dignity, worth and self-esteem.

The two men who engaged in this discussion were Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a high Labor Department official in Kennedy Administration, now director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Kenneth B. Clark, a New York psychologist.

Both appeared before a Senate Government Operations subcommittee, which is nearing the end of a long investigation into the causes of and possible cures for the problems of American cities.

The areas of agreement between the two were large. They agreed that the slum problem was essentially a problem of the urban Negro and that most

Continued on Page 42, Column 3

AN INCOME FLOOR IN GHETTO URGED

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

existing Government programs were of marginal utility in improving the condition of the ghetto.

Moreover, while neither appeared willing to abandon his own personal vision of a multiracial society, both acknowledged that widespread desegregation was many years away.

"It just isn't going to happen in this generation," Mr. Moynihan declared.

Mr. Clark did not dissent.

However, they disagreed sharply over the appropriate remedies for helping the Negro in what they agreed was, and would continue to be, a fundamentally biracial society.

Mr. Moynihan's basic case was that one of the main causes of instability and despair in the ghetto is the breakdown of the Negro family, a subject on which he wrote a controversial report last year. The report found, among other things, that many Negro men left home when they could not find jobs, in order to make their families eligible for welfare assistance.

To arrest this deterioration, Mr. Moynihan suggested today a dual attack involving "guaranteed employment for men" and a "regular program of income maintenance." The two must be joined, he argued, because "even full employment will no longer produce a family income in the United States at a level necessary to maintain social stability in the slums."

Calls $80 Pay Inadequate

"You can't raise a family in New York on $80 a week," he said.

Mr. Moynihan said he would have much preferred to see the last Congress enact these two ideas into law rather than the hundreds of measures it did pass. He said there were few Government programs now on the books that appeared to be encouraging improvements in the "social fabric" of slum life or the Negro family.

At one point the sociologist startled the subcommittee by disputing the popular notion that ghetto life can be significantly improved through heavy financing of education.

"Pouring money into slum schools makes very little difference," he said.

He suggested that no matter how good the schools were they could not always reach the product of a broken home and an environment in which few of the males find work.

"Education," he said, "is not something that principally takes place in schools."

In his testimony this afternoon, Dr. Clark applauded the Moyniham Report's illumination of the "relationship between male desertion and employment."

But he told newsmen later the schools remained key points of "leverage" in the slums. And he told the committee that "ghetto schools must become models of educational excellence" even if society has to make a disproportionate effort to do it.

Moreover, he told reporters afterward that "we can't use the pathology of the slums as an excuse for the underachievement of Negro children in the schools."

"We have to look at what goes on in the classrooms, and when you do that you must conclude that the schools are poor and unresponsive," he said.

Dr. Clark did not totally reject the Moynihan idea of some kind of guaranteed family allowance. In fact, he told the committee that "the possibility for dignity simply does not exist" in an environment of "stark material deprivation."

However, he said some way must be found to channel funds to Negro families to avoid the "dehumanizing" impact that, he said, the present system of welfare payments has on its beneficiaries.

Unless such a system is found, he added, even an immediate payment of $5,000 to slum families "would not affect one iota the observable pathology of the slums."

PRISONS

THIRD UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN
AUGUST 9 – 18, 1965

RAPPORTEURS' SUMMARIES

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AGENDA ITEM I --- SOCIAL CHANGE AND CRIMINALITY
RAPPORTEUR: Mr. Marshall Clinard

1. During the course of the discussion, participants sought to determine whether and in which ways certain changes in a society may affect the incidence of delinquency and criminality. The discussion also turned on whether the legal system adequately reflected social change in the sense of change in the institutional structure and behavioural patterns of a society or nation. It was observed that all countries undergo change, but that the contemporary world appeared to be particularly characterized by rapid and important changes. Some changes may be imperceptible over short periods, and rates of change may differ from one society to another, and within a society certain institutional patterns may be more stable than others.

2. Changes in social institutions occur in all societies, and it is erroneous to assume that changes are associated primarily with developing countries; in fact, there are indications that some types of social change may be even more rapid in the developed countries. Likewise, it was recalled that many so-called developed countries are in some geographic areas as likely to be as underdeveloped as countries labeled as less-developed.

3. It was agreed that economic explanations of crime are not fully satisfactory in all countries. While developing countries are likely to attribute their crime and delinquency rates exclusively to poverty and unemployment, and while certain developed countries are likely to attribute some of their crime to poverty in slum areas, the incidence of crime and delinquency appears to be extensive in countries which are economically highly developed. Such a situation is confusing and in a sense discouraging to developing countries. It appears that in both highly industrialized and developing countries the answers may well lie primarily in factors other than economic, namely, in urbanization, in new values and norms and in changes in social control.

4. While there was some dissent, the consensus was that the factors in causes of delinquency and crime must be sought not so much in the individual or in his family as in the broader social and political changes taking place in his environment. Consequently, in formulating measures of social defence this approach must be taken into consideration.

5. It was pointed out that, in Japan, for example, where industrial development and the standard of living has rapidly risen, there has been a considerable increase in youth crime since the Second WorldWar. The spread of ideas of freedom and equality and the interpretation of these ideas by young people resulted in many of them becoming preoccupied with the desire to have more and more consumer goods and pleasures. Many of them appear to have almost unlimited desires for such possessions. In this context it is not poverty that lies behind criminality, but desire for the multi-variety of consumer items available and for enjoying life.

6. Laws do not always keep up with the social changes occuring in a society, with the result that crimes occur and criminals are made by laws sociologically no longer acceptable to the society. Evidence was cited, for example, of sex laws in many countries which appear no longer to be in accord with the sentiments and attitudes of the people as a whole. Another example is the existence of laws

making drunkenness a criminal offence and some efforts are now being made in several countries to change such laws. It is often assumed that laws are supported by the people, and this may not necessarily be the case. Research should therefore be conducted on the changing moral judgments of the population. In some cases, however, new criminal laws have reflected changes in and affirmation of fundamental new values, as in the case of newer legislation in some countries eliminating racial discrimination or guaranteeing equality of women.

7. It was observed that there is in most countries an increasing recourse to social control through law to replace the decline in family, religious, tribal, village and caste controls. There was general agreement that, in the enactment of new laws in both developed and developing countries, caution should be exercised in the exclusive employment of the criminal sanction, since this tends to designate as criminals persons who might not otherwise be so considered. In place of strict legal measures, efforts should be made to deal with new forms of deviant behavior by the use of other types of sanctions. It is also possible to eliminate certain categories of criminal offenders, such as alcoholics or certain motor vehicle violators, by the use of other measures.

8. Nearly all countries reported an increase in crime and delinquency which presumably reflects social changes in the society affecting the violation of legal norms. Some participants from countries with centrally planned economies reported that delinquency and criminality had decreased during recent years. This was attributed to changes in the social system primarily through the elimination of unemployment, increase in literacy, provision of more cultural and recreational activities and strengthening youth morale, as well as through enlisting the support of the average person in the condemnation of deviant behaviour. The substitution of non-criminal sanctions in place of penal measures for certain offences was also said to have contributed to this reduction.

9. Criminal statistics, which measure assumed increase in delinquency and criminality, as well as comparisons between the statistics in different countries, should be utilized with great caution. An increase in delinquency or youth crime for example, may reflect population growth in the younger age categories and improved reporting measures, as well as the availability of more police and judicial facilities which may result in the processing of more persons and the stricter enforcement of some laws. At certain times there may also be less tolerance by the public of certain offences, thus putting pressure on governmental authorities to enforce the laws by making more arrests. An increase may also reflect the transfer of social control from the family and other institutions to the legal measures of the political state, even though the same number of offences had previously occured. New laws, or the greater use of existing laws due to changes in the society, may also tend to increase the incidence of delinquency and criminality. Greatly increased use of motor vehicles may add to the total amount of delinquency and criminality. Likewise, the more rigorous enforcement of laws dealing with liquor violations among youths will inflate delinquency figures. Increased delinquency and crime may reflect more general public concern, and consequently a tendency for the police to apprehend more persons in certain age groups or for certain offences.

10. In making comparative appraisals of crime and delinquency in various countries, extreme caution must be exercised because of the differences in the reliability of the statistics, the degree to which statistical data are generally available, the degree of enforcement of laws, and whether or not the laws are identical or comparable. When comparing developing countries with the more developed, for example, the comparative absence of motor vehicles and knowledge of how to operate them in the developing countries makes for less offences of this type and may make it difficult to compare accurately the incidence of delinquency and crime in the two types of countries.

11. Usually statistics on delinquency and crime are presented for the whole country, and judgments of increase or decrease are based on such figures to show the effect of social change. This is highly misleading, for there may actually be great variations within a given country. The figures for a given country may also reflect the degree of urbanization and cases where no distinction is made between criminality in urban and rural areas.

12. It is likely that, as a society becomes more complex in its social organization and industrial development, more legislation will be needed. Consequently, the incidence of crimes may be expected to increase. In this regard, developing countries are faced with special problems as they progress toward a more highly industrialized stage. Violations of commercial and industrial regulations may be cited as examples. For instance, countries may enact compulsory health insurance which, in turn, may produce cases of fraud which did not previously arise; increased regulation of motor vehicles or new forms of taxation may likewise increase criminality.

13. The view that crime is associated with urbanization was repeatedly expressed in the discussion, and one contention was that a higher rate of criminality existed in large urban areas, that crime increased by city size and that criminality was related to the changing social structure presented to rural migrants moving to urban areas. On the other hand, it was contended that in some situations urbanization had not been associated with criminality.

14. While there were differences in the other aspects of crime in developed and developing countries, they appear to have one thing in common, namely, that urbanization is associated with increased delinquency and crime. Urbanization appears to afford an opportunity for greater impersonality. It gives rise, inter alia, to different social values, some of which are conducive to criminality and delinquency; to greater freedom of action, more temptations for violations of law, and a general decline in social controls exerted through the family, such as family reputation, as well as tribal, village, caste, or other associations; and to a breakdown in communication between age groups due to the absence of the family members from home and different occupations and education of the younger and older members. Urbanization may introduce new norms, result in new forms of social control and necessitate changes in the legal system and even in measures of correctional treatment. It is impossible to reverse this on-rushing tide of urbanization, and its role must therefore be accepted and measures devised to cope with it.

15. The effect of urbanization appears to be particularly pronounced among youths. It is largely for this reason that almost throughout the world criminals are young urban persons. Most delinquency and crime occurs among those under the age of twenty. Several participants mentioned that the growth of cities often resulted in a largely separate youth culture, separated from adult controls and with its own norms and standards which can readily lead to forms of delinquency and crime as accepted forms of recreation, excitement or ways of obtaining material goods. Youth in most countries tends to be isolated from the general society. Several countries reported that youth tends to be in conflict with the norms of the general society.

16. There are some indications that the motivations for youth crime may be somewhat different in the developed and less developed countries. In the more developed countries, the behavior may be a product of affluence, of youth lacking a challenge under urban conditions, and relatively little pressure on them to work. Long years of schooling may increasingly separate youths from adults and from playing an important substantive role in society. In the slums of affluent societies, the impact of a separate youth culture may have serious consequences. On the other hand, in the less developed and developing countries the impact of urban life on village migrants, detribalization and loss of other ties, and the impact of a widespread slum way of life with its often deviant norms and standards on migrants may have great effect upon youth criminality.

17. Another factor contributing particularly to youth crime is the tendency toward greater individualization in many contemporary societies. In addition to urbanization, industrialization and decline of social controls, there is also increasing emphasis today upon individual freedom of action. Democratic values, particularly as they are taught in the schools, the emphasis upon the individual and his need for freedom of action, the frequently expressed desire to free the individual from traditional controls may have great consequences upon the behavior of youths. As one speaker said, it may be that delinquency and crime might indeed be part of the price which had to be paid for freeing the individual all over the world which sometimes led to his rebellion against existing forms of society. It was, therefore, essential that special emphasis should be laid on the improvement of social institutions with a view to seeking to teach young people the responsible use of freedom.

18. The correlation between youth and criminality presents great potential problems for developing countries. There is a higher proportion of individuals under the age of twenty than in many developed countries, and in some developing countries the percentage of persons in this age group may run as high as fifty per cent. Moreover, it was pointed out that, in some countries, as in Africa, the population of the cities consists primarily of younger persons; rather than speaking of a youth sub-culture, one could therefore well characterize such cities as consisting of a dominant youth culture with the older population a minority. The preponderance of youths in the cities of many developing countries presents a particularly dangerous situation as disruptive values are introduced and as technological changes, such as the presence of motor vehicles, increase..

19. It was generally recognized that the decline in family controls, due to changes such as urbanization, has had considerable consequences on the development of delinquency and crime. At the same time, it was generally agreed that the traditional role of the family would be difficult to reinstate fully under urban conditions. A number of participants stressed the need to find means of strengthening the family as much as possible in an urban setting. This was considered particularly important in the case of migrant families to the city. Governments should emphasize the importance of the family and give social assistance to strengthening it whenever possible. In this connection, the need to devise methods of helping families to adjust to difficult urban conditions was recognized.

20. Because of rapid changes in contemporary society and of increased education and literacy, there are increasing conflicts between youths and adults particularly in urban areas of developing countries. Under urban conditions there is often a decline in the concept of family honour and families--rather than supporting punishment by legal authorities--often try to see that the authorities do not take action, even though the families themselves have not done so.

21. A number of participants stressed the importance of involving the public in efforts to cope with problems produced by social change: there was need to involve more ordinary persons rather than relying exclusively on governmental agencies and legal processes in coping with problems presented by social change. Particularly in urban areas, the control of delinquency and crime should also be considered as part of the responsibility of the ordinary citizen. This might involve more efforts at the local community level, responsibility for dealing with crime being assumed by smaller administrative units, and there should be greater involvement of persons in groups representing potential risks for delinquency and crime, such as lower class persons and particularly urban youths. In fact, an experimental program in Puerto Rico was described which involved the return of recovered young, urban drug addicts to their local communities to help deal with problems of drug addiction. It was suggested that this method may offer similar possibilities for the employment of former delinquents and criminals in helping to change the attitudes of their local communities.

22. Despite pronounced changes in the general society, most developing countries have not introduced sufficient changes in their programs to deal with delinquency and crime. It was pointed out, however, that new nations should be extremely selective in their choice of measures to deal with delinquency and crime. Changes in the understanding of the nature of delinquency and crime as well as differences in their own problems and available resources mean that the application of methods used in other parts of the world may be unsuitable.

23. The expansion of education facilities may in itself be unsuccessful in dealing with deviant behaviour of youth; there is need for more specific education on the values of society, in problems of social relationships and in the understanding of national objectives and values.

24. It was suggested that there needs to be extensive research on the relation between the dynamics of social change and criminality. Changes in values do not necessarily lead to criminality. It is necessary to demonstrate in what specific way change affects delinquent and criminal behaviour. Many existing studies of criminal behaviour, dealing as they do with a past situation, may be no longer valid or applicable because of changes subsequently taking place in a society. There is need for more studies of contemporary social change and of the relation existing between social change and criminality. Such studies and predictions of future trends might do much to develop a more effective and realistic prevention and treatment programme.

25. Delinquency and crime appears to occur in varying degrees and in different forms in countries with differing political structures, varying stages of economic development, and different types of economic systems. Several participants urged that there should be more coordinated comparative studies of the relation between social change and delinquency and crime. One system suggested that such studies might well be longitudinal research on groups of children and adolescents which could be followed up over a period of time to determine the effects of social change in the society. Research on social change, however, is complicated by difficulties in devising adequate quantitative indices, for measuring, for example, such factors as "decline in family controls" or the presence of "individualistic values." It was felt by several persons that the United Nations should undertake such a coordinated comparative research programme and expand its research studies in this field.

AGENDA ITEM II - SOCIAL FORCES AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIMINALITY
(with particular reference to the public, the family, educational facilities and occupational opportunities)

RAPPORTEUR: Dr. T. Asuni

1. Social forces, in one way or another, have some bearing on the control of juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. Among these forces are public opinion, religion, education, urbanization, migration from rural to urban areas and industrialization. It was observed that although these social forces may not in themselves be regarded as either preventive of or conducive to crime, they are capable of engendering certain collective attitudes towards fundamental social value or direction, as a consequence of rapid social, economic and political changes. Hence, if social defence preventive programs are to achieve any measure of success, they must recognize these essential factors and the attitudes which they engender.

2. The nature of public participation in crime preventive measures would depend, among other factors, on the political or economic systems of the countries concerned. In communities where the people exert a large measure of influence on the exercise of public authority, there is greater concordance between legislation and the administration of justice, on the one hand, and the general sense of justice and morality on the other. No matter how well organized and advanced the police, judiciary and penal institutions are, their efforts will not achieve optimum results without the participation and collaboration of the public.

3. Various speakers described different forms of participation by the public in crime prevention. In some countries, peoples' volunteer militia units, whose task it is to preserve law and order, have been constituted. The participation of schoolchildren in the control of traffic is another example. The public could also participate in adjudication and the administration of justice. Comradeship courts, for instance, have been established in some countries to function in specific occupational settings and to deal with various forms of misdemeanour. Thus drunken drivers are tried in clubs for drivers, in the expectation that this will have a deterrent effect on other drivers. In one country more than a quarter of all cases are dealt with in this way, through comradeship courts.

4. In most countries the public, in one form or another, also participates in the rehabilitation of offenders. Private citizens help to carry out educational work in penal institutions in order to raise the level of technical training for detainees. They also assist in placing discharged prisoners and ex-inmates of delinquency institutions in employment and may act as voluntary after-care agents.

5. The participation of the public can also be seen in such experiments as an urban police program in California, where a Community Relations Division has been set up in order to establish close liaison with the public. Discussion groups have been organized with teachers, clergymen, businessmen and others taking part, and police officers give talks to schoolchildren on good citizenship. The police arrange sports meetings for children, especially in less privileged sectors of the city. They also employ voluntary police officers. These measures are calculated to make the police appear less threatening, authoritarian and remote.

6. Youth organizations established and run by voluntary agencies, where some educational program is followed, were also cited as a means of reducing criminality.

7. A note of warning was struck about the danger of the public taking the law into their own hands and misusing it; this danger calls for education in true citizenship, and for objectivity on the part of the public.

8. An example was cited from a country where, to facilitate the participation and cooperation of the public, the program for delinquency is decentralized. The State's role is mainly one of guidance and coordination. Arrangements are made with private institutions for the treatment of juveniles, and charitable organizations are closely involved in social services.

9. Educating the public so as to secure maximum cooperation in preventive programs is a necessity. Adult education and the elimination of illiteracy could be used to re-awaken family responsibility and improve the training of law officers, as well as to increase public participation in the prevention of crime.

10. It was suggested that methods of securing public cooperation should be given prominence in personnel training programs, and that mass media should be used to enlist the voluntary cooperation of the public.

11. A description was given of the steps taken in Guinea to combat crime over a certain period. These steps include the establishment of industrial complexes in rural areas in order to limit the internal migration of unskilled workers, a drastic reduction in imports of alcohol, and the dismissal of any worker found in a state of intoxication. It is claimed that these measures have markedly decreased criminality.

12. While to some participants affluence appeared to be a contributory cause, others said that it was not necessarily true that social and economic change was always followed by an increase in crime.

13. Economic development is at present the dominant preoccupation of developing countries. It was therefore urged that developing countries should at least include social scientists in their planning committees, in order to prevent possibly criminogenic elements from being included in development plans. Those aspects of crime prevention which relate to the role of the public and of the family, to educational facilities and to occupational opportunities should be taken into account when economic development plans are drawn up.

14. Participants emphasized the role of the family as an essential social force in the prevention of delinquency. Industrialization is said to encourage delinquency as adolescents become labour units rather than individuals. Migration from country to town weakens the cohesion of the family; and the attitude of adolescents towards their parents undergoes a change, to such an extent that parental control weakens and children are left to drift into reprehensible behavior. Instead of relying on their family for guidance, the adolescents tend to reject it.

Industrialization also alters the behavior of parents towards their children when both father and mother go to work and the children are left with aged persons who cannot keep them under proper control.

15. It was suggested that the State should establish social assistance committees and guidance centers and, in certain cases, provide allowances to strengthen families in need of help, and that negligent families should be penalized. Youngsters can best be influenced in a "face-to-face" group like the family. If the functions and structure of the family change or grow weaker, other "face-to-face" groups must be found to replace it; for example, in case of abandonment by the parents, the best solution is to rear the abandoned children not in an institution but in carefully selected foster-homes.

16. According to certain research studies, a high proportion of adult offenders were maladjusted and delinquent as children; a large percentage suffer from personality distortions, mental tensions and conflicts, and faulty habits; many of them come from broken homes or from homes in which the parents were not competent to carry out their duties efficiently; many delinquent children left school too early and received neither sufficient academic education nor useful vocational training. This research also shows that a large proportion of young adult offenders have never established even rudimentary habits of continuous and efficient work; that the highest proportion of delinquent children spring from communities in which processes of deterioration and disintegration are marked, manifesting themselves in certain cultural standards in conflict with the standards of the majority of citizens, and that inadequate programs of probation, parole and institutional treatment also have much to do with recidivism.

17. Anthropologists, social scientists, psychologists and medical officers should participate and collaborate in a greater measure on research on the prevention of crime.

18. The need for comparative criminology is urgent; it should involve replication of experiments in different areas. This would help to determine which of the etiological factors are constants and which are attributable to conditions peculiar to regional culture.

19. Prediction devices are another important area of research as a means of identifying potential delinquents at an early stage and of making timely intervention possible; prediction will also help to make the administration of criminal justice more efficient.

20 There is a serious need for the collection of more detailed and accurate data by the police and courts. Only if the extent of reported and hidden crime is known can adequate provision be made to combat it. Sociological studies in the population should also be undertaken. Evaluation machinery should be introduced into any project as from the planning stage so that it will be more easily possible to assess the result on a reliable basis. This calls for the assistance of social scientists in action programs.

21. There is also a great scarcity of ascertainable knowledge about the effects of preventive measures, and consequently much more research in this field is needed. Consideration should be given to the question of how best to publicize scientific experiments conducted in various countries. While some speakers stated that the real need was for applying the research ideas embodied in existing material, others emphasized the need for further research.

22. By virtue of its teaching-learning function and its function as an agent of change, the school has a great responsibility for influencing children and adolescents for good or for ill. A positive and diagnostic attitude towards the behaviour of the pupil, a greater differentiation of instruction in keeping with the wide range of individual differences among the pupils and a meaningful cirriculum for those pupils for whom purely academic objectives do not represent a reasonable and realistic goal, are essential. The core of the curriculum should be the communication of skills, proper use of leisure and training in occupational skills. Every effort should be made to improve group dynamics which involve different cultural attitudes and inter-personal relationships, since this hidden learning process often provides more effective learning experiences that are apparent from the visible curriculum. If teachers are to become sensitive observers and to intervene effectively in the handling of potentially maladjusted children and young persons, due attention will need to be paid in their recruitment to personality and professional training. The teachers should serve as examples through the development of strong inter-personal relationships, in order to combat the anonymity, impersonality and boredom which combine to produce a school drop-out, if not a delinquent.

23. The school, to the extent to which it can afford it, should provide and maintain certain special and essential services such as those of a doctor, psychologist, a social worker. Pupils vulnerable or exposed to the development of delinquent behaviour could be identified at an early stage by the teacher, and the early referral of such pupils to the appropriate agency could forestall more serious problems. Special attention should be given to such groups as pupils with difficulties, truants, poor readers, academic failures and school drop-outs as part of the most vulnerable group.

24. The school should improve its partnership role within the total community complex of health and welfare agencies and the homes of the children. These co-operative programs may include efforts by the school and the police, school action in conjunction with agencies of mass communication, extension of schooling to include adult education and action research programs conducted jointly by school and research institutes.

25. There is a close relationship between maladjustment and delinquency in children. The same type of background that makes one child maladjusted may make another delinquent. There is evidence that a high correlation exists between bad behaviour and poor school performance on the one hand, and delinquent behaviour on the other. Some of these cases, it was said, might be due to demonstrable medico-psychological factors, which could in fact be handled by trained professionals. Deviation of intelligence from the average, reaction to sexual development

in the older children, sibling rivalry and emotional upheaval at home may drive a child to delinquency. For all these and other similar reasons, it is essential that medico-psychological services should be made available to schools. Teachers should realize that there is often some medical or psychological reason for a child's bad behaviour and poor performance.

26. An example was given of the remedial class and tutorial class created to meet the needs of particular children in Israel, by establishing rehabilitation in which elementary school subjects and trades were taught by special teaching methods which developed in the pupils pride in their achievements. The negative competitive aspects of schooling, which might previously have contributed to maladjustment were eliminated. The curricula were designed to enable the pupils to progress at their own speed. Similarly, the classifying centres for delinquent children provide a way of placing different types of children in appropriate approved schools.

27. While it was stated by some that illiteracy tended to promote delinquency, others expressed the view that keen competition for higher education had been one of the causes of juvenile delinquency because of the frustration suffered by those left behind in the struggle. Priority is given to success in examinations, and emotional discipline and moral education are disregarded.

28. It was said that education should include in its program the inculcation of moral and spiritual values, and that the role of religion in education is important.

29. The education of parents is essential to their understanding of their children and the maintenance of healthy parent-child relationships.

30. Participants stressed the part played in juvenile delinquency and adult criminality by insufficient education, the absence of inadequacy or vocational training, and by the lack of opportunity, of work habits and of recreational facilities.

31. As regards the role of occupational opportunities it was emphasized that attention should be paid to sound, healthy attitudes, as well as skills. Some school children have been given orientation courses towards occupation before they leave school, and these have been found to be profitable with young people who had shown little interest in school work. Such programs could help them to realize the value of their particular job in the general scheme.

32. Educational programs should be adjusted to the changing world. Education and vocational training are not at present in keeping with the type and number of occupational opportunities available. Educational and training programs should, therefore, be preceded by economic surveys of the employment markets for a number of years ahead.

33. The organization of suitable vocational training and of an effective placement system is a major social responsibility. Youth employment agencies should co-operate with teachers, child welfare workers and social workers.

34. Where there is large-scale unemployment, especially in developing countries, it is difficult to find jobs for young persons. Methods which have been used to cope with such large-scale unemployment include the use of youth camps, youth brigades and agricultural settlements.

35. Unemployment for reasons other than economic was also discussed. An example was given of a project in which youths who could not attend vocational training courses because of inadequate elementary education are taught elementary school subjects, as well as trades. Special teaching methods had to be developed to engender in the students a personal pride in their achievement.

36. It was suggested that, to gain a better understanding of the appropriate measures to be introduced, it will be necessary to study types of delinquency and homogeneous groups of offenders. The study of the family should include both families of orientation and procreation.

37. The school provides an excellent environment in which longitudinal studies can be carried out; since the peak age of criminality is very low in the industrialized countries, it is feasible to study the development of a large proportion of the criminal population in the school.

38. In developing countries, where society had been able until the present time to support a certain amount of deviant behaviour, it would be enlightening to study whether the unemployment in developing communities will increase the crime rate, and how far community tolerance of greater deviant behaviour can be stretched.

39. The result of vocational training given in prisons requires study.

40. Emphasis was laid on the need for co-operation between research workers and practical field workers and it was noted that the latter should be influenced in their policy by the result of scientific research.

AGENDA ITEM III - COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION (with particular reference to the planning and implementation of medical, police and social programs.)
RAPPORTEUR: Miss Zuleika Sucupira Kenworthy

1. The main attention was devoted to the co-ordination and planning of measures and means of prevention.

2. It is perceived more plainly nowadays that, the more complex society becomes, the more difficult it is for the individual to abide by the law and uphold public order. It then becomes necessary to intensify the action of the community on each of its members, in order to reduce the risks of criminality.

3. In formulating policies and programs designed to foster a general improvement in living conditions or directly to prevent criminality, it is important to take into account the peculiarities and needs of each area, as well as the ways and means available to those who are to prepare and apply the policies and programs in question. The term "community" should therefore be understood not only in the national sense but also, on occasion, in the area or local sense of the term.

4. Several participants considered that, the higher the crime rate in an area or nation, the more desirable it was to centralize the programs and means brought into play. Such centralization would appear to make it possible to mobilize the potential positive forces in a society more quickly in order to avert phenomena of maladjustment.

5. Preventive measures are needed urgently throughout the world, though the degree of urgency varies from place to place. Criminality can be regarded as a lesion in society. Society must be mobilized to take, by adopting certain positive attitudes, cognizance of that lesion and action to prevent it. The more clearly a community perceives that its interests are directly at stake, the more dynamic, committed and active it will be in applying measures of community development. Efforts must be made to demonstrate more cogently that criminality is the direct concern of the community and of each of its members, not only in view of its moral effects but, by the same token, because of its economic impact. A nation's judicial, police and curative institutions require investment on a substantial scale. The citizen who is required to contribute to that investment through taxation must be convinced that the investment of more sizeable funds to promote preventive action is an economically profitable undertaking in the long run.

6. It was pointed out by way of example that all too often crime becomes easier in the towns, whereas a different attitude on the part of the community should make it more difficult.

7. Among the many illustrations offered by the participants we may mention that of Israel, where a "repopulation quarter" is being set up on an experimental basis; this is a sort of young people's city, situated near a town, and all the social services taking part in the anti-illiteracy campaign using individualized treatment are integrated in a highly functional manner from the outset.

8. In Mexico a Department of Social Prevention has been established with the principal aim of harnessing of the positive forces latent in the communities. This

Department is headed by community development specialists who are endeavouring to avoid the proliferation of Government and private action and to co-ordinate it into convergent, and therefore more effective, channels of effort.

9. Several participants stated in support of current experiments that there appeared to be much to gain by twinning central or local co-ordination bodies with research centres. Uganda is a case in point.

10. In India the action is co-ordinated by the central co-ordination agencies with a view to community development in all its aspects, including the prevention of crime.

11. In Thailand, where the crime rate doubled between 1962 and 1964, a National Centre for the Study of Youth Problems was established in conjunction with the National Research Council in 1963.

12. In the USSR the State, as co-ordinator, endeavours to entrust the work of prevention to local bodies whenever possible. The participation of various cells of the community is thus developed directly and the work of the State specialists is extended by volunteers. The procurator acts as the motive force in co-ordinating prevention efforts.

13. In the United States, instructive experiments in prevention are being made by small groups of citizens, who mobilize a community's interest in preventing internal disorders and thus spur official and private bodies to practical action.

14. Similar experiments are in progress in Japan.

15. One of the dominant problems of community development arises from the fact that, whereas a fair number of citizens often wish to participate in the prevention of social disorganization, it is difficult to make proper use of them at the right time. It is the function of professional community development officers to foresee the practical measures in which these citizens might participate.

16. In the USSR many experiments have shown that the professional people could play a very important part in preventing crime. It is interesting to discover why one enterprise should have a record of many offences and another be free of them. Methodical studies are being made with a view to eliminating the causes of such offences.

17. In the developing countries, new methods and techniques must be devised to mobilize the vast latent community resources peculiar to each type of civilization, and to harness them for preventive purposes. Stress must be laid, not on the phenomenon of urbanization alone, but chiefly on socio-cultural disintegration. Particular attention should therefore be paid to the consequences of rapid social and technological change, with a view to enabling the community, as this process of change goes on, to intensify the struggle against factors making for maladjustment and to enlist as many of its members as possible in that endeavour. One of the dominant themes of preventive action in these countries is that of enabling young people to acquire good habits of work which are closely co-ordinated with

economic progress. Measures of planning for the prevention of maladjustment should therefore be dovetailed--even more closely than in other parts of the world, it would seem--into the nation's general economic policy.

18. Developing countries are essentially countries in process of organization. This, therefore, is a good time at which to co-ordinate the infant structures. Population planning should hold a predominant place in the co-ordination of preventive efforts.

19. Many participants stressed the fact that the co-ordination of preventive efforts calls for specialists who, by using specific methods and techniques suited to each area, will increase the effectiveness of a general will to co-ordinate. All too often, for lack of specialists, this will remains sporadic or achieves no tangible results. It is therefore necessary to specify, for each type of structure, the exact functions it is intended to confer upon these new specialists in the humane sciences. Co-ordination is the fruit, not of friendly meetings, but of precise functional relationships. "Functional co-ordination" means the mechanization of all the agencies involved in order to increase their overall efficiency. Next, it is necessary to interpret the results, to modify policy accordingly, and to re-orient the available means, in accordance with the dynamic process, whenever a new stage is reached.

20. It was stressed that, in many countries, general preventive measures reached only the most exposed groups in the community. It is therefore necessary to institute programs which can reach such groups; street corner groups are an example.

21. Community development must strengthen the sense that, as society is developing at the present time, the individual is increasingly alone in the crowd. This apparent loneliness must be analysed, and suitable measures taken to overcome this trend. The preventive action taken must win the public over. This explains the importance of keeping a community informed, and of the participation of professional preventive staff in the work of specialists in the use of audio-visual information media.

22. The aim to be followed in the development of a community must be to regard one's neighbor, not as an interfering nuisance, but as a companion with whom certain relations can be maintained and certain exchanges carried on. Such development should therefore aim at increasingly high quality in the relations between individuals within a given group.

23. It was pointed out that the education of world public opinion in the matter of racial discrimination was an important form of preventive action in the struggle to stamp out this great crime against mankind.

24. The opinion emerged that, with the mass of information available in most countries, it would be possible even now to draw up much more specific programs of action and apply them without delay but that, at the same time, no effort must be spared--quite the contrary--to step up long-term research work.

25. As societies evolve, new maladies continually appear; in the economically developed countries new nervous diseases are now being diagnosed, schizophrenia

is on the increase, and so on. The mental factor plays an important role in criminality. The physician and, above all, the psychiatrist ought not to remain isolated in an ivory tower. It is observed, unfortunately, that in most countries the universities are further accentuating this isolation; the physician is trained as a specialist in therapy without being given a proper chance to familiarize himself with the structure of the society to which he belongs, and without being invited to take an adequate interest in questions of mental health and the prevention of crime.

26. Provided that they do not mechanically copy the Western countries, the developing countries will perhaps be able to arrest, by dynamic action in the mental health field, a great many of the phenomena of mental disorder which beset the economically developed countries.

27. Generally speaking it is found that, if he is to be able to master the whole complex of these problems today, the physician must join working teams composed, among others, of lawyers, sociologists, psychologists and social workers, in which the specialist in each discipline must be neither overestimated nor underestimated; each of them must play his due part, in accordance with his special skills, so that a better understanding may be reached of the behaviour of individuals from the pathological, neurological, psychological, sociological, cultural and other points of view. In view of the rapid changes taking place in social structures, it is important that experiments in interdisciplinary interchange in the humane sciences should be developed and intensified in number and quality. Thus all specialists, including the psychiatrist, should participate in the methodical compilation of dynamic statistics designed to provide information indicative of the prevailing trends.

28. In many countries, young physicians are much more attracted to private practice than to multi-disciplinary work in the field of social prevention. In order to reverse this trend it is necessary to demonstrate the importance of the latter field of endeavour, which will gradually emerge as the most vital of all.

29. In the developing countries, knowledge of prenatal factors and of the emotional attitudes peculiar to tropical areas, in particular, is decisive for the purpose of drawing up a balance-sheet of personality in which positive and negative factors are clearly brought out. The physician can play a leading role in contributing to the understanding of these phenomena and hence in fostering a realistic appreciation of behaviour patterns and of measures calculated to promote the formation of personality and character. This might facilitate, for example, the adaptation of school systems which, when they are based only on schemes left behind from the colonial era, all too often set up behavioural imbalances. In this connection, mention was made of an example furnished by Nigeria: namely, support for parents so that, despite sometimes abrupt socio-cultural phenomena of disintegration, the family nucleus may discern the importance and the new aspects of its educative role.

30. As a behavioural specialist, the physician should be regarded as one of the essential members of the multi-disciplinary teams which every developing

country ought to have for the purpose of drawing up and applying its programs of social prevention.

31. All over the world, the need exists to make a thorough study of the deep-rooted motives which underly anti-social attitudes, and to investigate the relationship which exists between certain types of personality and certain actions. These phenomena can be compared with the dominant attitude of a society towards its maladjusted or criminal members, an attitude which sometimes has the effect of crystallizing the unadaptability of such negative behaviour patterns. Hence the need for dynamic action to keep public opinion informed, and for specialists enlisted in multi-disciplinary research and action teams to participate in all the efforts made to mobilize the positive forces of the community.

32. In Zambia, where there are only two psychiatrists for the entire country, an open institution has been established to accommodate a large number of mental patients, including some delinquents in need of psychiatric care. All members of the staff of the institution who have completed their schooling are invited to participate in the treatment of the patients. Every member of the staff is put in charge of five or six cases. This officer, belonging as he does to the same culture as his patients, is particularly well placed to supply the psychiatrist with the requisite information about the patient's social and family habits.

33. While research dealing with juvenile delinquency is still at an early stage, it can help in the planning of projects undertaken either by a public agency or by a voluntary agency, in order to make them as effective as possible and to permit their evaluation. In most countries, the category most vulnerable as potential delinquents is constituted by the young male population between the ages of 12 and 18 years in large cities. The research specialist should be in a position to give advice on prevention programs designed for this category, particularly with respect to ways of stimulating public participation which could complement administrative direction. Such projects should seek to prepare adolescents for adulthood and should go beyond mere vocational training or recreation.

34. Preventive action is the primary function of the police. It is inconceivable nowadays that a police service should not have as its first duty the prevention of crime. Any policeman capable of drawing conclusions from his action should consider, in any case where he notes a breach of the law, whether that breach does not belong to the category of acts which more sustained attention, a better organization of services and the education of the public might have avoided.

35. In all countries, the organic laws governing the police or the codes of criminal procedure refer to the preventive function of the police and so provide the statutory basis for this function.

36. During the debate, reference was made in the first place to the participation of the police in preventive work by means, for example, of guidance services and services responsible for organizing leisure activities. In Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom a campaign to enlighten public opinion by means of

exhibitions, articles in the press, films and television and radio broadcasts is being conducted with success. Its object is in particular to alert public opinion to the serious consequences of certain breaches of the law for the person committing them, for the victim and for the community, and to draw attention to the negligence and carelessness on the part of the victim which provide favourable opportunities for the commission of certain offences. The "advisory services" set up by the Swedish police are proceeding on the same lines.

37. The preventive action of the police with respect to juvenile delinquency is steadily expanding and becoming more diversified; it includes the location of geographical areas which are breeding grounds of delinquency, the detection of young persons in moral danger (e.g. the "'holiday action" in France), the spotting and identification of youth gangs, the tracing (in conjunction with social services) of criminogenic families, lectures given by police officers to teachers, the organization of leisure activities for young persons by means and under the guidance of police clubs for young persons (experiment of the Police Athletic League in New York), the establishment and specialized activities of women police to make contact with families and minors and in particular with girls who commit or are the victims of offences.

38. On the other hand, the expansion of preventive action by the police may possibly introduce a form of police supervision in too many sectors of the community, and it is desirable that the police itself should display the necessary caution with a view to protecting the rights of the individual as well as those of society.

39. There was also some discussion about the contribution which the police can make to the formulation of a policy of social defence. The modern conditions for the training of police officers are the fundamental basis for the development of a spirit and policy of social defence within the police force. In addition, in many countries the police action has as its object social protection and social welfare (Austria, Denmark, United States, Guinea). In particular, the police endeavour to detect persons in danger of recidivism and to prevent cases of recidivism; an example of this approach is the proposed establishment of a service for the prevention of delinquency in the Ministry of the Interior in France.

40. For the purpose of the formulation and implementation of a social defence policy in the police services it would be necessary to set up a police corps which would be strictly preventive and which would not be bound by the routine of maintenance of law and order and criminal investigation and hence would be in a better position to win the support and co-operation of the community.

41. The USSR with its "people's volunteer units" and also Hungary are carrying out interesting experiments for the purpose of strengthening the relationship between the police and the public.

42. For the purpose of co-operation between the public and the police--in cases where this is necessary--the police ought to place itself more fully at the service of the community, that it should expand its information activities, that it

should expand its information activities, that it should publicize--without surrounding them with an aura of mystery--its activities, means, limitations and achievements and that it should co-operate with the social services and with the social science specialists who, at different levels, are concerned with the protection of society.

43. Social services vary greatly in outward form, not only from country to country but often from area to area within the same country. Specific sociological factors may, as a matter of history, have strongly influenced the inception of social services and then their development which, indeed, has too often been a pragmatic process hitherto. Thus some areas have given a disproportionate place to facilities of a particular type, with the result that the policy applied has had to be revised later on, sometimes at great expense.

44. It is easier to appreciate nowadays the degree to which the social services connected with prevention have grown up unplanned and without adequate co-ordination. This realization should make it possible to draw up, both locally and nationally, specific programs designed to equip the social services with functional machinery suited to the needs as they can best be assessed.

45. The participants were unanimous in recognizing that the first requirements to be met by the machinery of preventive social services are that it must offer the widest choice of possibilities and that it must be highly adaptable both to individual needs and to the needs of groups of varying size.

46. High-level co-ordination is the only means of maintaining unity of action and a satisfactory standard of quality in the work done, inter alia through multidisciplinary interchange.

47. In many countries the juvenile-court judges have encouraged, through the understanding they show for social problems, co-operation by the judiciary both with social services working in the field and with boarding institutions.

48. In many countries the social services are focussing their efforts of support and prevention increasingly on the family nucleus. To strengthen the family, to improve the behaviour of its members and to preserve good relations within it: these are important features of immediate action for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Among the examples given, mention may be made of the new Italian legislation on the prevention of delinquency, which gives prominence to social action of the type described, which is centered more closely on the family. The experiments being made in Syria, Sweden (prevention of alcoholism), Yugoslavia (social assistance centres), the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany are proceeding along the same lines. Thus, whereas social services were originally limited to child welfare, they are now evolving in the direction of family and social preventive action.

49. As regards efforts made to cater more effectively for specific local factors, recent positive experiments demonstrate that in an urban environment it is often advantageous to decentralize the preventive social services--to divide up

the town, as has been done in some cities in the United States, India and Pakistan, into several sectors, and to equip each sector according to its economic, social and cultural needs. This experiment in the decentralization of social services within one and the same urban area has as its corollary very strict co-ordination and dynamic research at the policy-making level.

50. In Denmark social and institutional facilities for small children--nurseries, day nurseries, kindergartens and the like--set up for the use of families with pre-school children, form a direct part of the social services responsible for preventing maladjustment and delinquency. Furthermore the strengthening of the family nucleus through the creation of special facilities for infants in each urban quarter fosters the establishment of positive intra-family relationships which are bound to prove beneficial throughout the educative process.

51. Many participants stressed the need to create and multiply opportunities for co-operation with volunteer workers headed by professional members of the social services. Volunteer workers, whose contact with the public is often closer than that of the professional staff, can take very positive action to keep the community better informed and to win its support for the work in progress, as witness for example the Volunteer Committees in Australia.. It is true that the relations between volunteer and professional workers are full of pitfalls, but these are of little account compared with the vast benefits to be derived from such co-operation; that is one of the strengths of the system in so far as it seeks to involve a whole community in working towards a healthy society. In the last analysis it may be regarded as the only means of bringing about community development and the formation of a positive social outlook in order to combat maladjustment and criminality.

AGENDA ITEM IV - MEASURES TO COMBAT RECIDIVISM (with particular reference to adverse conditions pending trial and inequality in the administration of justice)

RAPPORTEUR: Mr. Norval Morris

1. There was general agreement on the great social importance of the problems of recidivism, and important topics were selected for disucssion on which it was believed a useful contribution could be made to the advancement of knowledge and practice in the struggle in all countries to reduce recidivism.

2. For countries reporting increased rates of recidivism in terms of the return to penal institutions of those previously imprisoned, it was noted that these figures at least in part reflected an increasing use of non-institutional measures for young offenders and first offenders in most countries of the world, with the result that those who do come into the prisons and other correctional institutions tend to be more firmly set in criminal ways when they are first received into the institution.

Research and the prevention of recidivism

3. There was general agreement of the urgent need for more scientifically established knowledge to deal with the many problems involved in reducing recidivism. It was noted, however, that social action could not await research validation and that it is frequently necessary and wise to act on the best professional opinion now; but it was agreed that all action programs should be accompanied by an effort to evaluate their results and to draw the product of research into their further development.

4. It was stressed that research projects in this field need not be of great complexity nor sophistication. Each country, within its resources of research personnel and finances, should endeavor to build the basic information necessary to rational social planning in this field.

Arrest, bail and detention pending trail

5. It was generally agreed that there was widespread discrimination in the exercise of the discretions to arrest and detain suspected persons, operating adversely to those of lesser financial resources and social position. It was agreed that this discrimination, where it existed, had a criminogenic effect tending to embitter and alienate persons so treated and to make their rehabilitation--if they should later be convicted--of appreciably greater difficulty.

6. Participants from some countries, reporting the disappearance of economic and social discrimination, tended to regard this problem of less immediate importance; but there was unanimity on the aim of reducing so far as possible the needless arrest and detention of suspected persons, and of detaining them in custody only when such a course was absolutely necessary for the protection of society. It was agreed that a bail system, linking as it does freedom and financial resources, should be modified so far as possible to avoid this discriminatory consequence. Generally speaking, there was the consensus that, to date, the State has too greatly favored its own convenience at the cost of the liberty of the suspected and accused person.

7. Certain developments having as their purpose the reduction of detention pending trail were discussed, it being the sense of the discussion that experimentation of this nature was to be welcomed with the aim of exorcising so far as possible financial considerations from the granting of liberty to the accused person. Apart from considerations of human rights, this aim was welcomed as a means of avoiding the criminogenic effects of unfair and unduly prolonged detention.

8. The practices discussed were: reporting regularly to the police while awaiting trial; the retention of the suspects or accused persons' documents of identity pending trial; house arrest; the reliance on the personal assurances of reliable people of integrity in the community that the accused will appear for trial; and the Manhattan Bail Study, which demonstrated the value of social investigation of the circumstances of arrested and accused persons to guide the courts in permitting such persons to be at large pending trial.

9. It was further agreed that, in those cases where it is necessary to detain accused persons pending trial, such detention should be as brief as possible. The view was expressed that punishment too long delayed may be unjust punishment and may well have an effect of increasing the incidence of recidivism and, in the case of those later found not guilty, its serious interference with the balance of their lives and that of their family needs no elaboration. The practice in Turkey was reported by which, if a person is detained in custody awaiting trail and is then acquitted, he will be compensated financially for that detention.

10. There was some discussion concerning conditions of detention prior to trial. Several participants expressed the opinion that the unconvicted person awaiting trail should in all circumstances be kept separate from convicted persons. Others doubted the necessity for this in all cases, since they considered that it depended in part on the size of penal institutions in the country (if they are small the need for such segregation is less great) and on the financial resources of the country in question.

11. The question was raised whether the treatment program should ever begin--on a volunatry basis--during the detention period, and whether voluntary work should be offered to the detained person; risks in such practices were noted. No consensus emerged on these questions, which were nevertheless regarded as of importance and worthy of further study and research.

Unjustified disparity of sentences

12. It was the firm consensus that fair sentencing and the fair and even-handed administration of justice is a cornerstone of the struggle against crime and recidivism. Unjustified disparity of sentences was noted in many parts of the world--by this was meant not different sentences for similar crimes, which is a necessary and desirable concomitant of a system of rationally individualized justice, but the application of different sentencing principles to offenders alike in terms of crime, criminal record, personality and social dangerousness. It was agreed that disparity of this nature has a serious adverse effect on the effort to reduce recidivism.

13. Even those who reported the disappearance of social and economic inequities within their countries agreed that such unfair disparity of sentences must be avoided; procedures were described which involved members of the local community in the sentencing process for this and other crime and delinquency preventing purposes.

14. Equal justice under law, an agreed aim, requires the collaboration of the judiciary at all stages of the crime prevention and treatment process. Developments in several countries were noted aiming at improving the sentencing process. The program of training for magistrates in the United Kingdom and the preparation of guides to sentencing to assist the courts in several countries were welcomed. An important development in the United States of America, outlined in the ensuing paragraph, was also regarded as worthy of consideration with a view to emulation elsewhere.

15. The eight judges of the Federal District Court of the Eastern District of Michigan have developed a Sentencing Council. This involves the independent study of the pre-sentence report by a panel of at least three judges, who endeavor to identify and give appropriate weight to the several factors relevant to the optimum disposition. Each judge indicates his suggested sentence and then they meet, together with the chief probation officer, to discuss their recommendations and their reasons supporting it. Each judge, of course, reflects in his presentation his personal background of experience and philosophy, and the judge with the responsibility for pronouncing sentence emerges with the benefit of the varied experiences and insights of his colleagues. The sentencing judge is not obliged to change his original proposed disposition. However, over its four years' experience, the work of the Council has resulted in a drastic reduction in disparity of sentences. The Council has introduced into the sentencing function the values of group decision. It affords a substantial protection to both the community and the offender from the consequences of individual whim, idiosyncracy or bias. It also has enabled the Court to develop a group philosophy on the appropriate factors in formulating the proper sentence in given circumstances.

16. It was recognized that the court, in fulfilling its onerous burden of rational and even-handed justice, must be better guided by the product of research studies designed to discover the effects of different sentences on diverse groups of offenders; it was the sense of the discussion that this could be achieved without any risk of interference with human rights in the acquisition of such knowledge. The fact was not overlooked, of course, that in imposing a sentence the court has also to fulfil purposes of ensuring public confidence in the administration of justice and the protection of the public; that criminal sanctions may have a generally deterrent as well as a rehabilitative purpose; but here too the need for research to provide guidance as to the truth of this expectation and the facts of this effect was noted and approved.

Reducing the ambit of operation of the criminal law

17. There was some discussion of the wisdom of excluding young persons from the operation of the traditional criminal law system, including that of the juvenile or children's court. Several participants expressed a strong preference for early

intervention by other than judicial agencies in anti-social behavior by children. Participants from the United Kingdom outlined developments in England and Scotland moving to an extent away from their established system of juvenile courts and towards the system of child welfare boards, as in Scandinavia, but preserving the power of judicial control of such intervention by the State by way of appeal to the courts.

18. The particular problems of women offenders, of persons accused and convicted of motoring offences, and of persons accused and convicted of offences involving drunkenness or the taking of narcotics were mentioned, with a view to their exclusion from traditional criminal law processes or the modification of such processes to deal with their particular problems; no consensus emerged on this point.

Crimes against peace and humanity

19. Several participants expressed the view that crimes against peace and humanity were of such gravity and so seriously influence public confidence in the administration of justice that to neglect their condign punishment would have a tendency to increase crime and recidivism generally in the community. They therefore strongly opposed procedures by which statutes of limitations should be allowed to run so as to exclude such offenders from the control of and punishment by the criminal law.

Availability of legal aid for arrested, accused and convicted persons

20. There was unanimity on the need to provide legal assistance to arrested and accused persons, and to those convicted of crime who may wish to appeal. Systems of court appointment of counsel for those who could not themselves afford or obtain adequate legal representation were described, but it was the general view that such a system may have the defect of providing legal assistance at too late a stage in the proceedings and at a time when an adequate defence is difficult hurriedly to prepare. It was therefore felt that adequate and timely legal assistance must be available as of right to all arrested and accused persons at a sufficiently early stage in the criminal process adequately to protect their human rights and to ensure the fair and non-discriminatory application of the criminal law to all citizens. This aim is justified not only in terms of human rights and social decency, but also because the failure to provide adequate legal aid may well leave the convicted person with a sense of injustice which greatly complicates the task of encouraging and assisting him to eschew criminal conduct in the future: the lack of an adequate legal aid system thus tends to increase recidivism.

Conditions in penal institutions

21. Classification and treatment techniques aimed at preventing and minimizing recidivism were discussed. Much attention was devoted to the important problems of training prison staff and other correctional officers for their difficult work, the opinion being expressed that in many countries such training programs were rudimentary, with the result that a valuable source of rehabilitative effort was neglected.

22. Problems of the employment of prisoners, their accommodation, their supervision inside and outside correctional institutions were discussed, and there was general agreement that treatment within and outside the institution, for those who are sent to a penal institution and released under supervision thereafter, is a continuum, and must be planned to provide a continuous and integrated retraining and rehabilitating program. Some opinion in favor of the administrative integration of prison and parole staffs was expressed as one means of ensuring this continuity of treatment.

23. It was recognized that correctional treatment is an entity, not something done at special times and by special members of the prison staff. Security and custody measures may well be a necessary element in such treatment programs, but they should not be overvalued at the cost of other necessary elements in those programs. On this topic, several participants reported a greatly increased use of open institutions to replace closed security prisons. In this connection it was noted that in Hong Kong all offenders under twenty-one years of age are first classified to open institutions as a matter of routine, and in Denmark there are open institutions for recidivists serving terms of up to four years.

24. There was widespread agreement on the need to mobilize community support to assist the rehabilitation of convicted offenders, and various methods were described of marshalling such support and allowing it expression.

Conclusion

25. There was recognition of the fact that it is easier to point to defects in methods of minimizing recidivism than to achieve the social action necessary for the elimination of those defects; on this topic the gap between precept and practice, between agreed aims and present achievements, is very great. Means of narrowing this gap were discussed and two such were throught to merit particular attention. First, in every country a continuing effort should be made to involve the judiciary and the organized legal profession in the prevention and treatment of crime; secondly, on-going continuing research evaluating of current and developing methods of preventing recidivism is a necessity if social protection is to be achieved, human suffering minimized, and financial waste avoided.

AGENDA ITEM V - PROBATION (ESPECIALLY ADULT PROBATION) AND OTHER NON-INSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

RAPPORTEUR: Mr. Maarten E. Tjaden

1. Probation in its various forms is a treatment measure which is very flexible in its application. It has developed to the point where it may now be considered as a treatment method in its own right, by means of which an offender may be reintegrated into society without recourse to traditional methods of correction. Its results are particularly striking wherever it has been integrated in the cultural patterns and social setting.

2. It is well established that probation provides sufficient safeguards for the protection of society, while retaining its unique quality of adaptability to individual needs and pressures. Thus, it may be regarded as a major element in penal policy in both the developing and the developed countries. In countries which rely on traditional methods of punishment, its introduction would be a major step in the evolution of penal policies.

3. In many countries, probation began as a treatment measure for juvenile delinquents and was subsequently extended to adult first offenders; in some countries it is even used as a treatment measure for recividists. Reference was made to unofficial or para-judicial forms of probation whereby an offender could be spared an appearance in court if he could prove to the satisfaction of the authorities that he was making a genuine effort to change his behaviour. In this connection, reference was made to the system of "prosecutor's probation" practiced in Japan, for example, although there was no provision for it in law.

4. The development and efficient use of probation would be impeded if the sentencing authorities were excessively restricted by legislative provisions confining its application to specific categories of offenders or offenses.

5. On the other hand, it was submitted that probation officers tended to advocate a more selective policy since this would minimize the failure rate and so make the probation system itself more acceptable to the public.

6. In the selection of offenders for probation, the sentencing authority should be guided by a pre-sentence investigation providing the necessary information about the personality of the offender, his family history, social background, work record, and some indication of this suitability for probation. It was observed that in the actual selection process for probation, the approach should be social rather than purely clinical.

7. The question of the confidential nature of the pre-sentence report was raised, and while it was conceded that the offender might have a right to know what the report said about him, the withholding of certain information sometimes became inevitable. The opinion was expressed that perhaps a balance might be struck between the requirements of confidentiality and the desirability of free access to information by providing for a discussion between the offender and the probation officer on the contents of the report before it was submitted to the sentencing authority.

8. A decision regarding a probation order is generally based, in great measure, on the pre-sentence report. Since human lives could be ruined because of judicial action based on erroneous information contained in the pre-sentence report, great care should be taken to ensure that the data contained in the report was accurate and not distorted by gossip or hearsay. In this connection, the possibility of an appellate review of a decision concerning probation was raised, and it was observed that such a review had been provided for in recent years in a number of jurisdictions, for example, in the United States.

9. The probation officer's time should generally be divided in a rational way among the functions he is to discharge. It was observed that pre-sentence investigation and routine administrative work often take up too much of his time, with the result that he is unable to give sufficient attention to supervisory and case-work functions.

10. A note of warning was sounded regarding the danger of what was termed "an information explosion." It was suggested that more effort should be devoted to the development of practical scientific techniques for gathering only useful and relevant information. A suggestion was made, in this connection, that pre-sentence investigations should be carried out by special diagnostic units rather than by probation officers.

11. Since probation is a form of treatment in the community, its development requires the acceptance and support of the public. It was stated that the expansion of probation was hampered by an insufficient realization on the part of the public that this method is in fact an efficient means of preventing crime. Even today, probation is often criticized as being too lenient a measure. It was said that this lack of understanding also influences legislators and judges, inasmuch as the administration of justice cannot diverge too far from public opinion. Among other things, these attitutdes are reflected in the insufficient allocation of funds for the adequate staffing of the probation organization.

12. Hence, it must be made clear that probation serves not only the interest of the offender but also that of the public, and is not inconsistent with public security. The cooperation of volunteers and the support of social groups and associations, such as trade unions and employers' federations, could further the development of probation and promote its full acceptance in a country.

13. The public should be made aware that probation is one of the least costly and most effective ways of combating criminality. It was observed in this connection that certain experiments conducted in the United States had effectively demonstrated the validity of this contention.

14. Nation-wide campaigns to change public attitudes and win public support for probation and other non-institutional treatment measures should be vigorously promoted. In this connection, note was taken of the public campaigns effected regularly in Japan and in the Netherlands. Mass communication media and non-governmental organizations could play a vital role in this respect.

15. Although there is still much to be learned about the effectiveness of probation, it seems clear that in many countries probation has had a favorable influence on the rate of recidivism, and has contributed to reducing the prison population. In the Netherlands, for instance, the prison population of about 2,000 has remained fairly constant despite a doubling of the general population in the last 25 years. It was said that this favorable ratio was closely connected with the development of probation in that country; over 19,000 adults are now under probation supervision.

16. It was urged that countries, particularly those whose prisons were overcrowded, should take steps to introduce or expand the probation system. The United Nations was asked to take appropriate action to help those countries to achieve these objectives.

17. In many countries, particularly in developing countries, the use of probation for adults is hampered by a number of factors: the probation system cannot simply be transplanted to cultural settings different from those where it was devised; the legal framework does not lend itself easily to the introduction of the probation system; trained judges and trained personnel are either lacking or insufficient; and in general, the lack of public support for the probation system. Gradual steps for the purpose of introducing probation were recommended as the best approach, in order that the public should come to realize that probation does not involve a greater risk to society than do more traditional methods. In some countries, general feelings of mistrust towards adult probation were reported to have lessened in recent years.

18. Community action in the field of probation is important. A social group, for instance, can be put to use in probation treatment as a source of pressure on the offender to change his attitudes and behavior. The social group may be a spontaneous entity, or it may be specifically constituted for the purpose of exerting psychological pressure on the probationer placed within it. This method of group work has the additional merit of allowing the probation officer to give more of his time to those probationers who particularly need individual attention. Group counseling methods, it was noted, have proved particularly successful with hostile and aggressive young adult probationers.

19. Treatment should not necessarily be restricted to the probationer, but could, in some cases, be advantageously extended to his family, particularly through family-centered interviews. The purpose of such action is to bring together all members of the probationer's family and impress on them their share of responsibility in his rehabilitation.

20. Constructive human relations between the probationer and his supervisor are an essential element in rehabilitation. It was observed in this connection that, according to the results of specific research, the transfer of cases from one supervisior to another tended to have harmful effects. The danger of overburdening a probation officer with administrative duties was also stressed; such a burden would be detrimental to the therapeutic relationship which he is expected to establish and maintain with the probationer.

21. The rehabilitation of the probationer depends to a great extent on the competence of the probation officer. The problem of obtaining qualified staff seems to be a cause for concern everywhere. In many countries this problem is compounded by the inadequacy of training facilities which, among other disadvantages, hinders the extension of the probation system. In addition to the relevant academic training required in most of the developed countries, it was pointed out that the probation officer should have such personal qualities as would enhance and enrich his relationship with the probationer.

22. The matching of probationers with probation officers according to age and to the need for either authoritative or supportive guidance should help to increase the effectiveness of treatment in the community. It was pointed out that such matching was particularly important for the younger age groups, and that sometimes young adult males were better helped by female probation officers and vice versa. In the case of voluntary workers, the social milieu of the offender should be taken into account as much as possible by assigning the probationer to a supervisor from the same socio-economic group in order to facilitate understanding and constructive influence.

23. The need to bridge the gap between institutional and non-institutional treatment methods was stressed. Many participants emphasized the usefulness of community-based residential centers, hostels and "half-way houses" for persons who were unable to adjust themselves to life in the community. A strong plea was made for the increase of such facilities, particularly in urban and industrialized areas. In conjunction with furloughs, work-release to the community and pre-release training centers, it was observed that such measures can help the offender to make a gradual adjustment to life in freedom and so tend to prevent recidivism.

24. It was stated that there was a striking parallel between the evolution of the prison regime and that of methods of treatment in freedom, in that both were becoming more flexible and diversified. Institutional treatment, in some of its forms, is approximating to probation and, to some extent, probation and other measures of treatment in freedom are tending to resemble certain methods of institutional treatment. As a consequence, there is often a confusion in terminology when describing the role of probation and that of parole after release from an institution. It was even suggested that one possible reason why the use of probation was not increasing in some countries was that institutional treatment itself was coming to be regarded as more therapeutic. It is therefore natural to conclude that treatment ought to form one continuous process and that it would be desirable to merge the administrations responsible for the different phases of correctional treatment.

25. A number of participants urged that judges, probation officers, sociologists and prison officials should be encouraged to cooperate in team work, to establish systematic contacts with each other, to seek new approaches and to experiment. Administrators and policy-makers should be given opportunities to test new methods and introduce methods of treatment in keeping with local conditions, without running the risk of being personally penalized in case of failure.

26. There was widespread support for unification of the relevant services with a view to achieving a more constructive relationship between them, for a commonly accepted penal philosophy for prison and probation officers, and for common training principles. Support for such integration was seen as one of the most important factors emerging from the discussions. Advantages were also seen in the application of more uniform policies by the courts and in increased possibilities for experiment. This would include group action and individual attention to the most difficult cases.

27. Action toward a unified service was said to be needed from within and from the top levels of the administrations concerned. The convening of conferences and, more specifically, seminars at which to exchange experience was seen as important in encouraging this development.

28. In view of this trend towards flexibility, new treatment research and the development of a treatment continuum, as well as the establishment of a unified service, it was submitted that a purely negative attitude towards the combination of institutional and non-institutional measures is not justified.

29. On the other hand, the combination of a fine with probation was reported to be an effective measure in Japan.

30. From a brief discussion of non-institutional measures other than probation, it appeared that in some countries the stay of prosecution or deferment of judgment yielded favorable results when combined with voluntary probation whereby the offender is entrusted to his fellow workers. It was said that very few of the cases so handled subsequently came to trial.

31. Extra-mural labor based on the idea of rehabilitation through work was found to offer prospects as a particularly useful form of penal sanction of an intermediate character between the fine and deprivation of liberty. As a recent example, extra-mural employment for petty offenders has been introduced in Kenya, resulting in a reduction of approximately 40 per cent in prison committals.

32. Mention was made of new developments in several East European countries whereby the judge is empowered to apply conditional suspension of prison sentences and of sentences of corrective labor without imprisonment.

33. Restitution to the victim, in one form or another, was advocated as a separate and constructive means of penal action and crime prevention. The successful experiment reported from Ghana was noted in this connection, and further attention to the matter was invited.

34. While limited research undertaken on certain pilot projects in institutional and non-institutional treatment in recent years would seem to indicate better success rates for those experimental groups which had been given more intense treatment than the control groups (by doubling the number of social workers, for instance), it was admitted that there still were wide gaps in knowledge referring to different risk categories and other matters. Control groups should be used in order to identify the individual factors affecting the results. Efforts should be made to establish much closer relations between practitioners and universities as well as research bodies. It was recognized that those responsible could not wait for the completion of the studies undertaken, and that it was essential to continue practical efforts in the directions indicated above.

35. In a general way, research and experience have so far shown that probation and related measures could safely be expanded within the general framework of modern criminal policy.

AGENDA ITEM VI - SPECIAL PREVENTIVE AND TREATMENT MEASURES FOR YOUNG ADULTS

RAPPORTEUR: Mr. Duncan Fairn

1. Discussion on this agenda item disclosed wide variations in the definition of the term young adult. The chronological age limits for the "young adult" category as defined in legislation and regulations seemed to fall into one of two basic patterns. One, and this seemed to be the predominant pattern, fixed the age range of young adults from the upper limit for juvenile delinquents (usually between 15 and 18 years) to a maximum of 21 years. The trend in this first pattern seemed to be towards a raising of the upper age limit to 24 years; and, in one particular case--under a recent amendment to the Federal Youth Correction Act of the United States of America--to a maximum of 26 years. The second pattern set the young adult group between the ages of 15 and 17. This lack of precise defintion was matched by the admitted absence of fundamental research, and especially research derived from understanding between the research worker and the practitioner in the field. In addition, in most countries, the young adult group is recognized as a definable entity either by statute or by some other means; the basis for such recognition has often been impelled by tradition or such other factors as physiological maturity, prevailing cultural expectation and social and economic responsibility. These considerations produced a consensus that each country should establish its own criteria for identifying the young adult, that whatever criteria are established must be based upon realistic factors and that legal defnintions and national youth policies should be determined in accordance with these realistic considerations.

2. There is also some variation in the incidence of young adult crime. A proportionately low or declining incidence of crime was reported for some countries but others reported great concern both because of the increasing incidence and beacuse of the seriousness of the crimes committed; the young adult offender was invariably the young adult male. In some countries, it was observed, the young adult male was responsible for at least half of the total volume of the serious cirme reported; and the fact very few crimes involving young adult females were reported was ascribed by some speakers partly to the tendency of parents and the public to protect young women by concealing their actions and partly to the greater hold of the family on them.

3. Despite the difference in definition and incidence, a common anxiety was voiced during the discussion. In all countries, it was observed, the young adult group merits special attention because its potential could present immense social danger, as well as unlimited opportunity for social development.

4. In some countries, the young adult age group constitutes a very hign percentage of the total population, and in these countries it is particularly important to be alert to the group's potential for social revolt or for social reconstruction.

5. Despite the failure to promote adequate research, there was a general recognition of the effects of social forces on youth, of the influence of the mass media of communication (television, radio, pressure advertising, cinema, publications and the like), and what was generally described as the "excessive enticements of modern life." Also, participants referred to the effect in many

countries of the break-up of patterns of family and religious life, and of the stresses and strains inherent in the transition to a new and mechanized civilization. In a time perspective, however, the problems of youth are not new: only the forms in which they manifest themselves are different. Mankind has always lived in an age of transition, and the age of adolescence has been perceived as an age of rebellion.

6. Particularly in the developing countries, it is vitally important to ensure that the restlessness and rebelliousness of youth against traditional controls and legal restraints are constructively channelled. Young adults in these countries are expected not only to participate actively in national development but also to assume leadership. They are regarded as the main instruments as well as the main beneficiaries of national developmental programs; their dual role thus deserves and demands special attention. National development plans should therefore be prepared with a view not only to preparing the young adult for working life and fuller participation in national development, but also to incorporating measures designed to counteract the criminogenic influences surrounding youth. The attainment of such objectives can be greatly facilitated by both comprehensive planning at the national level and by proper co-ordination of the work of various agencies engaged in youth programs. In this connection, reference was made to the existence in some countries of governmental ministries and agencies set up specifically for the youth.

7. It was emphasized that crime prevention could be made more effective if more challenging work opportunities were available for young people and if they were more closely involved in the planning and directing of such work. "Youth responds to youth," and at least in one country, Israel, it was reported that very satisfying results were obtained by inducing the youth themselves to initiate and carry out work with young delinquents.

8. Although crime cannot be ascribed to any class or any race, there is abundant evidence that much of it occurs in the poorer parts of the great urban complexes, where bad housing, poor schooling and spells of unemployment ultimately result in creating an army of the under-privileged. It was felt that insufficient attention was paid to the impact on the school leaver of his first job. The apprehension and eagerness with which he begins are too often followed by boredom. The experience in the Byelorussian SSR with community care for the young worker was felt to provide a means for preventing that boredom from leading to delinquency. Induction schemes in industry should be encouraged.

9. The traditional institutional approach to the treatment of the young adult offender was consistently and strongly criticized, and emphasis was placed on devising methods which could resolve the young adults' delinquency problems within the community. Such efforts, of course, called for the closest cooperation between government and private agencies, and for the integration of case and group work within the community framework.

10. Judging from the report of many speakers, the use of probation as a substitute for institutionalization is increasing, and experiments were reported which indicated that intensive supervision can succeed even with repeated offenders,

without recourse to institutionalization. New and increased uses were reported of group methods and of controlled living in hostels, half-way houses and the like, as adjuncts to probation.

11. In connection with the application of probation to young offenders, it was strongly emphasized that much greater use should be made of the services of volunteers in supervising probationers. It was pointed out that probation officers were in exiguous supply almost everywhere and that, even where they were available, they were required to devote so much time to routine administrative work that their supervisory and counselling time inevitably became minimal.

12. Although non-institutional treatment should be given preference, institutional treatment, with its attendant deprivation of liberty, is sometimes necessary for certain types of young offenders. Several types of short institutional treatment were described, such as short-term detention in special institutions for periods of between six to eight weeks, week-end detention and short-term arrest for periods not exceeding six days.

13. Longer institutional treatment in other types of institutions varied from nine months to three years in duration.

14. Whatever the type of institution, and whatever the length of the period of detention within it, it was felt to be essential that the institutional programs should be educative and not punitive. The young inmates should be kept fully occupied with programs of study, physical education, work training, group discussion and the like. Such programs should, additionally, be attuned to local needs and cultural patterns. Institutions and their programs are not to be transplanted from one culture to another; each culture has to evolve its own form of treatment.

15. Vocational and educational training programs in the institution should take account of prevailing conditions relating to employment, as well as the offender's own occupational interests, in order to meet the needs of post-release life. In countries where this was necessary, attention should be given to ways and means of cooperating with the different labor organizations.

16. The point was made that there was always a risk that work training programs within youth institutions might stagnate and become anachronistic in the context of rapid technological development outside. Young adults in institutions have to be trained for employment in freedom; instruction in outmoded skills and crafts adds to the disadvantages faced by these young people after their release to the community and this makes them all the more prone to recidivism.

17. It was urged, also that long term institutional treatment should preferably be followed by a mandatory period of after-care. The success rates obtained in countries which had made provision for such mandatory after-care seemed to support this contention. It was stressed, however, that the period of after-care should not be excessively prolonged, because it tended to yield diminishing returns after a certain point. Experience seemed to indicate a maximum of two years.

18. Poland, Spain and New Zealand, amongst others, described different kinds of treatment. Further the group probation experiment in the District of Columbia in the United States was contrasted with the Highfields program and the forestry groups in New Jersey, where work and group counselling were combined. Pleas were made for active cooperation between prison chaplains and psychiatrists, and for the training of administrators in the uses and application of research. In one country, unofficial prison visitors played an important role in preserving contact with the larger community.

19. Towards the end of the discussion, attention centred on the role of the family and the part it could play in preventive and treatment programs for young adults. Marriage guidance could help towards better family life. These techniques were also effective for persons in institutions. Families could also be mobolized to open their homes to the offender. This individual approach was felt to be in accordance with the retreat from institutionalism which characterized the entire discussions; it emphasized the essential humanity of the offender. In the long run, whether in court, under probation, or even, if necessary, in some institution, the offender will still need understanding friendship, and must be regarded not as a case but as a man.

20. The need for research was a recurrent theme in the deliberations of the Section. Since criminological research is hampered by imprecision in conceptualization and methodology, efforts must be made with the help of control groups to isolate variables, to identify prime factors and, by the exchange of knowledge between one country and another, to enlarge understanding of the turbulent adolescent and his group.

21. Research in crime prevention and treatment still has far to go before the findings are conclusive enough to justify action based upon them; and there are also many areas in which little or no research has been done. Practitioners and researchers must work more closely together as members of a team in order to facilitate communication. There is a place for both small and large-scale research, and the decision as to which kind of research should be favored should generally be left to a competent team rather than to individuals.

22. So far, much research has been done with reference to the role of the family in delinquency prevention. There is a need for increased research into the fields of other socializing agencies, notably the school, work and leisure environment. In particular, research on the capacity of teachers, youth leaders and employers for attitude changes needs to be investigated.

23. There is also a need for increased research into the efficacy of small group techniques as currently applied in youth and other correctional institutions, at schools, and the like. If group-work brings about a relatively rapid change in attitude, then such work needs to be applied increasingly as preventive agent.

24. Research on the possible harmful effects of preventive programs as well as their possible good effects should not be neglected. Many countries have

initiated so called preventive programs, aimed at both the general mass of young adults and also at the seemingly more recalcitrant groups within them which appeared to pose a threat to the security of the community. It is necessary to try and ascertain whether these programs create more problems than they apparently solve; whether they in fact reach the rebellious groups at which they are specifically aimed; and, if these programs do reach the target groups, whether they tend to identify and therefore incriminate these groups.

25. Research on special treatment measures for young adult offenders seems to be closely related to typology-personality research based on analysis of various factors. Some of these factors, which dominate differently at different times in various kinds of people, are physiological and environmental factors as well as psycho-social factors, degrees of neuroticism, degrees of maturity and the like. After further validated research, the next step will be to relate these factors to different types of crime and to various types of treatment regimes.

26. Complex analytical research, linked with typology and different types of crime and treatment regimes, should form only one end of the research continuum. The other end is, of necessity, a concern with a microscopic approach to study how young adults are motivated under different conditions; how they generate anxiety and aggression; how they have different learning and perceptual difficulties at different times of their lives; and how these difficulties can be overcome.

27. Research, however thorough, would nevertheless find little application in day-to-day programs for young adults unless its findings were incorporated in executive and management training programs. Those responsible for the critical decisions as to whether or not research findings are to be applied, must be made aware of the importance of such research to the success of their operational programs, and of techniques of applying this research in actual practice.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING ON RESEARCH

RAPPORTEUR: Mr. Pedro P. Solis

1. There is a growing awareness in an encouraging number of countries of the importance of scientific research into the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders and the need to encourage the further development of this trend. Progress in the understanding of ourselves and our behaviour is lagging behind our understanding and control of the physical universe; the phonemenon of crime persists in every society and appears to increase the more complex society becomes. Intuition or common sense will no longer serve as adequate means for the solution of these problems. Experience has to be organized and it is only by the application of scientific methods of study, i.e., by the use of the logic and methods of investigation common to all empirical science, that we may hope to find solutions. Account must be taken of whatever knowledge scientific enquiry can yield, however imperfect it may be.

2. Criminological research will have to embrace not only social conditions, the characteristics of persons upon whom these conditions have a criminogenic effect and the inter-connexion between these factors, but also the impact of the entire system of dealing with offenders from their apprehension and adjudication to the application to them of whatever measures of punishment or treatment may be decreed by judicial and administrative authorities.

3. Despite increasingly sophisticated studies, progress in the control of crime has been slow. There are various reasons for this - including a reluctance to proceed by experimental methods which our social conscience would reject and the crudeness of existing instruments for measuring the effectiveness of preventive action. There is a need for more sensitive measuring devices than can be provided by traditional criminal statistics. Until relatively recently, most correctional agencies have tended to neglect or avoid the evaluative studies which would enable them to increase their efficiency - perhaps because of a certain distrust of academic research and perhaps because of the anxieties inherent in attempts to assess their achievements and failures. A new attitude towards scientific research is now beginning to manifest itself in correctional agencies in several countries. Some agencies are beginning to regard research into the policies and methods of dealing with offenders as a necessary administrative tool, and they are losing their fear of acknowledging openly the failure or uselessness of their treatment as applied to this or that type of offender.

4. However, a great deal remains to be worked out in practice as regards the organization of research in order to evolve the most efficient pattern of collaboration between official agencies and research centers or institutions. One such pattern would be for research to be done by competent researchers, attached to university centers or institutes, who are given access to data available in correctional agencies, who are called upon to assist such agencies in setting up rigorous experiments in treatment and who are given a free hand in evaluating the results. As a general principle, it is desirable that criminological research whether centered in a university or elsewhere, should have considerable independence. The organization of research must take account of the need to bring together both users and producers of research and must ensure that the latter is carried out on an interdisciplinary basis.

5. It is acknowledged that criminological research carried out by penal administrations themselves is of necessity limited in scope, because the inmates of institutions constitute only a small proportion of the offenders in society and not a representative sample of the criminal population as a whole. The research of penal and other social agencies will naturally be concentrated on problems of direct concern for the work of such agencies, and these enquiries will have to be supplemented and co-ordinated with those of national and university research centers in order to amass complete data on crime and its treatment over a whole country.

6. An effective system of communication is essential if research is to be conducted economically, in a co-ordinated fashion without wasteful overlap or duplication, and if it is to have a maximum usefulness for penal policy and practice. This is particularly true at a time when research resources are still limited in most countries. Many of the tools of modern research are relatively expensive and satisfactory economies can be achieved by pooling certain resources and sharing equipment with other research groups in the social or economic field.

7. Clearing houses will be required to ensure a regular exchange of information between research centers on completed, current and proposed research. Communication of this kind at the international level will involve special problems of finance, language and the working out of accepted common standards and bases of comparison.

8. The results of research will also have to be communicated from research centers to interested social agencies, and appropriate machinery or channels of communication will have to be set up to enable administrators, judges and others concerned with offenders to work out together the practical implications of research findings.

9. It should also be stressed that criminological research as well as treatment should be organized and controlled in such a way as to preserve human rights and principles of individual justice. Such ethical considerations set limits to the extent to which ideal research designs can be applied in the field of social action directed towards the control and elimination of crime.

10. Ideally, it is desirable to strive for the closest possible approximation to controlled experiment which can be achieved. This requires conditions where a larger pool of persons is eligible and suitable for a particular kind of treatment than can be given this service and where the allocation of cases to "treatment" or "control" groups is arranged by methods which have at least some basis in randomization. These ideal conditions may be difficult to achieve, and it may frequently be necessary to resort to ex post facto designs (e.g., a comparison of results obtained before and after the introduction of a new treatment method) or to make use of such other, cruder comparative methods as may be available.

11. Follow-up studies of single treatments have obvious limitations. For the most part, they provide information about those persons for whom a treatment is unsuccessful but not for whom it is successful, and indicate little of what might have been achieved if other treatment methods had been used on the same types of offenders. The future lies with comparative studies of the relative effectiveness

of different types of treatment for different types of offenders. Such studies of the subsequent criminality of groups of offenders dealt with by different treatment methods or by different social agencies will require techniques for categorizing offenders in ways that are relevant to different treatment alternatives and to the various components of these treatment processes, as well as the subsequent relating of this information to future criminality. Hence the importance of typological research on offenders and the intensive study of the content or process of treatment in order to identify precisely what elements of treatment are making an effective impact on what kinds of offenders.

12. The concept of the treatment process has to be broadened to include the whole range of successive stages of judicial and social processes. The effects of various procedures can and must be subjected to empirical investigation. For example, the publication or not of the names of offenders should be investigated specifically in relation to subsequent criminality. Similarly, the practice as regards bail provides a further example of a procedure which still has to be studied, even at the simplest level, in order to determine not only the immediate effect of variations in practice but also the longer-term effects of such variations on the subsequent careers of offenders. Further, improvements in penal policy will also depend on increasing our understanding of the sociological and psychological factors underlying judicial decision-making.

13. It is necessary to emphasize that basic descriptive studies are still required even in countries where research has developed some technical sophistication. In most countries, criminological research is relatively new and knowledge is still elementary. Many assumptions underlying institutionalized procedures still remain to be tested - e.g., that pre-sentence enquiries are valuable in all cases, irrespective of the kind of information that is required and actually used by courts in reaching decisions about the best disposal of offenders. Again, reference is constantly made to "public opinion," unsupported by relevant evidence which could be provided by systematic surveys.

14. As regards the methodology of research, various points still require emphasis. The official records of offenders must be improved if they are to be of any value for research. This will require co-operation between research organizations and social agencies which compile data for their own record purposes. More than this, the collection of adequate research data will need to be planned in terms of the precise purposes and designs of research investigations. In particular, where treatment innovations are being introduced, evaluative research should be built-in from the beginning, research workers being involved in the initial planning and not merely brought in later in a passive role.

15. It has to be recognized also that research results will seldom be definitive; they will have a limited life, if only because conditions affecting crime will change and treatment methods or their application will alter in various ways. Predictive research techniques, in particular, will require to be modified continuously and

kept up to date. There is a certain danger that the findings of limited or early studies will be interpreted without due qualification, accepted as conclusive and applied uncritically by administrators and policy-makers. Such pilot studies will be no more than suggestive in their implications for action and will require to be repeated or extended if a firm basis for policy decisions is to be provided.

16. Research has tended to concentrate on the effects of treatment on individual offenders and to pay insufficient attention to wider considerations such as general deterrence or the protection of society. Research into institutional treatment may have to examine more closely such questions as the appropriatness of penal methods for the rehabilitation of offenders and identify more clearly those types of individuals who must be dealt with in this way because of the threat which they present to society.

17. Treatment research has perhaps tended up till now to focus attention on crime and criminals, and to pay insufficient regard to the effects on the offender of systems of prevention and control, judicial procedures, the roles of different professions and types of personnel engaged in the treatment process. There are signs that greater attention will be paid in future to how the "response of society" affects its levels of crime.

18. Criteria for assessing the effectiveness of preventive and treatment measures have tended to be unduly restricted. More sensitive and diversified indices of recidivism will be required in future. Multiple criteria will have to be evolved, the traditional statistics of re-conviction being supplemented by information on social and personal adjustment, on subsequent work record and so on. Even such information will have to be checked further by reference to the extent to which criminal behaviour has been replaced by other forms of social deviance or mental illness. While the main focus of attention for criminological research is criminality as defined by the law, a deeper understanding of crime will be achieved by operating within the wider context of deviant social behaviour generally.

19. As far as the developing countries are concerned, it is necessary to underline the need for basic information of the most rudimentary kinds. The priority here is for the routine collection of essential data and for research reduced to its simplest terms, the keeping of systematic records and simple case studies, even if these were more subjective than might be desirable. The discipline of keeping complete records is in itself a useful contribution to the training of those engaged in work with offenders.

20. While the developing countries might require considerable assistance from outside in introducing programs of research, this process would not be all one way. It is important that opportunities for studying conditions of rapid social change should not be lost, and it is necessary to recognize that many developing countries have rich cultural traditions, balanced social structures and social controls which are still relatively effective in preventing crime. Some of these might well have relevance for the reduction of crime in more developed countries. Great opportunities are present within such simpler and more flexible social systems for conducting experiments in community action to prevent crime and great contributions can be made in this way to criminological theory by clarifying and extending our concepts of social forces and culture in relation to crime.

21. To a greater or lesser extent in different countries, action research into problems of delinquency has to concern itself with a broad range of social problems. In some countries it has been easier to demonstrate that an interdisciplinary team, working at the level of the family and concentrating on social pathology and mental health, has made a greater impact in terms of reduced infant mortality, increased community participation in local affairs, improved group activities for young people and the treatment of alcoholism than in terms of reduced delinquent or deviant behavior as such. Where delinquency is inseparable from the problems of children who are homeless, abondoned, living in extreme poverty or without stable discipline or support, the main tasks of criminological research may be those of identifying the obstacles to effective socialization or successful treatment and rehabilitation and of systematically exploring the effectiveness of possible ways of counteracting such criminogenic factors - by supporting the role of the mother in the family, strengthening the links between the school and the family, stimulating community responsibility and so on. At certain stages of social development it may be necessary to give prior attention to such situations, including the purely material environment, rather than to make a direct approach to the understanding and control of delinquency as the presenting problem or symptom.

22. While it has to be recognized that certain forms of criminological theory are not equally acceptable or congenial for countries with different kinds of social systems and political organization, nevertheless it is accepted that certain basic principles of social research methodology exist which can be applied universally to the study of social problems. The team approach to criminological research, for example, is being employed successfully in countries with widely differing social philosophies.

23. The problems of criminological research were summed up by one participant as involving organization, communication and integration with policy and practice, methodology and techniques, and strategies. In this connection, it is clear that priorities will necessarily vary to some extent from country to country, depending on the state of their development, their resources of finance, trained personnel and accumulated knowledge.

24. There is general agreement that criminological research is relatively undeveloped as a scientific pursuit. It would be unreasonable to expect rapid or complete answers to the complex problems with which it is concerned. Research is not a panacea, a substitute for action or an excuse for delaying action which must be pushed ahead on the basis of the best evidence available at any one time. Without systematic research, progress in tackling the problems of crime will be retarded; without the active interest, support and involvement of society, and of its policymakers, administrators and practitioners, criminological research will be sterile.

PRISONS

Desegregated Cells Cited In Stabbings

AJ 3/2/64

'Unrest Rampant' At Federal Prison; FBI Starts Probe

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

Three U.S. Penitentiary convicts who were stabbed in their living quarters about a week ago were in a six-man cell that was being integrated, it was learned Wednesday.

A federal source told The Atlanta Journal "unrest is rampant" at the prison. He said integration is disturbing many of the 2,200 prisoners at the institution.

Warden Olin Blackwell said six-man cells were being integrated at the time of the stabbing of the three Negro inmates, but he "couldn't say" if their cell was involved.

He acknowledged that some complaints about the new integration move had been received, but said resentment inside the penitentiary is not widespread.

Dormitories have been integrated for some time, Warden Blackwell said. The latest move to integrate the six-man cells came at the time of the stabbings.

CUT IN their living quarters were Rene J. Smith, Milton B. Prather and Iverson Williams.

Warden Blackwell said the Federal Bureau of Investigation is probing the stabbings, and he does not want to comment on their investigation.

The FBI said the incident is still being investigated and they did not wish to comment on whether the cell was integrated.

Smith, serving a four-year term for mail theft, was stabbed in the chest. He was in serious condition until this week.

Prather was cut in the side and Williams in the chest. Prather is serving a five-year term for violation of narcotics laws and Williams is on a six-year mail theft conviction.

A number of relatives of convicts here telephoned The Journal recently to report unrest behind the prison walls. One source said fights had broken out.

The 2,200 convicts recently conducted a hunger strike protesting the way food is prepared and served. The strike lasted intermittently for more than week.

Arkansas Quells 144 In Prison

PRISONS

AC 9/6/66

By BILL SIMMONS

CUMMINS PRISON FARM, Ark. (AP)—State police used tear gas and fired shots into the air to break up a melee among trusties and striking convicts Monday, an aide to Gov. Orval Faubus said.

All but one of the 144 strikers, who refused Friday to return to work in the prison farm fields, went back to the job after 10 of them were punished with a controversial whip-like leather strap, the aide said.

BREAD AND WATER

The exception was punished with the strap, placed in an isolated cell and put on a diet of bread and water.

The report came from Clarence Thornbrough, executive assistant to Faubus, after he had talked with Prison Supt. O.E. Bishop, who could not be reached.

Newsmen were turned away at the prison gate.

Thornbrough said that when it was time for the convicts to go into the fields Monday, the strikers continued their sit-down.

ENCOURAGE RETURN

Trusties were sent in to encourage a return to work and were attacked by the strikers, he said.

State police—sent to the prison for special guard duty—lobbed tear gas shells among the scuffling convicts and fired shots into the air.

That ended the fighting with injuries limited to a few skinned knuckles, Thornbrough said.

NEGROES LED AWAY

Then 10 convicts—all Negroes—were led, one by one, away from the other strikers. Each was punished with the strap, a five-foot long strip of leather fastened to a wooden handle.

Thornbrough said 143 strikers—102 Negroes and 41 whites—at this point returned to the fields. One striker, a white man, still refused to work, he said.

The strike started while Faubus was touring nearby Tucker Prison Farm, where all the hired personnel were fired by Faubus after a state police probe last week.

RALPH McGILL

PROJECTS

7/1/66 AC

The Shylock

In Our Time

Adult education is a necessary part of the crisis in race relations. (Young Americans have a better understanding.)

Medicare and the hospitals offer the latest evidence of the need for informed adults. Legislation has been enacted to end inequities in commonly held citizenship rights. It was voted by the Congress — the representatives of all the people. It was not a White House act nor one by courts. It was an act by Congress.

As the July 1 date of Medicare's official beginning neared, most of the hospitals lagging in acceptance were in the Southern states. A substantial number had complied. But a check showed, ironically, that many of those which were resisting, or trying to effect compliance without really complying, were Protestant church - directed or church - related hospitals. Their private reason was that they did not want to be confronted with the problems they feared would follow accepting colored persons.

Letters to Editors

A number of letters to editors, criticizing this sort of Christianity, contained a paraphrase of Shylock's famous reply to Salar in Act Three, Scene One, of "The Merchant of Venice." Old Shylock, a sterotype of his environment in the ghetto of ancient Venice, reflected the angers and tortured personality of that ghetto environment. The paraphrase substituted the word Negro for Jew: "Hath not a Negro eyes? Hath not a Negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as the (white) Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us do we not die? If you wrong us, shall we not

an act by Congress.

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It is, admittedly, an emotional paraphrase since the original came from a highly harassed and persecuted Shylock. But the essence of the paraphrase is valid.

The Congress of this country has enacted laws reaffirming the right to vote and to use public accommodations and barring discrimination in employment and education. These are rights commonly held since the enactment of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments about 100 years ago. It surely is not a thoughtful white citizen who would insist now that this simple and equal sharing of the thing we all hold most precious — our citizenship — should be made a matter of gradualism. Gradual granting of citizenship, held commonly, is an open admission of guilt.

Adult Education

Adult education teaches us (if Christianity does not), that continued denial of citizenship rights of the opportunity to have an equal chance to be cared for when sick or in need of surgery and the right to go to schools as good as the system provides is a wrong and dangerous thing. To argue a program of gradualism after a century of denial is, first, an admission of guilt. It causes young Negro leaders to oppose older and wiser leaders of their own race who know that the anti-white and black nationalism policies provoke the worst sort of intolerance and violence in both.

Adult education requires adult Americans to comprehend that for the average Negro the courthouse at the county seat, the sheriff, deputies and juries have not been a symbol of safety or justice. The schools have not been adequate. The right to vote has been denied or made difficult.

These are our three most treasured national institutions—justice, education and the right to vote. Surely it is clear we should now make them so for some 20 million Americans who have seen these institutions through other eyes.

PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS

OWNER SAYS RIGHTS ACT DOESN'T APPLY

Downtown Cafeteria Bars 3 Negroes

By PHIL GAILEY

Three Negroes who sought service in the Healey Building Cafeteria Wednesday were physically barred by the cafeteria's owner who told them he does not believe the 1964 Civil Rights Act applies to his business.

An FBI spokesman said later in the afternoon that a complaint has been filed with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that an investigation is under way to see if the Civil Rights Act has been violated.

D. M. Harris, the cafeteria's owner, said he will abide with a court order to integrate his cafeteria if such an order should come.

The three Negroes were identified as J. Otis Cochran Jr., Johnny Moore and Doris Reed. Cochran said they were all connected with the Vine City Council, a slum-area organization of which Cochran is chairman.

There was no violence reported.

Cochran, who along with the two Negroes and two white persons stood in line for almost two hours waiting to be served, told newsmen he plans to seek legal advice and assistance from both the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Detective J. R. Shattles said Harris told him he did not feel his business came under the civil rights act because most of his customers worked in the Healey Building and that he did not advertise for outside trade.

Shattles told Harris and Cochran that the city had nothing to do with who was to be served in the cafeteria and advised them to take the matter to the courts.

Cochran, chairman of the Vine City Council, said he asked Harris if he and his friends were being denied service because they were Negroes.

"Harris said, 'Yes,' " Cochran said.

Harris said he did not make such a statement. He said again that he would give his reasons in court.

"I'll give my reasons for denying them service in court," Harris said.

Cochran told police that he and a friend were on their way to meet some friends when they wandered into the Healey Building Cafeteria — located in the lobby of the Healey Building — by chance.

"When we try to get in line this man (Harris) runs out and jumps in front of us," Cochran said.

Cochran said he left the cafeteria to seek some advice from sources he would not disclose and returned with some friends, another Negro and two white persons. The group stood in line for almost two hours waiting to be served.

One of the Negroes bought two cups of coffee from the snack bar in the front of the cafeteria while Harris blocked the other Negroes from the cafeteria line.

Cochran said he would be back Thursday to seek service in the cafeteria and expects to be joined by others.

The cafeteria's owner said he would refuse them if they come back.

Harris said this was the first attempt by Negroes to eat in his place.

This would be the first test of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in Atlanta since Lester Maddox lost his case to keep his cafeteria segregated.

Weir Says Housing Is Justified

Atlanta Water Works chief Paul Weir said Wednesday that the 32 employes in his department who live in rent-free, city-owned houses get this bonus so they can be on tap 24 hours a day for emergencies.

It was revealed Tuesday that 55 employes in five city departments reside in city-owned dwellings — without paying rent although rent is required by the city code.

Weir took the position that emergencies arise "very frequently" in his department and that it is therefore desirable for selected personnel to be housed in rent-free quarters on property acquired by the city for the water works.

Weir took exception to reports that his department built a new house last year on Benwell Road without authorization, using money appropriated to "maintenance and repair" within the department.

Weir maintained the construction had received "the full authorization of the aldermanic water committee."

City Comptroller Charles Davis has said that his staff has not been able to uncover any resolution or ordinance or record of authorization having been tendered for the Benwell Road project.

Baptist Group Burns Mortgage

By CLAUDE GEORGE SR.

The General Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia recently paid off the mortgage on its headquarters in Atlanta and celebrated the event with a "mortgage burning" ceremony.

Dr. L. M. Terrill, president, said that the mortgage was paid off six years early and that this is the first time the convention has ever owned property in Atlanta.

The convention will now undertake to build a new headquarters which it hopes to complete in time for its centennial celebration in 1970, Dr. Terrill said.

The session of the convention is meeting in Macon Wednesday and Thursday at which time it will take up the matter of a new headquarters building.

STRETCH YOUR MIND

Recent experiments indicate that applied intelligence, as measured by IQ tests, can be dramatically increased by mental exercise.

Discover 10 fascinating yet simple exercises that show you how your mind works—and can help it work more efficiently . . . in March Reader's Digest *now on sale.*

UNSURPASSED FOR PAIN RELIEF

No other tablet in government-sponsored test of 5 leading pain relievers gave faster or stronger pain relief than—St. Joseph Aspirin. Proved gentle as buffering—*more gentle* than "combination of ingredients" products tested. Yet, St. Joseph Aspirin costs less than half as much as these compounds. It's 100% pure pain reliever —no added drugs.

Get the best for half the price of leading "extra ingredients" products

NONE FASTER, STRONGER! ST. JOSEPH ASPIRIN NONE SAFER, PURER!

DRUG MUTUAL Stores COURTEOUS CONVENIENT COMPETENT COMPETITIVE

PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS

AJ 2/24/66

Barrier Dropped, Negroes Get Food

By WALKER LUNDY

About 20 Negroes were served lunch Thursday in a Healey Building cafeteria, 24 hours after three had been refused service.

Cafeteria manager D. M. Harris answered, "No comment, no comment," when asked why he had changed his mind.

He said he would fight the matter in court, not in his restaurant.

Among those eating in the cafeteria were J. Otis Cochran, one of the three refused service Wednesday and John Lewis, controversial leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Harris asked newsmen to leave the restaurant and the crowd of about 10 of them and about 50 white onlookers stood in the lobby and watched the Negroes go through the cafeteria line peacefully.

THE FBI had already begun an investigation of the cafeteria incident to determine if the civil rights of the three Negroes were violated when they were refused service.

The chief of the Atlanta FBI office, Joseph Ponder, said the examination of the matter would take "a few days." He said a report will be made to the Justice Department in Washington, which will decide whether legal action is necessary.

The incident occured at lunchtime Wednesday when two Negro men and one Negro woman —all members of the Vine City Council—attempted to enter the cafeteria line.

Mr. D. M. Harris blocked their entrance but the Negroes remained for more than an hour before leaving. One of them, Mr. Cochran, chairman of the Vine City group, said then that he would register a complaint with the FBI. Later in the afternoon, the bureau announced he had.

MR. HARRIS SAID the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not apply to his cafeteria and that was why he did not serve the Negroes.

"I have no signs asking people to come in, there is no public street entrance and the major portion of our food is raised in Georgia," he said.

In an almost identical case shortly after the Civil Rights Act was passed, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a Birmingham restaurant came under the law's influence because its food products had been transported across state lines.

Mr. Cochran and the other two Negroes, Johnny Moore and Doris Reed, said they telephoned Atlanta police after Mr. Harris refused them service.

Police said there was no violence during the incident. Detective J. R. Shattles said he told Mr. Harris that the manager probably violated the Civl Rights Act.

Mr. Harris said he would wait for a court ruling before complying with the act.

VOL. CLXVII NO. 29

Apartheid Obstacle

South Africa's Attempt To Separate the Races Faces Major Problems

RACISM

~~FOREIGN~~

Boom Pulls Blacks to Cities To Work; Outlook Is Dim For Decentralizing Industry

WSJ — 2/9/66

Economics and the Color Line

By PAUL LANCASTER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—David M. is a short, round-faced 34-year-old African who earns his living by serving tea to white men in the offices of a large company here. He wears a threadbare brown suit jacket and mismatched trousers, makes only $14 a week, and must be able to produce at any time, on demand of the police, a brown-covered pass book showing he is allowed in Johannesburg.

Still his life isn't entirely bleak. He grew up in a tin-roofed hovel in a now-vanished black slum of Johannesburg; today he owns a tiny four-room brick house (not the land, because the law forbids that) in Soweto, a vast government-built African housing development outside the city. Moreover, David M., who attended school to a point equal to seventh grade in the U.S., is about to move into a better-paying job as clerk in a company storeroom.

"I'm married and I have two children," he says. "I don't want to serve tea anymore."

South African whites point with pride to the improved living conditions of Africans like David. But signs are mounting that it is precisely this sort of urbanized African who is going to frustrate the country's grand design for solving its racial problem by separating the black majority from the white minority. David and increasing numbers of his fellows are becoming inextricably bound up with the booming white South African economy, and many observers are convinced the trend is irreversible.

Assessing South Africa's "separate development" policy, a Johannesburg banker says: "From an economic point of view, it's bound to fail. I think a lot of Nationalists (the ruling party) know this, too, but they can't turn back now."

Carving Up a Country

The Nationalists insist they know nothing of the kind. They maintain that with determined effort the plan of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's government to carve the country into white and nonwhite areas can be made to work. And they confidently predict—with concurrence from their critics—that the parliamentary election March 30 will demonstrate conclusively that white South Africans back the government more strongly than ever.

An election victory won't dispose of the economic obstacles to separate development, say those South Africans who doubt the plan's feasibility. But they usually add that they can offer no easy alternative course. Many are as firmly set as government supporters against rapid extension of political rights to nonwhites, though some do talk of a distant day when nonwhites' economic ad-

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Whatever the future of race relations here, the course they take is of deep concern far beyond the borders of South Africa. Though Rhodesia's racial situation dominates the headlines now, the confrontation there is on a far smaller scale than that in South Africa, and in the long run it is probably far less significant. What happens here in coming years may go a long way toward determining whether black-white tensions diminish or intensify in all of Africa. It may also determine whether this bustling industrial nation—which boasts it produces three times as much steel and twice as much electricity as the rest of Africa combined—can ever get on well enough with the rest of the continent to fill its natural role as a supplier of manufactured goods, a role now largely ruled out by other African nations' embargoes against its products.

Americans' Stake

The fact that South Africa accounts for more than 70% of the Free World's gold production also contributes to international concern about its future. And from the point of view of the defenses of the non-Communist world, how South Africa resolves its racial problems may determine its reliability as a pro-West foothold on the African continent. Strictly from the point of view of U.S. interests, racial developments in South Africa may well bear on the long-term safety of the $500 million worth of direct American invesment here.

South Africa, roughly twice the size of Texas, has a population of 17.8 million. Of these, 19% are white and 69% are Africans, or "Bantu," as they are known in South Africa. About 9% are mixed bloods, called "coloreds," and the remaining 3% are Asiatics, mainly Indians.

The whites are on top in every way. Nonwhites have no vote and no voice in the South African government, except for a limited system whereby some of the coloreds are represented in parliament by whites. David M., who falls at the bottom of the color scale, calls white men "baas" and is referred to by them as a "boy."

Africans' movements are tightly controlled to keep those not needed in the labor force out of the cities. This is the purpose of the pass books. Men coming to cities to work from outlying areas must often leave wives and families behind.

African Wages

Modest homes of white factory workers have a room at the back for a live-in maid, and middle-income families frequently have a garden "boy" as well. An African maid in Johannesburg is paid about $6 a week, plus food and lodging. Law and custom sharply circumscribe the jobs nonwhites can do, and nonwhites generally have been restricted to the less skilled jobs. Though Africans' pay is rising, Bantu wages in manufacturing average

Please Turn to Page 6, Column 2

Apartheid Obstacle: South Africa's Racial Plan Faces Major Problems

Continued From Page One

about $600 a year—a fifth the average for whites.

Segregation appears to be limited only by the country's capacity to turn out signs reading "whites only" and "nonwhites only" or "Europeans only" and "non-Europeans only." The signs are everywhere, usually both in English and in Afrikaans, the Dutch-derived language that is the principal tongue of 60% of the white population. They will always be necessary, says Minister of Information Frank Waring, because contact between races inevitably produces "friction."

There are separate telephone booths, elevators, railroad cars and post office windows. Off-track horse-race betting centers have separate doors. At the edge of a park in downtown Johannesburg a well-dressed young African couple perches on the curb because "Europeans only" is stenciled on the benches. At Port Elizabeth, there are six categories of beaches—for whites, coloreds, Africans, Indians, Malays and Chinese.

Such manifestations of "petty apartheid," as the more trivial forms of discrimination are known, genuinely distress a sizable number of whites here. But even many of them insist that economic discrimination is unavoidable for now. The operator of a print shop in Johannesburg says he pays unskilled beginning Africans half what he pays whites. "But it's no saving. They just aren't reliable workers, and any request for anything out of the ordinary starts them grumbling. I have one area where I now employ three Africans, and I'm considering replacing them all with one white woman."

Even in the case of petty apartheid, support is by no means limited to the government or working-class whites. "We keep different kinds of people apart so one group won't be made to feel inferior by being placed in close contact with a more advanced group," explains a rising young Afrikaner businessman in Cape Town.

States Within a State

Though separate-development planners have designated specified areas as reserved for whites, coloreds and Asiatics, the program focuses mainly on the Africans. The announced aim is to create a number of separate Bantu states, called "Bantustans" or "homelands," within the borders of South Africa. These states, the government says, eventually will become autonomous, and the blacks living within their borders will govern themselves and possess full political, social and economic rights.

A total of eight Bantustans have been mapped out by the government. They occupy 13% of the country's area. The disproportion between this and the blacks' 69% share of the population is frequently criticized. The government says much of South Africa is mountainous or arid, and claims that 45% of the country's most fertile ground is located in the Bantu homelands.

The government says separate development "makes it possible for the various groups to enjoy the full privileges of a free society, each in their own area, unhampered by the strains imposed by a multiracial society." The same statement asserts that "the mixing of two such alien elements as white the tie-up to their homelands," says Dirk Richard, editor of an Afrikaans weekly owned by a company of which the Prime Minister is chairman. "We must imbue them with ethnic and nationality feeling."

Trying to Stem the Tide

The government also maintains that the growth of the African population in the cities can be halted eventually. Officials have mentioned 1978 as the year when urban Africans' ranks should hit a peak and then start to decline.

The key to reversing the flow to the cities is a vast expansion of employment opportunities in or near the African homelands. "The job is tremendously big," concedes Johannes Adendorff, general manager of Bantu Investment Corp., a government corporation that is trying to develop new businesses in the homeland areas for eventual take-over by Africans. Nevertheless, he says he is confident that "if we have sufficient time, it can be done."

The government also is prodding white industry to build plants just outside the Bantustan borders. They are manned largely by Africans who cross over each day to work. The government holds out the prospect of chea labor and offers tax and other incentives.

Pieter Rautenbach, chairman of a government economic planning council, says that since it began in 1960 the border industry program has resulted in 88 new factories and 57 expansion projects in border areas. The upshot has been the creation of a total of 42,000 new jobs for Africans in these outlying areas in five and a half years.

But Mr. Rautenbach himself says 34,800 new border jobs a year will be needed to stop the flow of African men to the cities. Another economist sets the figure at 70,000. And some "border industries" actually are so far from African homelands that workers can't commute daily, but must continue to live segregated lives in white areas.

Why Move?

Many businessmen think the incentives now offered can't lure enough industry to the outlying areas to produce any significant change in the distribution of the African population. "If industry is making a good profit here, which it is, why should it move?" asks a Johannesburg banker.

And almost no one expects much from government efforts to create industries within the homelands, where white capital is banned. In the Transkei these efforts have produced only 232 new factory jobs (in a furniture plant and a weaving mill). A meat-packing plant to open soon will employ only 50.

If the economic obstacles to separate development as now envisioned prove insurmountable, what then?

There can only be speculation. Completely new international pressures could come into play in South Africa. New calls for economic sanctions might develop, particularly if they prove effective against Rhodesia or if South Africa should refuse to abide by a forthcoming decision in the case before the International Court of Justice over South Africa's application of apartheid in the mandated territory of South-West Africa. Also, black African states, perhaps spurred on by Communists, might try to fire up Africans here.

Violence Seems Unlikely

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Not spelled out in the statement, but obviously the heart of the matter, is the fact that the mixing of white and black in South Africa might well lead eventually to a black-ruled country. This path, says Information Minister Waring, could bring only "bloodshed and chaos."

Green Hills, Mud Huts

To visitors, the government proudly displays the Transkei, the first of the Bantustans to begin functioning. A stretch of breathtaking green hills sprinkled with thatch-roofed mud huts, women wrapped in bright orange blankets and loincloth-clad cattle herdsmen, it assumed limited self-government in 1963. The Transkei, which still is in a transition stage between white and black, has its own African parliament and ministers. Though the African politicians—who stay at boarding houses when they come to the capital city of Umtata because the hotels still admit only whites—are carefully coached by white advisers, they have on at least one occasion taken a position at odds with South African government policy.

One of the latest moves by South Africa in the Transkei was to begin rezoning as black certain areas of towns now occupied by whites. The rezoning, which is intended to lead eventually to complete takeover of the towns by Africans, means that in coming years a number of white owners of houses and businesses may have to sell out to Africans. The rezoning has been accompanied by a measure of confusion; in Umtata, the clubhouse of the white golf course has been left white for now but the fairways and greens are zoned black. "I'm sure the government had a reason," says one puzzled white resident.

Despite developments in the Transkei, some people remain skeptical that the Nationalist government will ever let the Bantustans become fully independent. Others say unsatisfactory land allocations for some of the Bantustans make it unlikely they could ever become true states. Some are collections of dots of territory scattered through white areas rather than contiguous areas like the Transkei.

Beside the Point?

Most white South Africans, however, including severe critics of the government, seem to feel there is nothing to lose in trying to develop the Bantustans as fully as possible. At the least, it's argued, such efforts should result in more rights and better living for blacks in the areas. But a substantial number of white South Africans, along with some overseas observers, also assert that when it comes to solving the country's long-term racial problem, the Bantustans are largely beside the point.

The reason: Close to 60% of South Africa's blacks live not in the rural areas that have been marked off as Bantustans but in white urban, farming and mining areas—and the number is rising rapidly. Some 2.3 million blacks lived in South African cities in 1951; by 1960, the total was 3.2 million. Urban Africans outnumber urban whites.

The government has some answers to this. It says that Africans will have full political rights in their tribal homelands even if they live outside them. An African who lives and works in Johannesburg but who traces his origins to the Transkei theoretically will be compensated for his rigidly segregated life here by the knowledge that he possesses rights, including the vote, several hundred miles away in the Transkei.

Even some ardent Nationalists concede it may take a bit of doing to put this idea across to some urbanized blacks. "We have to convince these people of the meaning of

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Violence Seems Unlikely

Most students of South Africa are convinced, however, that the explosions of violence periodically predicted for the country aren't going to happen in the foreseeable future. The police have things firmly in hand, with any potential troublemakers jailed, restricted or driven out of the country. And South Africa is in a powerful position to resist sanctions if only because of its gold.

Within South Africa there clearly are some whites who would prefer failure for the Bantustan program—or any other scheme carrying the slightest chance of elevating nonwhites. They are thoroughgoing white supremacists who want blacks around forever as cheap labor. The Nationalist Party contains a sizable group that feels Mr. Verwoerd spends too much money to develop the Bantustans and to educate Africans.

Still, steady economic advancement for nonwhites seems inevitable. Though official rules may state that nonwhites can't hold certain jobs, there is a shortage of white labor here and employers increasingly must fill supposedly white slots with nonwhites. Last year new rules for the auto industry listed jobs to be restricted to whites. But whites weren't available and exemptions were granted leaving things about as they were before.

But will rising wages and an expanding economic role for nonwhites translate into political power and a lowering of color bars? Many South Africans are reluctant even to speculate.

Some cannot conceive of change as long as the Nationalists remain in charge. They also note that the principal opposition party, the United Party, which draws its support mainly from English-speaking whites, differs little in its outlook on racial matters from the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party.

Such speculation also inevitably raises the question of rule by the African majority. And most whites here, including those who doubt the workability of the government's present program, refuse to contemplate such a possibility.

Seeking Political Power

But a handful of white South Africans regard it as a certainty that nonwhites are going to seek more political and social rights some day and that the only end to which this can lead, probably sometime in the distant future, is a dominant political role for Africans.

Some remain hopeful such a change could come smoothly. "If the African states and the UN would stop breathing down our necks, it could come out all right," says a Johannesburg businessman of English descent. "But we need time to bring the Africans along slowly and to develop an educated African middle class."

Others doubt a completely peaceful transition is possible. Mrs. Helen Suzman, the lone representative in parliament of the Progressive Party, which favors extending the vote now to "qualified" persons of all races, foresees an uneasy period during what she regards as an inevitable transition to nonwhite majority rule.

"I don't want to say there will be violence," she says. "But when change comes it will be change which is resisted."

Alleghany Corp.

ALLEGHANY CORP. reports net assets at Dec. 31:

	1965	1964	1963
a-Net assets per com sh	$15.45	$13.57	$11.84
Net assets for com stk	118,462,318	163,295,652	139,936,359
Common shares	10,086,019	10,078,784	9,935,753

a-After allowing for the conversion of outstanding preferred shares, the exercise of warrants and options, and estimated Federal taxes on net unrealized appreciation of securities. Before Federal taxes on unrealized appreciation of securities, net assets per share of common stock were $17.91 on Dec. 31, 1965; $15.46 on Dec. 31, 1964, and $13.14 on Dec. 31, 1963.

Statement of income for the year ended Dec. 31:

	1965	1964	1963
a-Net income	$3,673,303	$3,178,369	$2,953,223
Net inco sale secs		1,528,818	71,565

a-Exclusive of security transactions.

South African Exile To Talk on Racism Here

RACISM AC 4/4/66

Robert Resha, South African Nationalist leader in exile, will speak on "The Struggle Against Racism in South Africa" at a meeting here Thursday at 8 p.m.

The South African leader is touring the United States and parts of Canada to raise funds and spread information about South African "apartheid."

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Resha was chosen by the South African Freedom Movement to be its exiled representative to maintain contact with friendly African independent governments.

Raised in the slums of "black" Johannesburg, the Negro leader helped organize the Congress of People in 1955, the largest multi-racial gathering ever held in South Africa. The congress adopted a "Freedom Charter," a declaration of independence based on the United Nations Charter. A year later Resha was one of 156 defendants brought to court in a treason trial that lasted four years and ended in dismissal or acquittal for all the accused.

Resha has worked in the freedom struggle with Albert J. Lutuli, head of the now-banned African National Congress who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

U.S. COMMITTEE

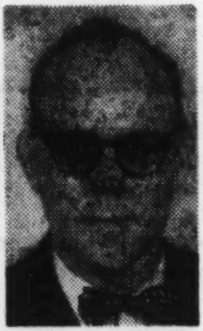
Resha's address here is sponsored by the American Committee on Africa. The address will be at the Quaker House, 1384 Fairview Road NE. Among sponsors of the American Committee are Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Morehouse President Benjamin E. Mayes.

Funds raised will go to the African Defense and Aid Fund to provide legal aid for South African opponents to apartheid and to provide financial aid to their families.

Close-Up RADICAL RIGHT 5/28/66 AC

An Evening With Mr. Welch

Robert Welch, the grandfatherly looking founder of the John Birch Society, was in town the other night and it was like homecoming to some 800 of the faithful who gathered to hear the gospel.



Anyone familiar with Mr. Welch's writings might understandably picture him as a wild-eyed ranting and raving demagogue who would do justice to the most vociferous of the old wool-hat boys. But he is not. He does look grandfatherly and his speech is soft and pleasant to the ear.

And his followers here are not the "little old ladies in tennis shoes" you read about. The majority were young married couples, conservatively and tastefully dressed.

You look at them and you wonder. You wonder what all these nice looking people are doing here, listening to all this drivel about the civil rights movement being a "Communist-inspired" plot to establish "a Soviet Negro republic in the Southeast United States."

One also wonders whether any of these people have ever read Mr. Welch's book "The Politician." (I know that both in the book and in statements of the society there are disavowals of any connection between the two. The fact remains that Mr. Welch is the society's founder and spokesman, and his views should be important to its membership.)

Here is what Mr. Welch said about the late Gen. George C. Marshall on Page 15:

"I defy anybody, who is not actually a Communist himself, to read all the known facts about his career and not decide that since at least sometime in the 1930s George Catlett Marshall has been a conscious, deliberate, dedicated agent of the Soviet conspiracy."

Of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, on Page 223:

"For many reasons and after a lot of study, I personally believe Dulles to be a Communist agent. . . ."

In Mr. Welch's first version of the book he called former President Eisenhower a Communist, but in his revised (1963) edition he deletes that specific charge and instead merely attributes many of Eisenhower's acts to prodding from "his Communist bosses."

This erstwhile author, founder of an organization described by Georgia gubernatorial candidate Lester Maddox as "best equipped to stop the Communist conspiracy," told his audience here:

"Not only is this country one vast insane asylum, but they're letting the worst patients run the place."

Sounds kind of nutty, doesn't it?

JIM RANKIN.

New Book to Help Impeach Warren, Birchite Says Here

RADICAL RIGHT

AC 11/15/66

By DUANE RINER

The John Birch Society's lagging movement to impeach Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren will gather momentum in the coming year with publication of a new book, "High Crimes and Misdemeanors," its author prediced here Monday night.

Edward Griffin, 35, a full-time Birch Society staff coordinator, told a news conference at the Biltmore Hotel Monday's Supreme Court ruling that states can declare their properties out of bounds for civil rights marchers is just another example of the court's "double standard."

He said the court had ruled earlier that private property owners could not deny demonstrators access if the facilities came under provisions of the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Asked to define his charge of "high crimes and misdemeanors," the former radio and television announcer who now lives in California said the "record shows" that the current Supreme Court justices have "undermined the forces of law and order, given aid and comfort to the enemy and destroyed the system of checks and balances" by concentrating the powers of government into the federal branch and, specifically, the presidency.

He repeated the charges in a speech three hours later.

Griffin said he could not say whether the Nov. 8 elections provided gains or losses for conservatism. He said the results merely provide a barometer of gains and losses already achieved.

The spokesman, who said the John Birch Society does not attempt to define its brand of conservatism, voiced confidence that conservatives "will make a comeback . . . when the majority of people begin to understand the wisdom of the Conservative viewpoint." This could come in the 1968 presidential election, he said.

Endorsement of political candidates is "contrary to the principles" of the John Birch Society, and the society's function is "education," Griffin explained.

He said the society is "growing rather steadily and significantly" in Georgia.

OPPOSED TO KLAN

As to the society's relationship to the Ku Klux Klan, Griffin declared that his organization is "entirely opposed" to klan principles and revokes the membership of any person found also belonging to the KKK.

Griffin said he was not sufficiently familiar with the Georgia gubernatorial race to comment on the current confusion. "The society doesn't really get happy or unhappy over the candidacy of any one man" but merely attempts to evaluate views as individuals, he said.

He summed up the society's position, as explained in founder Robert Welch's "Blue Book," as a drive for "less government and more responsibility."

Asked how the society's membership stacks up along party lines, Griffin said it probably would be about 60 per cent Republican and 40 per cent Democrat.

OTHER VIEWS

On other subjects, Griffin said:

—"I am against all federal aid since all federal aid has federal control."

—The founding fathers envisioned the federal government as only a means of representing the nation's position in the world, meaning it should be confined to military and diplomatic functions.

—The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is "strictly socialism." He defined the basic purpose of government as "to protect and not to provide."

—He approves setting of health standards, civil aeronautics control and some other regulatory functions.

—The nation has a "no win" policy in Viet Nam, a policy of "containment instead of victory."

The Red Chinese people will revolt against Mao Tse-tung if National China leader Chiang Kai-Shek is given the opportunity, with U.S. backing of fighting Communism in both North Viet Nam and Red China.

—"I'm against all foreign aid for two reasons: It's unconstitutional and we're broke."

With Griffin at the news conference was the Georgia coordinator for the John Birch Society, 25-year-old Gerald Jones, who said he was "personally delighted" over Republican Ben Blackburn's apparent victory over Democratic incumbent Rep. James A. Mackay in the Fourth District.

Jones, a native of Sanford, Fla., has been the society's Georgia coordinator for three years. He said Mackay's charge that members of the society were working to defeat him probably was true, but only "as individuals."

The society's membership, he said, includes "some of the most prominent men in DeKalb County."

The society, with an estimated 150 chapters in the state—mostly in the metropolitan Atlanta area—has been approached by a Negro group in Cobb County for details of membership, Jones said.

Jones said the chapters are confined to 15 to 25 persons each. "We find they're much better working units when they're small."

U.S. Launches Drive on Bias In Religion on Insurance

RELIGIOUS BIAS

AC 3/20/66

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, March 19 — The federal government has launched a quiet campaign against alleged religious discrimination in insurance companies.

The air is to open executive positions to Jews and Roman Catholics, as well as to Negroes and other racial minorities, in companies where the top jobs may be reserved for Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

It is belived to be the first time the government has moved against religous discrimination under a succession of presidential orders, dating back to 1951, that call for equal employment opportunity in concerns holding federal contracts.

THE LATEST ORDER prohibits discrimination because of "race, creed, color or national origin."

The Social Security Administration is requiring of insurance companies selected to distribute medicare funds the same compliance procedures regarding creed as it is for race, color and national origin.

Involved are some of the oldest and largest insurance companies in the nation.

In the past, the government has sought to eliminate racial discrimination in all firms holding government contracts. It requires each to submit data on the racial composition of its work force.

When this discloses an apparent exclusion of racial minorities steps are taken to see that the company adopts a more open employment policy.

Until recently, no effort had been made to have companies report on the religious affiliation of their employes and in absence of complaints the government generally ignored this phase of compliance.

LAST FALL, the American Jewish Committee filed a complaint with Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz charging that some major defense contractors were discriminating, chiefly against Jews but also against Roman Catholics, in high management appointments.

The committee called on Wirtz to impose sanctions, including cancellation of federal contracts, against companies that persist in religious discrimination.

Both Wirtz and Edward C. Sylvester, director of the Office of Contract Compliance, expressed concern and indicated more would be done on behalf of both religious minorities and some of the forgotten racial minorities such as Spanish Americans.

Early this year, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare set up a special staff in the Social Security Administration to seek contract compliance from concerns that will pay doctor bills under Medicare. The staff is headed by Chester J. Gray, a veteran compliance officer on loan from the Air Force.

MEDICARE, the new health insurance program for the aged, will go into effect July 1. Forty-eight organizations in the health insurance field were chosen as intermediaries to distribute the funds, as required by law.

These include 32 Blue Shield organizations, Aetna Life Insurance Co.; Connecticut General Life nsurance Co.; John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.; the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States; Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; Pan-American Life Insurance Co.; The Travelers Insurance Co.; the Prudential Insurance Co. of America; Na-

REPORTS, INTERNAL

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting---November 16, 1966

Insofar as this report might deal with the personal activity of the Director of Field Activities, it is tempting to summarize by quoting one of the central characters from the Book of Job. Whenever the council of heaven was called, "Satan came also among them." Each time, in answer to the query, "Whence have you come?" Satan answered the Lord, "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it."

Taking advantage of opportunities during my first year to acquaint myself with the region, as well as carrying out necessary duties, has carried me twice to Arkansas, three times into Tennessee, twice to Washington, D.C., and once to Virginia. I have been four times each to North and South Carolina and thrice to Florida. I have lost the count for Alabama and Mississippi, and the air lines think I commute to Louisiana. Georgia can thank Paul Anthony and my wife for distracting me from my duties here, except for attending the annual meeting of the Georgia Council, fairly regular attendance at their executive committee meetings, and a couple of speaking engagements.

Most of these wanderings have been occasioned by some function of the state councils. As with all of the professional staff of the SRC, however, there have been responses to occasional requests and opportunities, such as attendance at the Mid-Decade Conference on Children and Youth and the White House Conference on Civil Rights; a talk on "The Nature of Prejudice" at a workshop in Mobile for the Personnel Directors of the largest Post Offices in the region; an address to the United Church Women of Huntsville and to local human relations councils in Charleston, Aiken, and Auburn; and a briefing for Y.W.C.A. executives at Lake Junaluska.

Additional travel was occasioned by special program efforts involving the field department. In the spring and early summer we cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defence and Education Fund, and the several state councils in workshops on school desegregation in each of the southern states. These were held in conjunction with wider conferences sponsored by the state advisory committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Along with John Boone, Director of

of SRC's Special Project on Crime and Corrections, we assisted the Fellowship of Concern and the state councils with a series of workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts." These, too, were held in each state in the region. Mrs. Tilly will tell you more about them later in this meeting.

In the course of the year we have been called upon for other services requiring less travel, but a great deal of administrative work. We were asked to secure the names of Negro boys now in the eighth grade, a list of apt candidates from which eighteen could be selected for admission to six of the top prep schools of the South.

A more involved project has been an experiment in the distribution of paperback books among people who otherwise have had little opportunity to use and own books. We are attempting to find unorthodox means of making them available, such as bookshelves in community centers; parents groups connected with day care or Head Start programs; in connection with tutorial projects, reading rooms, and study halls; and by creating or supplementing inadequate classroom or school libraries. Under the able administration of Miss Louise Cole of our staff and with the invaluable aid of the Atlanta News Agency, we are well into the process of distributing some 40,000 paperback books in these ways.

Your field department continues to serve as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering, four times per year, of most of the intergroup relations agencies working in the region for the purpose of discussing current problems and prospects and mutual briefing on new programs.

Service and assistance to the state councils on human relations remains, however, the primary continuing responsibility of your Department of Field Activities--and their growth in size, strength and effectiveness our constant concern.

As you know, we have been able this year, because of increased foundation support, to triple the total of our grants-in-aid to the state councils to $150,000. In addition we are now able to invest some $50,000 per year in Rural Advancement Projects under the structures of four state councils, working in close cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. Moreover, the councils are able to take advantage of incidental program funds available

in connection with SRC's special projects for specific, short-term activities. Thus we are contributing between $225,000 and $250,000 to state and local council operation and program.

For the reasons mentioned by Mr. Anthony this afternoon the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to grow to the point where they can be self-sustaining in their basic staffed operations. Our goal is to see this point reached by the end of 1968, with possible exceptions in the cases of the Mississippi and Louisiana Councils, which have only recently been reorganized. To this end we have constantly emphasized organized recruitment and involvement of members, organized efforts at indigenous funding, increase in size of staffs, and professional upgrading of staff--as well as concomitant development of program and services.

The response of state council leaders, both lay and professional has been gratifying and the results are notable. In addition to Rural Advancement Projects in South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Alabama--each with a full-time director--other full-time staff professionals have been added: two in Tennessee and one each in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. In Louisiana an office has been opened in Baton Rouge and an able Executive Director and Office Manager employed, giving that council a staff for the first time. The operations in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Florida have been stabilized with adequate salaries for executives and full-time clerical employees.

While speaking of personnel changes, we note with regret that some members of the state council family who were present at this meeting last year are missing this year. Bob Alexander and Ozell Sutton resigned from the staffs of the Houston and Arkansas Councils, respectively, to accept other positions. Nat Griswold, who has been Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, is on a six-month leave of absence to write a book and will formally retire at the end of the year. Most sadly do we report the death, on September 19, of Mr. Oliver Holmes, personable and invaluable Assistant to the Director of the Georgia Council.

As for training and upgrading of the council staffs, it has been possible to double the number of state council staff conferences. We have brought them together five times this year, in addition to their attendance at this meeting. One time it was for an eight-day Community Leadership Development Laboratory at Emory University--a first attempt to secure formal in-service training for council staffers.

The state council presidents were brought together also for a two-day conference on June 17 and 18. This, too, was the first meeting of its kind. The presidents felt that the discussion of purposes, policy and philosophy and the sharing of problems was very helpful, and they have asked that this be made an annual affair.

Time would not permit my telling you, even if I could, of all the imaginative, creative things the state councils have been doing. But let me mention a few.

The Virginia Council has made a thorough study of the ethnic bias of that state's approved textbooks and has promoted use of multi-ethnic texts by the preparation of two excellent publications on the subject, among other ways. They are also sponsoring a significant conference on religion and race, scheduled for the last of this month.

The Georgia Council has conducted and reported a well-planned study of the state's public assistance program. Jointly with the Georgia A.C.L.U. and with the aid of the SRC staff and resources, the Georgia Council prepared an attractive, easily readable handbook titled Know Your Rights, which sets forth basic rights of persons arrested by police officers. It has received wide distribution and acclaim. The North Dekalb chapter of GCHR conducted a Voter Education Project which registered about 500 persons.

The Tennessee Council has done an effective job of securing truly representative and democratic Community Action agencies in two of the largest cities in the state. Since the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema to the staff they have begun important studies of public housing and public welfare in Tennessee. Their Knoxville chapter carried out an effective Voter Registration Project.

"Project SPEED-UP" of the South Carolina Council employed college students to tutor more than 2,000 children in 28 locations in 13 counties.

The Arkansas Council secured a grant from the Voter Education Project and conducted a registration drive in 14 counties. Well over 7,000 persons were registered to vote.

The Florida Council conducted a two-day workshop for local council leaders and, partly as a result of the ideas and resources discovered to them at that meeting, the local councils of Florida have been unusually active.

The Alabama Council, utilizing a VEP grant, did an excellent job of informing farmers in 12 counties about the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections and of policing the elections themselves. ASCS elections are vital because the representative chosen in them determine crop allotments for the year.

The Mississippi Council has sponsored a number of statewide conferences, including one which brought together a large number of the state's impoverished people and officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Executive Director has become an effective link in communication between the white establishment and Negro leaders.

The growth of the state councils is measurable statistically. We have sought this year to limit our reckoning of membership to those whose dues are currently paid. On that basis the total membership now stands at approximately 11,500, an increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation for raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members.

At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately.

The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends--an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,000--a leap of more than 25%.

All of these facts are encouraging.

But we cannot be satisfied with arithmetic progress when the sustained crisis of this region grows by geometric progression. The beleaguered people of the human relations councils have been these dozen years--to a greater degree than is generally understood--the salt of the South. But conditions have been altered radically since their founding, and there are those both within and without the state councils who question the need or the possibility--or both--of their continuing. I for one am convinced that their proper role is more vital than it was in 1954 and 1955, although it needs, perhaps, to be differently conceived.

All of us are keenly aware of the radical challenge which has been thrown down by the "black power" movement and of the lightning speed of the "white backlash." Intriguing to me are the assumptions of "black power" advocates as articulated by one of their able interpreters, Mr. Julian Bond:

> ...the social system, as organized is no longer capable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problems presented to it by history.
>
> ...white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their civil rights and...must be forced to it by pressure.
>
> ...people do not discriminate for the fun of it;...the function of prejudice is to defend social, economic, political and psychological interests, and...appeals to the fair play of prejudiced people are prayers said to the wind.
>
> ...communities will change discriminatory patterns if they are faced with a clear-cut choice between bias and another highly developed value--economic gain, education or civic peace.

We have to ponder seriously these assumptions. We may lament the actions and strategy of those who make them. We may be grateful that no large portion of Negro Americans has been won to them. But neither the actions nor the number of those who thus believe disproves the validity of these beliefs.

Indeed, the reaction of the nation to date, far from disproving these assumptions, seems almost calculated to do the reverse. Much of the evidence brought forth in this decade of struggle for equal rights tends to confirm their suspicions. Certainly those of us who continue to discern the promise of the South's nobler customs and to dream the American dream must discern and dream by faith, for the reality is not yet.

As biracial associations of citizens committed to social change through the "normal channels" of fact-finding, education, negotiation, and enfranchisement, the human relations councils are uniquely situated to disprove the "black power" assumptions--if indeed they can be disproven. If the human relations council idea has any genius and destiny, it lies not in leadership of the oppressed but in its potential for education of the oppressing majority. There is a movement among the oppressed. To be sure it needs and deserves all possible aid, and those who are not themselves victims can provide technical assistance as needed and called for. But the movement is there; whereas there is as yet no significant movement among the oppressing or acquiescing majority. The dissatisfaction of the minorities is or will be aroused. What is needed is an answering dissatisfaction from those who sleep in the presence of moral--and possibly mortal--peril.

Funds problem and deadline are out. Unimpress

One member of your SRC staff tells of trying to secure help for people who were living in unheated slum housing in the midst of a cold snap in Atlanta last winter. "We had some middle class folks down there," he said, "but the emotion they felt was pity for these poor persons. As long as that is what they feel, they can't help much--because the appropriate reaction is anger." That is true. And what we need in the human relations councils is more people--a lot more people--who have the large capacity to hold in constant, creative tension anger over the misery of the minority

and pity for the insensible soul-misery of the majority.

If we are to "make democracy work" in the South we shall not do so with ten or twelve thousand people, scattered through eleven states, backing the effort with an average ten dollars each. We have to be more serious and more intense than that!

Our antagonists are more serious and more intense than that. One well-known right-wing organization which, in the judgment of some of us, is doing the most effective job of indoctrinating the white people of the South claimed, about a year ago, more than 100 "chapters" in metropolitan Birmingham alone. By conservative estimate that would mean about 1,500 members in that small area. Only yesterday the Atlanta Constitution carried the boast of one of their "staff coordinators" that an estimated 150 chapters have been organized in Georgia. They have organized over the nation "committees" to counteract the civil rights movement. In Arkansas, for example, they claim such a committee in every town of over 3,000 population. And in May they lamented in print that their contributions fell a million dollars short of their mark in 1965. They spent $5 million while contributions came to only $4,089,000--up only $889,000 from the $3,200,000 contributed in 1964!

There are many variables which must be weighed into this, of course. But the conclusion is incontrovertible that those folks mean business. And so must we!

I have always thought (to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln) that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who permit it for themselves, and secondly those who permit it for others. I venture the opinion that we need not be anxious, in these days, about the former. I think it evident that the non-white citizens of this nation will never again resign themselves to oppression. But I am anxious indeed that white America, and the white South in particular, may continue to be permissive of oppression for others--thus to deserve it themselves.

We have therefore a message of great urgency to get across to the comfortable majority in the South. To this task I believe

the human relations councils uniquely suited. It is no new idea, but an old one. It is no radical idea, but a truly conservative one. Lincoln said it:

> This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.

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REPORTS, INTERNAL

A Proposal for

A COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM

for Southern Low-Income Groups

I. The Need and The Opportunity

Among the disadvantaged, low-income citizens of the USA, none are more numerous and few are more eager for emergence into the main stream of the American economy than the low-income population of the five states of the Deep South - Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. Most of these low-income families are rural and Negro. The greatest transformation in American agriculture has passed them by. One encouraging evidence of an awakening among them is the widespread interest in organizing cooperatives, which has led to the development of this proposal.

In many respects the situation of the ~~underprivileged~~ low income groups in the Deep South, both rural and urban, is like that of the millions of unemployed throughout the USA in the Great Depression of the thirties. Out of those dark days hundreds of cooperatives were born - self-help cooperatives, buying clubs, farmers marketing and supply cooperatives. Many of the latter, assisted by the then newly-created Farm Credit Administration and the Farm Security Administration, are today large, successful businesses, and their once poverty-stricken members are now prosperous farmers. Some of the buying clubs, especially those with substantial intellectual or labor leadership, have become superbly successful super markets with a large, prosperous, largely middle-class membership. And many a strong credit union started very small in depression days.

But the situation of the low-income groups of the Deep South today differs, in several important respects from the situation of those who in the depression organized successful cooperatives:

1. A majority of the South's depressed population are economically illiterate. They have never had a fair opportunity to sell their labor or their crops, or buy their supplies in a genuinely free market. They are constantly in debt on usurious terms. They have never had a chance to become business men, individually or collectively.

2. They lack local trained leadership, although within their groups there are potential leaders who could, given the proper information and training, direct and manage cooperatives successfully.

3. ~~Rightly or wrongly~~, many of the disadvantaged are convinced that the local power structure is opposed to any improvement in their lot, and that even the local representatives of Federal agencies will not give them help to which they are legally entitled.

It is to overcome the handicaps listed above, and to stimulate and guide cooperative development that this proposal is presented. It is essentially an adult education program designed to develop mutual self-help cooperatives of all appropriate kinds which can eventually be self-supporting.

This proposal is based upon the needs of this awakening segment of southern society, as voiced at a Cooperative Training Planning Conference at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, June 9-11, 1966. The conference was attended by delegates from a representative group of low-income cooperatives already started or in the formative stage, in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee. The Planning Conference had as technical advisors a small group of cooperative educational experts selected by the Cooperative League of the USA. These men brought to the discussions the wisdom distilled from uninterrupted service in cooperative education and training from the depression days to the present. And finally this draft of the proposal was formulated and refined by a committee chosen by the Mt. Beulah Conference. This drafting committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, July 22-23, 1966.

II. Objectives

1. To raise the economic status of low-income citizens of the Southern States, by preparing them for full participation in existing cooperatives or for the creation of new and strong cooperatives to meet their needs.

   Possible cooperative developments in line with this objective are described in some detail in Part III of this proposal, entitled "Ultimate Economic Goals".

2. To bring about this economic improvement by means of group study, group action, and individual participation in democratic decision making, providing thus for the cooperative's members a training in democracy and a new sense of human dignity, and a sense of accomplishment which becomes the basis for further development.

   The training programs proposed to meet this objective are set forth in Part IV "Personal Development--The Training Programs Required".

III. Ultimate Goals. It is impossible to set precise goals -- so many credit unions, so many consumer (home supply) cooperatives, so many farmers marketing cooperatives, so many petroleum, so many farm supply cooperatives -- to be achieved in this five-year period. To set such numerical goals would be to prejudge the needs and desires of the members; it would be a denial of the basic premise of these proposals, namely, that the people themselves shall make the choice of the kind of cooperative activity they undertake.

However, on the basis of the limited information available about cooperative interest among low-income Southerners, it is not too much to imagine one or more of the following developments:

A. The organization of cooperative service centers by most of the study-action groups formed through this program. These service centers may undertake such varied group actions as:

- buying clubs for the purchase of staple household commodities at wholesale prices;
- discount agreements with local merchants for purchase of appliances, clothing and other goods by group members at listed lower cash prices;
- rent or purchase of trucks for transportation and marketing of members' produce.

Some of these cooperative service centers might expand into full-fledged consumer cooperatives. Obtaining their supplies at reasonable cost will be essential for their survival. Some items may be obtainable from existing farm supply regionals. If so, the local consumer cooperative use their services and affiliate with them in whatever way may be possible. But since no consumer cooperative wholesale now exists in the South, the local consumer cooperatives will need to organize for their survival a consumer cooperative wholesale with service branches in several trading centers in the South. If this is done, it would seem to require that this cooperative wholesale have expert guidance based upon the experience of the cooperative wholesales of the North, East and West. Such a wholesale might be organized on a fee for service basis, and the service might include educational as well as business advisory services essential to the continued success of any consumer (home supply) cooperative.

B. The organization of one or more credit unions in each of the "pockets of poverty" recognized by OEO and organized for Community Action Programs. Many of these credit unions, under the plans worked out jointly by CUNA and OEO, might be staffed in their initial stages by OEO financed employes. All of them would, as a matter of course, join their respective State Credit Union Leagues, pay dues to the Leagues and CUNA, and receive full CUNA and League services. They would eventually be self-sustaining and full partners in the overall credit union movement.

C. Petroleum cooperatives and farm supply cooperatives, particularly those handling both petroleum and fertilizer, would seem to be a natural development in many rural areas of the South. In many places such cooperatives will already be established and ready to include new members. Where it is necessary to organize new cooperatives they may find their economic source of supplies in existing farm supply wholesales; in others they may need to organize their own wholesale. Such a wholesale, limited in capital, may be able to survive and offer the full educational and business services it should, if it can make its contracts for supplies through strong, friendly farm supply regionals in neighboring states.

D. Farm marketing cooperatives of specialized products may or may not be able to establish connections with existing cooperatives marketing the same products. Wherever possible this should be done. Where low-income farmers find it necessary to organize a new marketing cooperative, it is quite probable that such cooperatives may need to handle also farm supplies and join with a federation of farm supply cooperatives in order to survive.

E. Industrial or Handicraft Cooperatives have already sprung up, especially in some parts of Mississippi. The future of this type of cooperative will depend on many factors, not the least of which will be the extent to which markets can be developed and the extent to which technical questions of design can be met. In the textile and leather industries, where style is master, and fashion is fickle, a strong central organization is indispensable, for product development, quality control and successful marketing.

F. A central fee-supported educational federation should emerge as the best way to carry on a self-sustaining educational, training and business advisory service for the local cooperatives aided by this Project in their initial stages. The Southern Consumers Cooperative Association has initiated such a program by creating the non-profit Southern Consumers Educational Foundation to which each member must pay $5.00 membership fee before he can begin to accumulate share capital and voting rights in the cooperative itself.

The development of a central educational federation could be stimulated, from the first, by offering each study-action group organized, the following educational services:

1. a monthly newsletter to each member of the group
2. continuation of the educational services of the field staff of the Project
3. an annual state-wide conference for study-action and cooperative group members

The continuation of these services could be conditioned on the payment by the individual members of an annual one-dollar subscription fee. The one-dollar subscription fee would become a one-dollar annual membership fee in the federation when it is organized. The Project should further subsidize the federation, if necessary, after it takes over the educational services listed above.

It seems premature at this stage to predict either the form or the extent of the central cooperative educational and financial service organizations which may be set up by the cooperatives organized under this Project. But it is not too soon to recognize that the solution of this problem will be the ultimate test of the success of this project and of the cooperatives it helps bring into being.

IV. Personnel Development -- The Training Programs Required

It is not enough to achieve strong economic institutions as a result of this program. The project will have been a failure if it fails to produce men--members who understand and accept the responsibilities that go with cooperative membership and leaders who can wisely guide their groups in the search for sound cooperative businesses, and who can efficiently direct and manage those businesses when established. Such members and such leaders are not to be thought of as a means to a goal. In a truer sense, they themselves are the goal. "The best co-op product is a cooperator" is as true today as it was in the depression when Harvey Hall made it the slogan of the Indiana farmers cooperatives.

How then can this project produce -- or rather discover and develop these informed and loyal members, among an ill-informed low-income population? How shall their potential leaders be discovered and their latent talents developed -- potential organizers, capable candidates for elective cooperative office, committee men, managers, employees without whose understanding of cooperatives and dedication to cooperation as a way of business, cooperative success will be impossible? And, indeed, how can these loyal members and dedicated leaders be found and developed without first having a competent, dedicated and well-trained staff for the project itself?

To meet these needs of personnel discovery and development is the heart of this project. The training programs proposed are here listed in the reverse order from their undertaking, beginning with the basic training for potential members which is the foundation upon which the whole developing cooperative business structure will ultimately rest.

A. Study and Action Groups, locally. These educational groups, already referred to, will become the core of each cooperative group organized. This follows the pattern of the world-famous Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia and the most promising low-income cooperative development in the southern states today, the Southern Consumers Cooperative Association, with its sister educational organization, the Southern Consumers Educational Foundation, which is organized into small local "chapters" or "action groups". The purposes of the study-action groups organized under this project will be:

(Purposes of Study-Action Groups - continued)

1. to determine for themselves their own most urgent needs and to determine which of these needs could be met by joining an existing cooperative and which could only be met by organizing a new cooperative.
   (This means encouraging the group to "make their own survey and feasibility studies," with whatever technical assistance and guidance they may "call in,")

2. to study the essentials for success of the cooperative enterprise under consideration, particularly in terms of available business volume, capital required, and necessary member loyalty.
   (These considerations lead directly to the next point, basic cooperative understanding.)

3. to acquire a mastery of the cooperative principles and practices essential to the success of the enterprise.
   (This has been the goal of such "study groups" in Nova Scotia, in Ohio, in India, in Puerto Rico and many other places.)

4. to acquire capital for the cooperative planned by regular weekly or monthly savings deposited with the action group during (and after) its period of initial studies.
   (This technique has been widely and successfully used by credit unions and other cooperatives, even among the very poor, in countries all around the world. This technique is one of the most effective known to stimulate "capital formation", the most acute problem of any low-income, economically disadvantaged segment of society. It stimulates this capital formation by transferring small sums regularly from consumption (at high prices) to savings. As they said in Puerto Rico of their cooperative developments, the impoverished jibaros ("hillbillies") became "penny capitalists"-- penny capitalists, but capitalists nonetheless.)

5. to visit as a group, or as delegates from the group, successful cooperatives already started elsewhere.
   (This technique was one of the most effective means of organizing and expanding cooperatives used by CCA of Kansas City in organizing the farm supply cooperatives of the central Midwest. It helps the group to think in larger, but realistic terms, in terms of successes within their own reach.)

6. to stimulate the imagination of the group's members, to plan ahead, to go on from one success to another and another.
   (The genius of successful cooperation is that success in one field widens members'horizons and leads to other and equally successful services for the members. Groups should not be disbanded when their first cooperative venture has been launched. They should continue, both to make sure of the success of that first venture, and when it is assured to discover other needs which can be met cooperatively.)

7. to develop in the group's members, as a by-product of successful cooperative business action, a firm and soundly based self-confidence in their ability to handle their own economic affairs, as a group and individually .

   (This is the final value of the cooperative and of the group out of which it was born. It cannot be measured by patronage savings alone. It is an intangible, but with very tangible results in community prosperity.)

B. Selection and Training of the Staff of the Project. The new section of this proposal, Part V, "Staff and Administration" lists the specialists to be provided for the central staff of the project and each of the five state offices. It also describes the field force, referred to elswhere in this proposal as "field workers" or more technically as "cooperative counsellors". All of the project personnel--central, state and field will require intensive training before beginning their duties.

1. An orientation seminar or workshop of one or two weeks duration for central and state office staff. This should be held as soon as the Director, his Assistant, State Directors and their principal staff specialists have been chosen. This workshop should be held in the South, with participants including the staff of the project, and a number of outside "experts", i.e. sociologists trained in the dynamics of group action, economists specializing in cooperative credit and business, and cooperative educators with experience both in the USA and in developing economies abroad. Since all the central office and state office staff will be specialists, professionally trained, this orientation workshop will be designed to orient them to the special task of relating their professional skills to the problems of low-income people, and particularly the low-income people of the South.

   Representatives of regional cooperatives able and willing to accept low-income members will be invited and urged to participate in the initial workshop, as well as subsequent refresher courses.

2. Selection and training of the field force or "cooperative counsellors".

   a. Selection of the field force. It is proposed to place a field force of approximately twenty competent, trained persons in each state, each assigned to a specific area of one or more counties, to stimulate and assist each study-action group all the way from initial inquiries to the establishment and successful operation of the cooperative venture or venture eventually undertaken. For this task it is proposed to recruit socially-minded, well-educated southerners, with some professional training and experience. Especial effort will be made to interest returning Peace Corps volunteers and VISTA volunteers. Salaries are suggested at the level of well-paid public teachers. It is the aim to enlist competent persons, willing and able to enter a career with a five year future with the project and the possibility of eventual employment at good salaries by the cooperatives they help found. They need not be versed in cooperatives when selected.

b. Intensive training courses for the field force, to be given as the field staff is recruited. Each course should be six weeks in length, should be held at a central location in the South, should be held when about 20 staff members have been employed, and should include field observation trips to cooperative enterprises in successful operation, both low-income and middle-class cooperatives and credit unions. These intensive training courses might be set up at the Arkansas A. M. and N. College, Pine Bluff, if they develop the special course now under consideration for the training of foreign students coming to the USA under AID grants to study cooperatives.

3. Refresher courses or workshops for all staff and field force to be held every six months. At these refresher courses and workshops, materials may be prepared and revised and case studies and role-playing devised out of actual experiences.

C. Training the local group leadership

From the very first meeting of the field worker or cooperative counsellor with the group, the potential leaders will begin to emerge. In the earliest stages, these persons will be the discussion leaders; in later stages they will be the elected organization committee; still later the board of directors, and such continuing committees as the education committee and the supervisory committee. All these, in their turn will need training, in the special techniques required for successful leadership in the positions they hold. The project, therefore, must provide:

1. Local leadership training courses, for organization committee members, for boards of directors, for other committee members and voluntary workers, whose greater understanding of cooperative problems and principles is essential for the success of group enterprise. These local leadership training courses will be held in local communities or in districts embracing several local groups, whenever the need arises, at the request of the local leaders, relayed through the area cooperative counsellor. Instruction to be provided by
   . the state "roving staff" with its mobile unit
   . cooperative leaders "called in" by the state director

2. Technical training for lay cooperative officers -- president (as presiding officer), secretary, treasurer, supervisory committee, education committee. Specific training dealing with the problems of these non-paid, voluntary and elective officers. This technical training will take two forms:
   (a) "coaching" by the area cooperative counsellor
   (b) group courses, for officers of the same position from several cooperative groups -- training to be given by the state staff "roving counsellors," the auditor-analyst on the state staff, and/or other cooperative technicians called in.
   (c) on the job "internship", a few days at a time, with existing cooperatives, which agree to provide this experience. This is an important part of the technique employed in credit union development.

   Particularly since most of these elected or volunteer officers will be low-income persons who can ill afford or cannot afford at all the time, travel and expense involved in such technical training courses, they should be reimbursed by the Project for all these costs.

D. Selection and Training of Managers for New Cooperatives

1. Selection of potential managers for training will be based upon the following principles:

   a. During the period while study-action groups are developing plans for cooperative action a pool of potential managers should be selected and trained, sufficient to staff these cooperatives when they are ready to go into operation.

   b. (1) It is anticipated that managers as well as the rest of the employed staff of cooperatives and credit unions assisted in this program will come largely from within the groups themselves. The development of business leadership from within the low-income groups themselves is one of the major objectives of the program. It is strictly within the American "office-boy-to-president" tradition.

   (2) It is proposed that talented young men within study-action groups may be recommended for management training by the cooperative counsellors, prior to the time the cooperative is ready to open for business. These young men, sent for training, may be employed at the conclusion of their training by their own group, or by some other group, depending on local circumstances.

2. Training potential managers must be thorough and must embrace both theory and practice:

   a. a course in management, probably one month in length, at a southern educational institution--this course to be repeated as many times a year as management trainees are available. Trainees will receive salaries and have all expenses paid. Planning the academic course in management should be done in consultation with the staff of the International Cooperative Training Center, University of Wisconsin and with the directors of such other cooperative training centers as the CCA School of Cooperation, Kansas City.

   b. "on-the-job training," field experience for each management trainee, in a cooperative where he can obtain the maximum amount of experience relevant to the management job to which he expects to return. For this field on-the-job training the trainee will have to go, perhaps, to another state; his travel expenses and salary will be borne entirely by the Project.

   The field training "on-the-job" should be planned in collaboration with the staff of the Board for International Cooperative Training, Inc. who have a panel of over 500 cooperatives across the nation who have agreed to give short-term field training in cooperatives to trainees from abroad. In addition, the Program Coordinator has in preparation a smaller, very select panel of cooperatives prepared to undertake a centrally directed, longer term on-the-job training.

V. Staff and Administration

The Southern Regional Council will furnish the staff and will administer the project, with the assistance of an Advisory Board representing the co-sponsoring organizations. A brief outline of the administrative structure follows.

A. A central administrative office, staffed by highly trained specialists
- a Director, the administrative head of the entire project, a man with administrative experience and empathy for the low-income groups of the South
- an Assistant Director, who may also be in charge of research, the search for active and incipient cooperative interest groups
- a "roving" Field Supervisor, available for promotional and planning assistance anywhere in the region, on call
- a Study-Action Group Director, to provide guidance and discussion materials to the field force and to the study-action groups
- a Cooperative Specialist, with organizational experience in several types of cooperatives, who would work closely with the Cooperative League and with regional cooperatives
- a Credit Union Specialist, working closely with CUNA International
- an Editor for the study-group news letter
- a Legal Counsel, versed in cooperative law
- an audio-visual expert, to assist in preparing materials -- charts, movies, simple literature in the vernacular
- a Comptroller, to handle all accounts
- necessary secretarial office personnel

B. A state office for each of the five states with:
- a State Director
- a Cooperative Specialist, working with existing cooperatives and furnishing expertise to the field force
- a Credit Union Specialist, working with the State Credit Union League
- an Auditor-Analyst, to offer needed business services (audits, analysis of financial statements, and business advice)
- two "roving counsellors", equipped with a well-equipped mobile audio-visual unit, to provide additional educational assistance when called in by the locally assigned advisers, especially
  - (a) in the early stages, to get an educational group study going
  - (b) for supporting and more advanced training conferences, as the local program proceeds
  - (c) for district or regional training conferences of leadership personnel of cooperative groups in the process of organizing or in the early stages of business operations
- a lawyer or lawyers, on retainer fees, to assist in drafting legal papers for new cooperatives
- necessary secretarial office personnel

(Staff and Administration - continued)

C. A field staff of active, dedicated, well-trained cooperative counsellors ("generalists," not specialists, in one particular kind of cooperative), each assigned to a specific area (county or parish). It is contemplated this will require twenty (20) trained field staff personnel in each state covered, each equipped with a car, a stock of literature and other teaching aids. This staff will:

1. Seek out all low-income cooperatives and credit unions in operation or in process of organization and all groups inquiring about cooperatives and/or credit unions, in order to offer them the services listed below.

2. Provide educational guidance and materials to enable study and action groups to determine how their needs can be met by cooperative action and to understand fully what cooperative action will require of its members.

3. Provide organization guidance and assistance, personally and on the spot, to action groups at every step in the critical process of organizing a successful cooperative business. Note that this will include "calling in" the necessary technical assistance from the state office and, if necessary, from such existing cooperative service organizations as the Cooperative League, CUNA International and State Credit Union Leagues and regional cooperatives and such Federal agencies as OEO, FHA and the Agricultural Extension Service.

D. An Advisory Board will be set up, including, among others, representatives of the following co-sponsors:

. The Cooperative League of the USA which has staff available to assist in planning high level seminars, workshops and training courses; and cooperative educational materials available for reproduction in simple, vernacular language.

. CUNA International which will make available directly and through the State Credit Union Leagues all plans and materials developed by the CUNA Anti-Poverty Program.

. Southern Consumers Cooperative Association which offers its projects as pilot plants for observation and study in the development of this Southern Regional Council five-state program.

. National Sharecroppers Union which offers its long experience in seeking constructive programs for and with southern low-income groups.

In addition, regional cooperative organizations able and willing to accept low-income cooperators and cooperatives into full membership will be asked to nominate members for the Advisory Board.

Membership on the Advisory Board shall not entail financial responsibility for any part of this project, the Southern Regional Council retaining full control of the funds, and assuming full responsibility to the donors for the proper disbursement of the funds.

VI. Relationship with Government Agencies

It is the intention to make the maximum use possible of services available from state and federal agencies. Specifically:

- The Office of Economic Opportunity will be kept informed of the overall plans, and its local Community Action groups will be involved in specific projects to the greatest extent possible, and OEO will be called on for the appropriate financial support.

- The Farmers Home Administration will be kept informed on all agricultural cooperative projects and will be asked to provide advice, and, where appropriate, financial assistance for specific projects.

- The Agricultural Extension Service and the Land-Grant Universities of the respective states, will be called upon for technical advice and assistance wherever appropriate.

It is the intent to maintain close relations at all levels with these and other available government service agencies. The Director of the project will keep in touch with national agencies. The State Directors will keep the appropriate state agencies informed at all times, and each member of the field force will be responsible for keeping the appropriate local officials in his area informed of the cooperative projects and needs in his area. But all requests for assistance and funds should come directly from the local study-action groups or the cooperatives they set up.

VII. Timetable

First year

(Getting started in five states. A budget year; actual time from first receipt of funds, probably 15 months)

(two months)

Selection of central staff and state directors
Orientation Seminar (two weeks)
Establishment of central office

(three months)

Employment state staffs - in all five states
Establishment of state offices
Employment of field workers ("cooperative counsellors")
(100 in all , for all five states)
Securing five mobile field units

(ten months)

Five intensive training courses for field workers ("cooperative counsellors")
(one month for each group of twenty, the first twenty hired, regardless of state in which they will work)
Hopefully, about eight months of regular field work
Average length of service for first group of field workers first year
Hopefully, first regular manager training courses

Second year (project in full operation)

Complete staff of field workers if any vacancies, or if any replacements needed.
Eight one-week refresher courses; six for field workers who have had one year of service, two for new field workers
Manager training courses continued

Third year (continue with full staff, 100 field workers)

Ten one-week small group refresher courses for field workers and staff, or five small and one for entire staff together
Concentrate efforts on development of service and educational federations of cooperatives, for continuation of the project functions after completion of the project

VII. Timetable (continued)

Fourth year (begin consolidation and phasing out)

Two auditor-analysts, self-supporting
(that is, employed by a cooperative federation or non-profit organization serving the newly-created cooperatives of low-income membership)

Reduce staff of field workers as cooperative federations undertake their own field work; hopefully, a 20% transfer of field staff from the Project to self-supporting cooperative service organizations during the year

Continue refresher courses and workshops

Fifth year (phasing out)

Three remaining auditor-analysts, and as much as possible of central and state staffs transfer to self-supporting cooperatives service organizations during the year

Select members of field staff similarly during the year transfer to employment with self-supporting cooperative service organizations; remainder released, as their projects phase out

Sixth year (completion of project)

Retain skeleton central staff and a limited number of field representatives, if there are

(1) any incomplete local projects
(2) any incomplete projects for the creation of self-supporting cooperative service organizations
(3) any unexpended funds

VIII. Budget Estimates

The budget estimates, given in detail on the attached pages are based upon the following premises:

1. Salaries form the major part of the expenditures in any grassroots educational program. This program is no exception. The total salaries for 136 persons is $4,696,800. With fringe benefits of $534,730 this is 73% of the overall cash costs.

   The salary estimates have been made on these assumptions:

   (a) that the executive salaries should be in line with salaries offered by business, the government or the universities for professional services of similar grade.

   (b) that the field staff should receive remuneration at approximately the level of public school teaching positions in the South. It might be possible to recruit persons on an altruistic cost-of-living basis like the Peace Corps or VISTA, but such volunteers could scarcely be expected to serve five years. For this reason, if no other, the field staff is put on a semi-professional basis.

2. Capital expenditures indicated in the estimates by an asterisk (*) are included in the cash budget along with current operating costs. Of total capital outlay, $366,000, five-sixths is for cars -- one for each of the field force and 22 additional for the staff. The figures are for used cars (one-year old standard models at an average of $1500). An allowance is made for trade-ins, as may be required in subsequent years. The used cars may, in the end, cost as much as new cars, but they avoid the air of superiority which might be created by field personnel driving big, new cars while working with low-income people.

3. An overhead allowance should be allowed for overall administration. At 10% of salaries (the usual government allowance for "off-campus" services) this adds up as follows:

Cash budget estimates	$7,108,130
Overhead (10% salaries)	469,480
Overall grand total	$7,577,810

	Budget Estimates					
	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	TOTALS
I. Central Office						
Staff: Director and Assistant	27,000	27,000	27,000	27,000	27,000	135,000
"Roving" Field Supervisor	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
Study-Action Group Director	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Cooperative Specialist	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Credit Union Specialist	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	-	38,400
Comptroller	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Editor	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	-	36,000
Audio-Visual Expert	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	-	36,000
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (6)	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	140,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	15,050	15,050	15,050	15,050	9,830	70,030
Fund for Legal Aid	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	4,500	40,500
Subsidy to Group-Study Paper	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,000	45,000
Consultants	7,500	7,500	7,500	7,500	-	30,000
Office Equipment*	4,500	-	-	-	-	4,500*
Office Expense						
Stationery, Postage, Phone, Insurance, Rent, Miscellaneous, Contingency	8,800	8,800	8,800	8,800	6,000	41,200
Autos (2) purchase*	6,000*	-	-	-	-	6,000*
Car maintenance, operation	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,000	9,000
Other Travel	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	3,000	27,000
Total, Central Office	194,250	183,750	183,750	183,750	117,130	862,630
II. State Offices and Field Force						
State Directors @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	225,000
Auditor-Analysts @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	27,000	9,000	171,000
Cooperative Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	225,000
Credit Union Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	-	180,000
Roving Counsellors @ 7,200	72,000	72,000	72,000	72,000	28,800	316,800
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (15)	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	60,000	360,000
Field Staff (20 per state @ 6,000)	600,000	600,000	600,000	540,000	300,000	2,640,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	105,000	105,000	105,000	95,000	54,700	464,700
Mobile Units*	50,000*	-	-	-	-	50,000*
Movies and literature	45,000	35,000	25,000	20,000	10,000	135,000
Automobiles (one each)*	180,000*	30,000*	30,000*	30,000*	-	270,000*
Auto Operations	50,000	50,000	60,000	50,000	30,000	240,000
Office Equipment*	10,000*	-	-	-	-	10,000*
Office Expense and Contingency	30,000	30,000	30,000	25,000	15,000	130,000
Fund for Legal Aid	45,000	45,000	45,000	30,000	15,000	180,000
Total, State Offices and Field Force	1,442,000	1,222,000	1,222,000	1,099,000	612,500	5,597,500
III. Training Programs						
Orientation Seminar	10,000	-	-	-	-	10,000
Field force training	80,000	-	-	10,000	-	90,000
Refresher Courses	-	10,000	15,000	12,000	6,000	43,000
Technical Training	10,000	15,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	75,000
Management Training	60,000	100,000	120,000	100,000	50,000	430,000
Total Training	160,000	125,000	155,000	142,000	66,000	648,000
Grand Total	1,796,250	1,530,750	1,560,750	1,424,750	795,630	7,108,130

*Capital Expenditures

Negroes Riot, Fight Police in Baltimore

RIOTS (new file)

AC 4/25/66

By GEORGE BOWEN

BALTIMORE, Md. (AP)—Fighting and rock-throwing broke out Sunday night among a crowd of about 75 customers at Gwynn Oak amusement park in suburban Baltimore County.

One policeman was injured and four juveniles were taken into custody. State and county police controlled the disturbance an hour after it started.

Police said their first reports indicated about 500 persons were rioting and some state troopers were dispatched from as far away as 30 miles.

The park west of Baltimore City was the scene of massive racial demonstrations in the summer of 1963, when Negroes were not admitted. The park integrated later that year.

OFFICER INJURED

A Baltimore County policeman, Joe Allen Talley, was hit on the head with a grapefruit-sized rock during the melee. He was treated at a hospital and released.

The trouble started with a fight on the parking lot which leads to the park entrance, said Inspector Elmer F. Adams of Baltimore County who was on the scene.

All of those involved were Negroes, he said.

A hard rain began falling as police arrived. The park patrons grabbed helmets and ties of the policemen, then boarded one of several parked buses.

Adams said police got them out of the bus with a police dog, then rocks began flying.

James Price, one of the owners of the park, said afterward there were no racial overtones to the "incident," as he called it.

In his opinion, Price said, the cause of the trouble was several hundred persons trying to board three buses when the sudden cloudburst began.

4 JUVENILES ARRESTED

The four Negro juveniles, all about 16, were taken to the Woodlawn station. Police said they were charged with being delinquent and would be taken before juvenile court Monday.

The disturbance broke out about four hours before the 11 p.m. closing of the privately owned park, which opened for the season last Sunday.

During racial demonstrations there July 4 and July 7 of 1963, hundreds were arrested, including Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church.

An hour after Sunday night's trouble, everything was peaceful as a racially mixed crowd rode the rides and played the games.

California Police, 200 Negroes Clash

RIOTS

BAKERSFIELD, Calif., May 23 (UPI)—Negro youths in a milling, cursing crowd of more than 200 persons hurled bricks, rocks and bottles at law enforcement officers Sunday night after police made a routine investigation of an auto accident.

One youth, Theodore Roberson, 17, was shot in the leg when police said he attempted to strike an officer with a bottle. He was not seriously wounded and was booked on a charge of assault on a police officer.

The other Negroes, John Franklin Herron, 19, and Samuel Pollard, 21, were booked on arson charges for setting fires in trash barrels next to buildings.

In all, police said 20 adults were arrested on charges ranging from assault to resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. Sighteen juveniles were taken into custody for violation of curfew and being near the scene of a riot.

The initial attack, by youths in a group of about 50 Negroes, occurred shortly after 7 p.m. as two motorcycle officers questioned two Negro drivers at an intersection adjacent to California Park, where an estimated 2,000 Negroes held a "grist and gripes" picnic Saturday to discuss dissatisfaction with the Bakersfield City Council.

The pair, first heckled and then pelted, quickly radioed for aid and soon the area —in the predominantly Negro Lakeview section of southeast Bakersfield —swarmed with 150 police, sheriff's deputies and California highway patrolmen.

During the continuing violence, officers said the crowd swelled to more than 200 persons.

Two officers were injured, neither seriously, and a Caucasian cab driver was slightly injured when a rock crashed through his windshield.

Fire officials said that during the height of the conflict a Molotov cocktail was thrown against the side of a fire station. It ignited against a brick wall but did no damage.

Ironically, witnesses said the fire bomb was thrown from an auto occupied by two Caucasians.

Most of the city's 7,500 Negroes live in the Lakeview district.

September 8, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursdaym. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference wiull be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the SI I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance somed have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustmentsin this formual after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

September 27, 1966

Personnel

Frances Dukler has been named Acting Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. Frances, a long-time member of the Houston Council's Board of Directors, has agreed to "fill in" until an Executive Director can be found to succeed Robert Alexander. The state council directors had a chance to meet Frances at their September 21-22 get-together in Atlanta -- and went away hoping she would apply for the job, permanent.

The death of Mr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Associate Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, grieved all of us. Mr. Holmes died September 19. Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council and Vernon Jordan of SRC were among those who spoke briefly at his funeral on September 22.

Paul Wahrhaftig has joined the staff of the Georgia Council. Mr. Wahrhaftig is an attorney, which will probably turn the other state councils green with envy. Paul was born in Oakland, California. He was graduated with honors from Stanford University in 1960 with a degree in political science. His legal training was at Boalt Hall, University of California Law School. For two years he practiced in Oakland with the firm of McKee, Tasheiva and Wahrhaftig. He spent last summer with the American Friends Service Committee, tutoring for school desegregation in South Carolina.

SRC Staff Additions

Mrs. Hattie Johnson, who hails from Montgomery, Alabama, has joined the SRC staff where she will work part time as assistant to the Treasurer and part time as secretary in the Labor Project.

William Farmar has come to SRC since the last newsletter to assist John Boone in our Prison Administration and Criminal Rehabilitation Project. Mr. Farmar is from Chicago. He attended the University of Chicago and worked for the Cook County Welfare Department.

Most of the state council staffs have by this time met Louise Cole, who has been administering our Paperback Books Project among other things. Louise has become a permanent member of the SRC staff as a research associate. Born in Pensacola, Florida, she received her B. A. from Newcomb College of Tulane University. In her junior year she studied at the University of Sheffield, England. Despite her natural modesty Miss Cole admits, when pressed, to being a Phi Beta Kappa and a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. After ~~XXXXX~~ Tulane she took a Master's in political science at the University of California at Berkeley. She comes to SRC after a short stint with Buttenheim Publishing Corporation in New York City.

John A. Pecoul, Jr., came to SRC on a temporary basis September 5. He is working on some research projects and ~~xxxx~~ in the field department. John, who is from New Orleans, was valedictorian of his class at Alcee Fortier High School there. He received a B. A. in philosophy from Elmhurst College in 1961, ranking first in his class. In 1964 he was graduated magna cum laude from Union Theological Seminary, second in his class. He has just received his M.A. in political science from Temple University. His wife's name is Ellen. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Project on Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation Making Progress

Staffing of the Penal Reform Project is complete with the employment of Mr. William Farmar, as noted above. With an assist from state council directors research on existing conditions is in progress under the coordination of Dr. Vernon Fox of Florida State University. Before November 1 Dr. Fox and SRC staff members will correlate and evaluate the material and publish a Southern Regional Council Special Report .

Other plans include research on comparative sentencing policies in felony cases with particular emphasis on disparity in length of sentence attributable to race or socio-economic level; technical assistance to state prison systems, especially on racial integration; penal reform programs in Arkansas (one of the worst states in this respect) and Mississippi; wides distribution of information about corrections in fact-sheet or brochure form; and recruitment of Negroes for professional training in the field of corrections.

Women's Meetings on Unequal Justice

With the cooperation of the human relations councils and practically all women's organizations, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, SRC's director of women's work, is conducting a series of meetings in ~~xxxx~~ the southern states to arouse and coordinate interest in court proceedings, sentencing practices, etc., in southern courts. ~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~ The purpose is to prepare women groups and others to visit courts, observe, report findings, and --hopefully -- effect less discriminatory administration of ~~xxx~~ justice.

Meetings have already been held in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Mrs. Tilly's schedule for the rest of the fall reads as follows: Virginia, October 19; North Carolina, October 20; Kentucky, October 26; Tennessee, October 27; Alabama, November 2; Louisiana, November 9; Mississippi, November 10; and Arkansas, November 15.

Helpful Meetings in Atlanta

The state council directors are meeting more frequently this year in an effort at better coordination of program and exchange of ideas, as well as professional edification. They were in Atlanta for three days, September 20-22, for a meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference and an overnight meeting of their own.

Highlight of the SIC meeting was a presentation by Dr. Lewis Killian of Florida State University on "The Role of White Liberals in Social Change in the South." There was a reactor panel, and interest was high. Of particular interest was the rather general feeling that white liberals (and moderates), including the Washington establishment, are backing away from civil rights.

At their own meeting the directors had sessions with Samuel Younge, Assistant to the Regional Director for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Bob Thompson, Regional Office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell of the Atlanta Office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Georgia Council Programs

Another helpful feature of our Atlanta meeting was a how-we-did it report by Francis Pauley of the Georgia Council on their welfare research project and their "Know Your Rights" program in cooperation with A.C.L.U. of Georgia.

With the help of the Columbia University School of Social Work and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Georgia Council conducted research on the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program in four Georgia counties. A good questionnaire was prepared with expert aid; then 180 families were interviewed. Basically the council wanted to answer the question "Are children in need receiving their rights under the law?" And the answer they come up with is "No." Welfare boards and administrators tend to look upon welfare as a charity and not as a legal right. They discovered case after case of arbitrary withholding of aid to which applicants were legally entitled. Although their full report has not yet been published, the GCHR has already secured a lengthy and, on the whole, sympathetic hearing from the Georgia Department of Family and Chilren Services.

Another Georgia project of particular interest is really a joint effort by the GCHR, SRC, and the Georgia ACLU. It is publication of a booklet titled "Know Your Rights," which tells in simple language and with liberal use of illustrations (by Marge Manderson of SRC) what rights an individual has when arrested by a law officer.

"Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia"

Fully 1,500 people, three-fourths of them laymen, are expected to attend a Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28 and 29. It is planned under the auspices of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with leaders of the statewide religious community.

Among the subjects to be dealt with are "The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community," "The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing," "The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns, "The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set Its Own House in Order," and "Where Do We Go From Here?" Leaders include George D. Kelsey, John F. Cronin, Jacob M. Rothschild, Warren H. Turner, and Carlyle Marney. There will be a special student section with 200 students and 60 seminarians in attendance. Their featured speaker will be Samuel D. Proctor, special assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Random Notes

cloture

... A memorandum from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights notes that the Senate votes on the minimum wage bill and the 1966 civil rights bill, cloture resolution, both came within one hour. Minimum wage increase and extension was won; civil rights lost. But the proximity brought out sharply "that the same Senators who support civil rights tend also to support programs for economic and social advancement." Or you might say that people who have no regard for Negroes have, when you get right down to it, no regard for anybody except themselves, of course.

... The annual meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations will be held in Jackson on October 27. Roger Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, will be the featured speaker.

... The Florida Council's annual meet will be in Daytona Beach on October 14 and 15.

...The Louisiana Council office has been opened at 7986 Scenic Highway in Baton Rouge. And beautiful it is, too, thanks to the impeccable taste of executive director Pat Miller. I think the attractiveness of the office will say something important to every visitor. Congratulations to Pat and the LCHR.

... I like a paper that Augie VandenBosche of the Florida Council drew up to help answer a question he kept getting, "What can a local council on human relations do?" Augie catalogues and describes a number of roles for the local council: communictor, fact finder, educator, programmer, consultant, cooperator, observer, attitude refiner. We've lost something in translation, here, but it is a neat and useful summary.

... Under the able administration of Louise Cole the paperback books project is looking up. Louise prepared lists of books in several categories -- such as "leisure reading for youth and adults,""leisure reading for children," "Negro history and culture," "reference books," etc. -- and has been distributing them. That seems to be what turned the trick, for requests are coming in with increasing frequency now. Thanks, too, to the state council staffs for helping to get the word out.

... We at SRC are rejoicing that a jury in Fulton County Superior Court ruled in our favor in a case involving allegations that we should not be classified a tax-exempt organization on grounds that we are a "propaganda" outfit. For one thing, our faith in humanity was kept alive by the fact that the jury apparently ruled on the merits under the law and contrary to their personal sentiments about our position. But we have also been given several minutes worth of something to think about in the comment of the jury foreman: "If you are a propaganda agency, you sure are doing a lousy job, because none of us had ever heard of you!"

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

M.L. — Ask Paul if this last paragraph should be deleted.

E

1967 GRANT-IN-AID SCHEDULE

Southern Regional Council

Alabama	$ 15,300
Arkansas	13,600
Florida	13,000
Georgia	14,600
Louisiana	14,000
Mississippi	16,000
North Carolina	13,800
South Carolina	13,600
Tennessee	15,000
Virginia	13,100
Houston	5,000
Contingency	2,000
Mitchell Award	1,000
TOTAL	$150,000

GRANT-IN-AID CONDITIONS

1. All grants are contingent upon the ability of the SRC to raise the total grant-in-aid budget. Should this not be possible, the necessary reductions will be made on a pro rata basis.

2. One-fourth of the total projected grant-in-aid to each council will be paid on the first of each quarter of the calendar year, subject to receipt of the required reports due and to fulfillment of all other grant conditions.

3. The required reports are:

a. One copy of an audit by a Certified Public Accountant for the Council's last fiscal year. If an audit has not been received by July 1, the quarterly payment then due will be suspended automatically, pending action of the SRC's Executive Committee.

b. A list of the names and addresses of officers and policy board members of the state council and the chairmen (or presidents) of all local councils as of January 1, 1967. Revisions should be sent when made.

c. Two copies of an adequate, orderly program report for each quarter. If, in the judgment of the SRC staff, this report is not satisfactory, grant payments will be suspended pending adequate amendment or action of the Executive Committee.

d. Two copies of a monthly financial statement showing receipts for the month and for the fiscal year to date from each of the following categories: SRC Grants-in-Aid, Foundations, Membership Dues, Individual Contributions, Business Contributions, and Miscellaneous (sale of literature, dinners, etc.). A similar breakdown of expenditures for the month and year to date for all budget and non-budget items is suggested.

e. Two copies of a monthly report on membership showing chapter-by-chapter the number of dues-paid members enrolled or re-enrolled during the month and during the membership year to date. Categories for out-of-state and at-large members should be included.

4. In keeping with the general purpose of the grant-in-aid program, to facilitate growth of state councils into basically self-sustaining membership organizations, it is expected that staff strength and income from local sources will be maintained at least at the 1966 level. If, in the judgment of the SRC staff, the funding and staffing of a council falls below that level, grant payments will be suspended pending action of the Executive Committee.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

PROGRAM ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Southern Regional Council now has available funds in modest amounts and staff consultants in certain program areas to assist projects of local and state councils on human relations. The program concerns with which we are able to assist will be outlined below. But first there are some general requirements which should be kept in mind by councils needing assistance.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Use of Consultants

Much of the assistance we are in position to offer is in the form of consultant services. The directors of our "special projects" and their associates are available to help with specific problems at the request of human relations councils or other groups. In addition, the SRC can pay consultant fees and expenses for an expert in matters specified below which are not covered by one of our special projects or where the need is for knowledge or skills which our staff persons do not have.

It should be kept in mind that the special project directors are trying to accomplish a great deal with limited budget and staff. The time ~~and money~~ that they can devote to education about their purposes and programs is necessarily restricted. Requests for help with specific problems or projects can be answered more readily than requests for participation in conferences, speeches, etc.

Scope and Cost

For some program areas we can supply small cash grants. The SRC is not a foundation, however, and does not have large sums of money available. Imaginative proposals which are apt to bring significant results with minimum expenditure have the best chance of approval. In general we want to enable volunteers to work effectively; our resources are insufficient to provide salaries, office space, and other needs for staffed operations.

Lead Time

Groups should submit requests and proposals to the SRC and secure our commitment of funds before committing themselves to projects. Occasionally groups obligate themselves, assuming that SRC funds are available, only to find that their project, as planned, does not fit our policy requirements or the donor's stipulations. In such cases we can only reject the proposal. Frequently, however, had we been informed far enough in advance, we could have offered suggestions which would have made the project acceptable to both the SRC and the sponsoring group.

Imagination and Innovation

The SRC ordinarily cannot support "group maintenance" functions -- the things that are done to keep an organization going. We are interested in specific projects. For example, there is little interest in helping a student organization publish a newsletter, but transportation money for a tutorial program or a voter-registration project might very well be provided. We probably would not pay the cost of printing a descriptive brochure about a fair-housing group, but

could provide a consultant on a neighborhood stabilization problem and buy literature for distribution in a neighborhood stabilization effort.

SRC'S SPECIAL PROJECTS

The Southern Regional Council has five "special projects". These are programs for which funds have been secured for a limited period -- two or three years -- to work at a problem which the Council thinks is urgent at this time. Each special project has a director and most have additional staff persons.

Voter Education Project

The Voter Education Project (which is our second VEP) is directed by Mr. Vernon Jordan. ~~Like the first VEP~~ As was the case with the first VEP, there is a major emphasis on voter registration. For this purpose local affiliates of the five major civil rights organization have been found to be most effective ordinarily, although both a state and a local council have been funded to do voter registration.

In this sedond VEP, however, there will be two other concerns: citizenship education and leadership development. Both are designed to assist long-disenfranchised Negroes toward effective participation in the whole political process. We feel that human relations councils, as well as other groups, can do much in the way of citizenship education.

One group -- it was not a human relations council, but might well have been -- secured a grant of only $200 to pay the cost of transporting a borrowed voting machine to various locations in their county and sending out postal card invitations to newly registered voters. They taught more than 1500 people how to

operate a voting machine. In fact, not everyone who felt the need to practice and came to do so was a newly registered voter!

~~Housing and Urban Development Project~~

Housing and Urban ~~Development~~ Planning Project

Mr. Moreland Smith, an ~~outstanding~~ architect formerly of Montgomery, Alabama, is director of our special project in housing and urban planning. Recognizing that human relations and intergroup relations are profoundly affected by the physical characteristics of a city and by its pattern of space utilzation, this project seeks to make more habitable for ~~all~~ everyone the great cities now growing in the South. Much that Mr. Smith and his associates does, of course, does not lend itself to cooperation with state or local human relations councils. But much of it does. It is hoped that the Urban Planning Project may be a resource for any housing or urban planning questions you may have. Moreover, there ~~is money to~~ are funds which could provide consultants to help meet the program needs of councils.

For example, the project suggested and paid transportation and other expenses for a consultant who helped form a fair housing committee in one city. Another possibility would be ~~consultants to help plan~~ a campaign of neighborhood stabilization in a transition area. (See our pamphlet, "Neighborhood Stabilization") Your group may need assistance to determine factually whether or not there are irregularities in your city's Urban Renewal program -- and to document them if there are. Or, by prearrangement with advice from the Project staff or outside consultants as the case warrants.

with the Urban Planning Project, you might be able to offer the assistance of a human relations-oriented city planner to your municipal officials.

Community Organization Project

Directed by Mr. Al Ulmer, this project seeks to help minority-group communities organize to exercise effectively their due influence on civic processes, particularly as these affect them, and to take advantage of available ~~public~~ federal programs. Mr. Ulmer has worked extensively with several human relations councils and other groups. His many concerns include consumer education, self-help housing (for which government financing can be secured), organization of credit unions, buying cooperatives, block organizing, and many others.

To cite an example, one local human relations council ~~noted~~ discovered that a predominantly Negro public housing project was being allowed to deteriorate, while a traditionally all-white project in the same city was kept in excellent repair. They called on the Community Organization Project to help residents of the neglected project secure equal treatment.

Labor Project

Mr. Emory Via, on a leave of absence from the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, is Director of SRC's Labor Project. ~~His is a program of human relations~~

This project has three main areas of work: (1) labor education for local and state union leaders emphasizing understanding the changing South and labor's responsibilities in the area of civil rights; (2) consultation and liasion work with unions, race relations organizations, and others interested in labor and employment problems; and (3) employment discrimination in terms of public policy formation and in specific remedial programs. Programs vary from an educational conference exclusively for union leaders, to involving union members in activities related to race relations concerns, to assisting in ironing out problems that arise between a union and an agency working in the area of civil rights. The project is interested in knowing of local programs to improve equality in employment and can offer consultative assistance where needed. It sees as one of its important functions bringing thoughtful labor leaders into contact with receptive persons working in human relations.

education aimed at local-level labor leaders. Due to the nature of this program, there is perhaps not as much tie-in with local human relations councils as there is with the other special projects. Certainly, however, the project may be called upon to assist wherever there is a problem, say, of exculsion of Negroes and other non-whites from apprenticeship or from union membership.

Sub. Emory's paragraph

Prison Administration -- Criminal Rehabilitation Project

Mr. John Boone has recently joined our staff as director of a special project in prison administration and criminal rehabilitation. It is a generally assumed but sadly ignored fact that penal policy and conditions in penal institutions in the South are inhumane. Mr. Boone's concern will be to conduct research, including publication of the results, on this problem, and to cultivate the interest of many groups and of the public in this issue.

Since Mr. Boone has begun so recently his program is not yet fully developed. He has already called upon the state council staffs for assistance, however, and it is hoped that both state and local councils will be in touch with him about local penal institutions and rehabilitation problems. The budget for this project includes a sum for consultants.

OTHER INTEREST AREAS

In addition to the program areas in which we have special projects, there are a number ~~inxwhichxwexexxxprxxidxx~~ of our research projects which can provide consultant services to state and local councils incidentally. We also have a couple of special-purpose funds and/an experimental projects ~~xxxwhixh~~ for which we are actively seeking the help and cooperation of local groups.

Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty Programs

Sometimes a local council will be pretty sure that something is wrong in the ~~finidx~~ employment pattern of, let us say, the retail stores of their city, but/will not know how to go about correcting the situation. Or there may be a problem in connection with the "War on Poverty" in your area: no community action agency has been formed; or it has a non-representative composition; or you see a need for an employment training program but do not know how to get a proposal planned and submitted.

In all such situations the Southern Regional Council can provide consultants who will have had some experience in these matters and the technical competence, knowledge of government agencies and personnel, ~~xxdx~~ etc., that you need.

School Integration

SRC has a continuing interest in education and the integration of Southern school systems. In connection with our research

on this problem we are able to provide consultant services and some expense money for desegregation problems and efforts. There are the well-known problems of recruiting students to transfer to integrated schools under "freedom of choice" plans and of securing integrated faculties. But more attention needs to be given the less celebrated school integration problems, such as the placement of schools (Is your community's new school bond issue being used to perpetuate segregation?) and almost-exclusive use of all-white-and-middle-class textbooks in the school systems. The SRC will welcome information about and requests for assistance with all such problems.

Welfare Programs

This is another of our research projects. In the budget for it we have anticipated the need for a considerable amount of work at local level on inequities and the ill-effects of standard welfare procedures. For example, many of the most impoverished counties in the South do not participate in the surplus food program of the federal government because local authorities refuse the modest expense of providing storage. Some local groups have successfully waged campaigns to secure this service, and the SRC could pay to have someone experienced in this problem help with similar cases. Or perhaps your groups needs a consultant to help document the results of such unfair (and frequent) policies as those disqualifying a family for assistance unless the father is absent (even though he can find no work).

Student Group Projects

In order to encourage student human relations groups a foundation has provided us funds to assist campus groups with human relations projects. These could be anything: tutorials, projects of recruiting minority groups students for the university, assisting students from low-income families to find scholarships, a lecture series on campus or nearby, etc. It should be remembered, however, that these funds are available to existing student groups for their projects. Under the donor's conditions we cannot ordinarily use them to begin student groups or to maintain their administrative functions.

Paperback Books Project

This year (1966) the SRC is conducting an experiment in distribution of paperback books among low-income people. With more than 40,000 volumes available, we are seeking imaginative ways of making books accessible to people who may not have had access to them before, motivating such people to use books for both information and recreation, and encouraging book ownership. We feel that this experiment can easily be utilized by human relations councils in worthwhile projects.

Your group might, for example, supply books on child-rearing and home economics to parents of a day-nursery in your town. Or the day-nursery itself might need books for the children. If you have or wish to start a study-hall in a slum neighborhood, you could secure dictionaries and other reference books -- and perhaps a shelf of

just-for-pleasure books for teenagers and another shelf of books dealing with Negro history and culture. In almost every town and county in the South there are schools with inadequate libraries. Probably the majority of classrooms in grade schools and junior high schools of the region have no class library. Your group might wish to provide books on the history of Negroes in America to all school libraries in your community, or it might wish to provide a basic classroom library to every fifth grade and every eighth grade. Or it might undertake to set up and service a lending shelf in general stores in a rural county.

The possibilities are as endless as your imagination -- and what we want is imaginative proposals for getting books used by people. Guidelines for requesting books will be sent on request. (Incidentally, the books are provide free of charge, including the cost of shipping.)

NOTE: REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE OR FURTHER INFORMATION MAY BE ADDRESSED TO THE APPROPRIATE SPECIAL PROJECT DIRECTOR OR TO THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303.

THE LOUSIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

WHAT IS THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS?

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations is a voluntary association of people drawn together by a common commitment to justice for all and a common desire for understanding and openness among people of the various groups of which our society is composed.

The Council is a private, non-profit organization. It is not a government agency. Anyone who wishes may join to work for better human relations in Louisiana. To this end LCHR cooperates with appropriate government agencies.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL?

As the name suggests, the Council's purpose is to improve human relations. The Louisiana Council on Human Relations works for an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds and colors can live and work in genuine community, decency, and dignity.

WHAT DOES THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS DO?

The ~~Louisiana~~ Council works mostly through local councils. These are composed of members of the Louisiana Council who, as citizens of their community, are familiar with the community, its human relations problems in all of their complexity, its leaders and potential leaders, and the resources which may be creatively employed.

Using the methods of fact-finding and reporting, education, and negotiation, ~~the~~ LCHR and its local affiliates seek better

and equal opportunities for all citizens of Louisiana in education, employment, housing, and health and welfare. ~~The~~ LCHR works for full exercise of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship by all and for even administration of justice.

The Council maintains a staff and a state office. The staff provides information and resources to local councils. It plans an annual membership meeting and conferences on various human relations concerns as the need arises. Liaison is maintained with many concerned groups and agencies, public and private. The staff is available for conciliation services. It runs a small research and information service, occasionally issues reports on special problems, and helps individuals and groups find needed services in the human relations field. The staff publishes an informative newsletter for members once a month.

IS THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL AFFILIATED WITH ANOTHER ORGANIZATION?

The Louisiana Council is independent and its policies are determined by its Board of Directors, members of the Board are elected at the annual meeting. ~~The staff reports~~

LCHR works closely with the Southern Regional Council. The history of that organization goes back to 1919 when a group of the South's leading church people founded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to encourage the interchange of ideas and mutual trust between Negroes and white people. The Commission was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council in 1944. Some of its incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, President of Atlanta University; the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, then editor of the

Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church; and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

HOW IS THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL FINANCED?

The Council is funded by membership dues; individual contributions from individuals, and groups, and businesses; and grants from charitable foundations and churches. Some of the donations from foundations are channeled through a grant-in-aid program of the Southern Regional Council.

WHY IS A HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL NEEDED? WHY SHOULD I JOIN THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL?

Because there are a number of ways in which Louisiana is not what the state could be and should be. And the facts show that poor human relations hold Louisiana back.

Let's start with economics. According to the 1960 census the median individual income in the United States was $2,798 -- half the people earned more than that and half earned less. But in Louisiana the dividing line was at $1,967. That is $831 less each year! For the U.S. the median family income is $4,791 per year. For Louisiana it is $3,513. That is $1,278 less each year!

More than 44% of Louisiana's households have incomes below the $3,000 poverty line. These conditions are not good in any way: they are not good for business, they are not good for efficient government, and certainly they are not good for the persons who are the victims.

And it's a human relations problem! Of white households in Louisiana,

33.5% are in poverty; of Negro households, 72.2% are in poverty! Of Louisiana's labor force as a whole, 6.1% are out of work, which is nearly twice the national average. But among Negro workers the rate is 9.7% while it is only 4.2% among white workers. So the progress of the whole state and everyone in it is impeded by faulty human relations, -- by prejudice and discrimination.

Every effect has its cause -- and unemployment and low income can be traced to poor education. Louisiana has the highest percentage of illiterates in the nation: 6.3% In 1965-66 one-half of Louisiana's draftees failed pre-induction mental tests! Only three states had a higher rate of failures. Only 67.4% of those Louisiana students entering high school in 1961-62 graduated in 1964-65, which places Louisiana in the top one-fourth of the states on the drop-out scale.

Again, it is a human relations problem. In 1963 (the last year for which figures are available) Louisiana spent $260.20 to instruct white pupils, only $214.1 to instruct Negro children. In that year the average classroom of white children had 28.9 pupils in it, while there were 32.2 Negro children in each of their classes. Statistics also show that Negro teachers are paid less than white teachers with comparable training in Louisiana.

And why are Negroes short-changed in Louisiana? In part because they have traditionally been denied full participation in the processes of democracy. 83% of eligible white Louisianians are registered to vote; only 42% of eligible Negroes in Louisiana are registered.

Many other facts could be cited. But they all point to the same ~~thing~~ truth: Louisiana has serious human relations problems, and there is every reason for an organization in which concerned citizens can work to effect smoothly the changes which must inevitably be made.

HOW DO YOU JOIN THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS?

Simply fill out the application form and mail it to the state office or give it to a local council officer. You may send the membership dues by check, cash or money order -- or ask that you be billed later.

- -

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
7986 Scenic Highway Baton Rouge, Louisiana

I/we would like to support the program of the Council by becoming:

( ) A Regular Member ($5.00)
( ) A Membership Family of _____ persons. ($7.50)
( ) A Contributing Member. ($10.00)
( ) A Sustaining Member ($25.00)
( ) An Honorary Member ($100.00)

Check enclosed ( )
Cash enclosed ( )
Bill me ( )

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____
OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

Please be sure to give your Zip Code number.

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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(1)

To: Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

From: Ed Stanfield and Emory Via

Listed below are three suggestions for possible State Council programs which could be run in cooperation with SRC's Labor Program. Would you look them over and give your reactions or expressions of interest to one of us when you are in Atlanta. for the Directors' meeting.

1. A project to assist in the enforcement of the newly amended minimum wage law. The coverage of the law and the benefits it guarantees will be improved. Many workers will not know that they are covered or will not know how to proceed in the enforcement of their rights. Many employers, Similarly will be slow in realizing the impact of the law on them. This project will have to await the final passage of the law and the preparation of a guideline for action. However, it could be of substantial benefit to low income people. It would be a direct and appreciated service. It could be a program run almost completely by volunteers and might be an excellent project for college youth looking for a beneficial project with tangible results. A briefing conference could be held with SRC arranging for the experts. Basically, such a program would supplement federal efforts. But it could assure speedy and fair enforcement. It offers advantages in building some meaningful bridges between low income groups and human relations efforts.

2. A project to assist in ending discrimination in apprentice training. We could offer a variety of consultative services. A determination needs to be made of actual local practice and how many Negroes are involved in aprrentice training. Similarly, some assessment is needed how the main institutional elements

in apprentice training will respond to ~~a/progra~~ a project encouraging Negro entry into their programs. Remember, of course, that a good bit of law and administrative regulation is on the side of fairness. Thirdly, Negro youngsters who are qualified by age and education need to be located and motivated to participate in such training. A major part of such a program is to provide realistic, preparatory training so the youngsters (ages 18-25) can score well on entry tests. A good bit of experience on this is available. Again, this is a program that can be carried out, with some expert advice, by volunteers. Not too many. They need to be qualified people. The main element in this ~~whole~~ proposal is the location, training, [redacted] motiviation component. The other determinations(extent of Negro participation and attitude of the institutions involved) ~~is~~ are for background purposes. Assistance can be offered in developing that information, too.

A specific proposal would be to convene a small working conference of people ~~fro~~ from one metropolitan area. ~~who are interested in such a program~~. It should include those knowledgable in apprentice problems and training as well as persons from your organization[redacted] and others who would be expected to take the lead in program execution. Emory Via would ~~like~~ want to consult with you in detail prior to ~~the~~ invitations being ~~made to such a conference~~ extended. SRC would provide the expert consultants ~~the~~ for such a meeting and ~~perhaps~~ assist ~~in~~ or cover the other costs for a ~~1~~ one or two day program. We would not envision travel or room costs ~~being incurred~~ since the meeting ~~would~~ would be restricted to one city.

3. <u>An off-the record conference between civil rights leaders and labor leaders</u>. In some cases selected other leaders would also be involved. The format and invitees will have to be agreed on in advance between the Labor Program and the State Council. Such a conference would encourage individuals and their organizations to get acquainted on a serious level. It would uncover mutual, practical interests. It would air, constructively, the differences and miunderstandings that may have developed between civil rights advocates and the labor movement. The conference could be area or statewide. SRC would (a) advise on program, (b) work to secure labor participation, (c) provide ~~the~~ ~~of the~~ outside expertise, and (d) underwrite ~~some~~ much of the related costs to the meeting.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony
John Boone
Vernon Jordan
Moreland Smith
Al Ulmer
Emory Via
Thad Olive
Marvin Wall

FROM: Ed Stanfield

The state council directors keep citing instances of their discovering only by accident that the S.R.C. is aiding a group or project within their states. They find this disconcerting because (1) people who do not understand the autonomous nature of the state councils assume that the directors have been informed by SRC and (2) the directors, stumbling across one project, suppose that there might be two or three others involving people they would like to know and be in touch with.

Could we make it standard operation procedure to inform each state council director when we are conducting a project, aiding a local group with a project, giving financial aid, etc., within his bailiwick? There will be times, of course, when some delicate matter will require, in your judgment, an exception to the standard procedure I am suggesting; I am sure the council directors would have no objection to that. A carbon copy of a key letter,-- such as a letter of transmittal for a grant, or a letter agreeing to a speaking engagement, or the like -- marked "for information only", would be a big help.

For my part, I will ~~take pains to~~ ask the state council directors to remember that information concerning any such involvement of S.R.C. is only to keep them informed and, in some instances, to give them names for eventual contact and that it does not call for action on their part unless specifically requested. They will understand, I think, that in many cases (such as work with conservative labor groups or city officials) great discretion is required.

Copies to state council directors.

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors and SRC Staff

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Your attention is called to certain changes which have occurred since we issued a new state council directory in August:

Elijah Coleman has been made Acting Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Nat Griswold has resumed his leave of absence.

The Louisiana Council has opened their new office. Materials should now be sent to 7986 Scenic Highway, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Telephone (504) 775-8048.

Space

The North Carolina Council has moved its office to Greensboro. The address is 233½ Greene Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. Telephone (919) 275-6589.

The Houston Council has named Mrs. Frances Dukler Acting Director, pending employment of a new executive director.

WHITE & NON-WHITE FARM OPERATORS
NUMBERS & PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE, 1959-1964

South Carolina
Florida
Mississippi

Alabama
Louisiana
Tennessee

In South Carolina the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 30,977 in 1959 to 19,602 in 1964, a decline of 36.7 percent. White operated farms dropped by 23.0 percent (47,177 to 36,348) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 23.7 percent for full owners; 22.9 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was 23.6 percent; among white part owners the decline was 6.4 percent. Negro tenants in South Carolina declined by 48.0 percent, while white tenants declined by 30.7 percent.

In Florida the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 3,668 in 1959 to 2,820 in 1964, a decline of 23.0 percent. White operated farms dropped by 11.9 percent (41,416 to 36,480) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 26.1 percent for full owners; 12.0 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was not so great at 9.7 percent; among white part owners, 7.8 percent. Negro tenants in Florida declined by 26.3 percent, while white tenants only declined by 7.2 percent.

In Mississippi the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 55,369 in 1959 to 37,701 in 1964, a decline of 31.9 percent. White operated farms dropped by 14.1 percent (82,719 to 71,032) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 18.6 percent for full owners; 11.8 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was 1.9 percent; among white part owners the decline was 3.3 percent. Negro tenants in Mississippi declined by 43.4 percent, while white tenants declined by 40.2 percent. The heavy decline among Negro tenants now leaves Mississippi with slightly more Negro farm owners (full and part owners) than tenants.

In Alabama the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 29,234 in 1959 to 20,941 in 1964, a decline of 28.4 percent. White operated farms dropped by 17.4 percent (86,522 to 71,362) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 20.0 percent for full owners; 11.8 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was 12.0 percent; among white part owners the decline was 6.6 percent. Negro tenants in Alabama declined by 37.4 percent, while white tenants declined by 42.2 percent. The decline in Negro tenants now leaves Alabama (like Mississippi) with slightly more Negro farm owners (full and part owners) than tenants.

In Louisiana the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 17,679 in 1959 to 12,290 in 1964, a decline of 30.5 percent. White operated farms dropped by 12.0 percent (56,735 to 49,918) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 19.9 percent for full owners; 14.6 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was 4.6 percent; among white part owners the decline was 13.2 percent. Negro tenants in Louisiana declined by 43.0 percent, while white tenants declined by 24.1 percent.

In Tennessee the total number of nonwhite operated farms (excluding managers) dropped from 15,037 in 1959 to 10,654 in 1964, a decline of 29.1 percent. White operated farms dropped by 14.2 percent (142,635 to 122,434) in the same period. Among Negroes the rate of decline was 21.9 percent for full owners; 11.1 percent decline for whites. For Negro part owners, the decline was 12.8 percent; among white part owners the decline was 7.5 percent. Negro tenants in Tennessee declined by 35.1 percent; while white tenants declined by 33.0 percent.

Administration

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT (R.A.P.)

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

March 12, 1966

REPLY TO
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TEL 404/522-3697

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Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

To: Alice N. Spearman
Frances Pauley
Robert Valder
August VandenBosche

From: Jac Wasserman

We are planning a three-day staff meeting in Washington of NSF and RAP field representatives to meet with various federal agencies and officials in order to become thoroughly familiar with the programs, regulations and procedures of these agencies so that we can be better informed and more effective in helping to develop projects and programs sponsored by these agencies in our respective states.

Some of the agencies with which we will be meeting and subjects to be discussed follow.

OEO: Community Action Programs and Title 3-B.
USDL: Office of Employment Security and OMERT.
USDA: Farmers Home Administration, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Soil Conservation Service.
HEW: Elementary and Secondary School Act.
DHUD: Federal Housing Programs.

Time permitting, we also hope to have briefing sessions with the compliance officers of these agencies and with the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

This is the first of a number of staff training meetings that we hope to arrange from time to time. Other meetings will be rotated in the states where NSF and RAP field representatives are stationed.

I hope that you will make it possible for your RAP representative to attend this meeting which is tentatively scheduled in Washington for April 13, 14 and 15.

Further details will be sent to you and your RAP representatives as soon as I hear that these dates are convenient for all concerned.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

cc: Miss Fay Bennett

JW:ja

~~S.S.~~

RAP (administrative)

THE AARON E. NORMAN FUND, INC.
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

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DOROTHY S. NORMAN

March 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am very pleased to be able to advise you formally that the Board of Directors of The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc. decided at a recent meeting to make a grant of $10,000 to the Southern Regional Council in support of the rural development work being conducted by the Southern Regional Council in co-operation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. This grant is to be administered by you and used to cover certain expenses of NSF's Southern regional office substantially as follows: $3,600 for travel, $1,200 for conferences and staff meetings, and $5,200 for a secretary-assistant to Jac Wasserman. Enclosed is a check of this Fund for $10,000 in payment of said grant.

I would appreciate your sending me, in April, 1967, a brief report on the use made of this grant.

I very much enjoyed seeing you during my brief stay in Atlanta and hope that I will see you again in the near future.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Deborah M. Cole
Executive Secretary

DMC:ac

Encl.

cc: Fay Bennett
Jac Wasserman

ck. 10,000.
3-21-66 rh

RAP

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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March 29, 1966

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TEL 404/522-3697

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FAY BENNETT *executive secretary*
JAC WASSERMAN *field director*
OCIE LEE SMITH *Louisiana-Arkansas representative*
JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
L. S. JAMES *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

To: Lewis Black
Eugene Hagans
LaVert Taylor
Hubert Thomas

From: Jac Wasserman

Ed Stanfield informs me that RAP representatives are expected to attend the meeting of the State Human Relations Directors at SRC's office in Atlanta on April 26th and 27th.

Your coming to Atlanta for this meeting will give me the opportunity of meeting with you as a group to review our program, to discuss new projects, and to work out reporting procedures that are acceptable to everyone concerned.

My plan is for us to meet after the adjournment of the meeting of the State Directors on the 27th, roughly from about 2 to 5:30 p.m. and then re-convene at 9 a.m. on Thursday the 28th and continue until about 1 p.m. This will allow you sufficient time to get home for dinner.

We had tentatively planned for RAP and NSF field representatives to meet in Washington for three days, between April 12th and 15th but found that those days conflicted with a meeting of the CCAP which Fay Bennett and I plan to attend, and which would also prevent many of the other people we wanted to meet from being with us.

We have decided, therefore, to schedule this meeting at a later date and you will be informed as soon as arrangements and are approved by your State Directors.

I have suggested to Fay Bennett that since the RAP field representatives will be in Atlanta on April 26th and 27th that we also bring in our NSF representatives so that we can all meet together starting the afternoon of the 27th. If this suggestion is approved, we will then request that you stay an additional

day, until the late afternoon of Friday, April 29th. We will then probably also ask some of the people from the Atlanta regional offices of the federal agencies to meet with us on Friday.

As I will be in Alabama all of this week and will not return to the office until April 4th, I will not be able to confirm whether only the RAP representatives will be meeting with me, or whether we will have a joint meeting with the NSF representatives and Fay Bennett until some time later that week.

I have been very busy this past week and may not have had the opportunity of acknolwedging the reports received from some RAP representatives. If you haven't heard from me this past week, I did not consider that there was any urgent reason for writing and will catch up with my correspondence after my return from Alabama.

NOTE TO STATE DIRECTORS: You are also invited to attend and participate at my meeting with the RAP representatives.

JW:ja

cc: Fay Bennett
Alice Spearman
Frances Pauley
Robert Valder
Ed Stanfield ✓

Administration R.A.P.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Reply to
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404 522-3697

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JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

April 7, 1966

To: Lewis Black
Eugene Hagans
LaVert Taylor
Hubert Thomas

From: Jac Wasserman

This is to confirm arrangements for a joint meeting of RAP and NSF field representatives to be held in Atlanta starting at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, April 27th. We plan to meet until about 5:30 p.m. that day, all day Thursday and until about 1 p.m. on Friday, April 29th.

Our meetings will be held at the Atlantan Hotel, 111 Luckie St., (one block from the Dinkler) starting at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, April 27th in Parlor B, Mezzanine floor.

The primary purpose of this meeting is to have an overall review and discussion of our program, to discuss new projects, exchange experiences and for NSF and RAP representatives to get acquainted.

If there are some special subjects about which you would like to have further information, or if there are particular problems you would like to have discussed, please write me so that I can include them on the agenda.

I will try to get a tentative agenda in your hands some time during the week of April 20th.

cc: Fay Bennett
Alice Spearman
Frances Pauley
August VandenBosche
Robert Valder
Ed Stanfield

RAP

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May 16, 1966

TO: State Directors

FROM: Jac Wasserman

The recent staff meeting of RAP and NSF representatives in Atlanta indicated, I believe, that we need to have such training sessions more often. We were only able to cover a few of the items on our agenda and were not able to go into any of the subjects in depth. We also planned to have each of the field men report on the work they were doing in their states and to have them report on how they initiated projects in their states; on their relations with state and local officials, etc., but did not have time for it at this meeting.

To: State Directors - 2
May 16, 1966

We have tentatively scheduled another staff meeting for June 21-23, probably in Atlanta, at which time we hope to cover a great many other areas of our work with rural people and organizations. We expect to have some of the Southern Rural Training Project Staff participate at this meeting to give us the benefit of their experience in developing various non-agricultural government programs in the fields of basic education, vocational and on-the-job training programs, etc.

I would appreciate your informing me whether June 21-23 would be a satisfactory time for such a meeting and whether your RAP representative will be able to attend. If those dates conflict with other activity scheduled in your state, please advise whether June 28-30 would be a better time to hold this meeting. We hope that you will also be able to attend these sessions to familiarize yourself with the programs, to participate in the discussions and give us the benefit of your ideas and suggestions for the kind of programs most needed in your state.

I will write you again to confirm the dates after I have heard from the other State Directors.

cc: Alice N. Spearman
Frances Pauley
August VandenBosche
Robert Valder
Fay Bennett
Edwin Stanfield

RA. P.

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administrative assistants

May 25, 1966

TO: RAP Representatives

FROM: Jac Wasserman

I assume that your State Director has informed you that we have planned another staff meeting of RAP and NSF representatives to be held at the Atlantan Hotel in Atlanta, starting at 7 P. M. on June 21, through Thursday June 23. Room reservations have been made for you at the Atlantan Hotel.

I will be sending you a tentative agenda early next month. If you have any suggestions regarding subjects that you would like to have discussed and included on the agenda, please let me hear from you as soon as possible. You will have another opportunity to make additional suggestions after you receive the proposed agenda.

I am sending you a packet of printed material under separate cover which contains a very informative booklet on Farmer Associations in Tennessee; Mutual Self-Help Guidlines issued by FHA; and a press release from HEW on opportunities for colleges and universities to establish seminars for community leaders in such fields as poverty, health, housing, and employment. Also, Resolutions and Recommendations of a Citizens Action Assembly on Health and Welfare Services in Georgia; and a clipping from the Southern Courier with a story on the credit union started by Lewis Black in Greensboro, Alabama.

Please review this material carefully and see in what way you can apply some of this information to the work that you are doing in your state. Negro colleges, in particular, should be encouraged to apply for Title I funds for "programs directed toward solution of community problems."

cc: Fay Bennett
Ed Stanfield
State Directors

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JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

May 25, 1966

TO: Frances Pauley, Alice Spearman,
Robert Valder, August VandenBosche

FROM: Jac Wasserman

We have definitely scheduled a staff meeting of RAP and NSF field representatives, starting at 7 P. M. on Tuesday, June 21, through Thursday June 23, at the Atlantan Hotel on Luckie Street. We will be meeting in Parlor B on the Mezzanine, which is the same room used for our last meeting. I hope that there will not be any problem about your RAP representative attending. Please also advise me if you are planning to attend and if you would like me to arrange a room reservation for you at the Atlantan Hotel. I will also make room reservations for RAP and NSF representatives at the Atlantan, unless I am informed to the contrary.

A tenative agenda will be sent to you and your RAP representative early in June, at which time we will solicit your suggestions for other subjects that you would like to have discussed at this meeting.

cc: Ed Stanfield
Fay Bennett

RAP
E.S.

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May 26, 1966

TO: RAP and NSF Field Representatives

FROM: Jac Wasserman

Following is a list of federally assisted recreation facilities in your state. I have not been able to get the local addresses of these facilities but they can be obtained from each of the FHA county offices mentioned. As these facilities were funded after passage of the Civil Rights Act (Title 6), it should be determined whether they are open to the public and if so, whether Negro citizens are making use of those facilities. It may be that the Negro citizens of those counties do not know that these facilities are supposed to be available to all citizens and this information should be relayed to them so that the facilities can be tested. If any citizen encounters any difficulty in using these facilities, it should be called to the attention of the FHA county supervisor, the State Director of FHA, and to Mr. William Seabron, Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, USDA, Washington, D. C. A copy of your complaint, as well as a full report should also be sent to me.

Please bear in mind that the facilities described may have been established for either personal or public use. It is only where the facilities are intended for public use (with a charge for theuse of the facilities) that the owner must be in compliance.

cc: State Directors

(see attached list)

Sample of list for all states

Tennessee

County	Type of Facility	Owner	Agency
Houston County	Not available	Arch C. Jarret, Jr.	FHA
Cheatham County	Riding and hiking trails, boating, fishing, camping recreation area for sports, tennis court, softball, and baseball diamond	Ted P. Loftis Pine Road, Pegram	ASCS
Haywood County	Water: skiing, fishing, Swimming; picnic area and ball diamond for little league and junior league	Bill Powell	ASCS
Hickman County	Fishing, camping and nature recreation area	John Willy Nunnelly	ASCS
	Picnic and sports area, hunting and shooting preserve fishing area	Clyde Shepard 1226 Skyview Drive, Centerville and Guy Smithson 102 Oak Avenue Centerville	ASCS
Humphreys County	Camp sites, small game hunting, boating and fishing facilities	Crockett O. Murphree	ASCS
Rutherford County	Fishing enterprise	E. L. Jordan, Sr. Route 4, Murfreesboro	ASCS

THE CON-TINUING CRISIS

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

MAY 1966

THE CONTINUING CRISIS: AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

May, 1966

37

INTRODUCTION

In 1960, the Southern Regional Council, the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Affairs, National Council of the Churches of Christ, published a report on five years of violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court school decision, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Since then, the Council and others have continued to record and report this most disgraceful aspect of the South's struggle to overcome its worst mistakes. With the same sense of sadness and urgency, this report continues the story—with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue.

Assistance of the American Friends Service Committee in preparation of research materials for this report is acknowledged. Research and writing of the project was by Mrs. Glenda Bartley of the Southern Regional Council research staff.

The following paragraph from the 1960 report is fully applicable to the situation six years later:

> *Finally, this is not a comprehensive survey of southern reactions . . . It describes only their angry, violent side. Another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage, and good will by both Negroes and whites. Though this aspect of the South is not in view in the report, it is an authentic and undimmed face of the South, to which each of the sponsoring agencies has paid tribute more than once. But we feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record that follows—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility.*

PART I

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

As Negro children began what some newspapers termed "massive" integration of southern public schools in September, 1965, the nation was surprised that Southerners accepted the change in a peaceful manner. The truth is that conditions in the South were neither integrated nor peaceful. Between five and six per cent of the region's 3,014,025 Negro school-age children attended classes with whites, and often these children and their parents paid a very high price for the experience. Men and women who were already desperately poor were evicted from sharecropper's cabins or tenant farms. Many without the training for good jobs lost the meager ones they had held for years. Some were beaten and shot at. Others saw their children abused and imprisoned. Yet the headlines continued to reassure the nation that "School Integration Continues to Spread Quietly Across the South."

There are several reasons for the nation's misunderstanding of the South's condition.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 indicated to many whites that the Negro's problem was now largely solved and, with restrictions barring him from participation in American life removed, he would disappear into the mainstream and quit pestering their consciences.

Immediate effects of the 1964 law were felt only in the area of public accommodations, giving middle class Negroes access to peripheral trappings of the white man's world, which were at best merely a symbol of the law's intent. The fall and winter of 1964 confirmed the fact that many urban and some rural public accommodations were desegregated.

Then, in the spring of 1965 the Office of Education announced plans to bring southern schools into compliance with the law. Virtually all districts filed plans with the federal bureau stating that various grades were open to both races, usually on a "freedom of choice" basis. Somehow the fact that in the immediate past cities had submitted to token integration only after lengthy court battles was overlooked, and it was assumed that federal money and southern honor would do the trick in the small towns and country areas.

So, when school opened in the fall, little communities like Ruby, South Carolina, which completely desegregated all twelve grades, and Philadelphia, Mississippi, which admitted a few Negro children without a riot, received national attention. The impression was false and the apathy was national, not southern. The old patterns of resistance were still being employed; wherever weakness was found in federal enforcement it would be exploited.

Soon, the federal government discovered that freedom of choice in

many communities was a cruel misnomer. Negro parents who filled out transfer forms for their children (from which the Office of Education deduced the number of children in desegregated schools) often changed their minds. In many cases schools reported peacefully desegregated on the first day of classes had only a fraction of the children who had signed letters of intent—usually because the superintendent had advised Negro parents to keep their children home or send them to the Negro school until any possibility of trouble abated. Once school opened "without incident" the matter was no longer "news." Many people subjected to violence, intimidation, or economic reprisal live in isolated rural areas or small communities, and the "news" did not get out. It spoke its own language, however, to the local Negroes.

Rationale of Retaliation

At the same time the nation was deluding itself about southern school desegregation, it was ignoring the economic and occasionally violent reprisals which followed in the wake of voter registration drives.

The Voting Rights Law of 1965 was the first supplement to the Civil Rights Act. Again, once the law was passed, it seemed the issue was settled. Law created fact, and all those people for whom the Selma march spoke would now be citizens. That hundreds of people in Black Belt counties in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were out of work or off the land because they registered to vote was hardly noticed. The deeper implications of joblessness, poverty, and frustration attached to this evidence of economic dependence were largely ignored.

The nation also has regarded violence as a characteristic of all the former Confederate states. This is an illusion. Violence has for several years been largely confined to the Deep South, and there generally to Alabama, Mississippi, north and delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, have been isolated incidents and not a manifestation of organized resistance. Though cities like Birmingham are hardly distinguishable from the surrounding countryside, the hard-core violent resistance areas are largely rural.

Here registrars know the Negroes who try to register and the jobs they hold on the plantations they "belong" to. A superintendent knows the mother hopefully filling out a transfer form for her child is a maid in the house just down the street. There also is, as one Mississippian put it, the "lack of a public sector"—a place where both races have traditionally met in an impersonal manner. In cities the buses may have had segregated seating customs but Negro and white at least rode on the same bus bound for destinations unknown to each other. The city affords (and in the

case of the Negro, demands) anonymity. In the small town and rural areas, any contact between the races is a personal one, and so more painful when one tries to change patterns.

Perhaps this partially explains the real personal grudge many rural whites have against Negroes. It is not just against those who are, for reasons unknown to whites, out in the streets demonstrating for what they choose to call freedom, but against those who aren't. For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, they feel contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort. So there is no foundation of respect, anywhere. Along with this is the feeling on the part of the white man that he is trapped, just as the Negro is trapped, in a situation over which he has no control. He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this.

Having swapped the ballot for racial shibboleths, he sees democracy once again passing him by; this time as a vehicle for the very people he sacrificed so much to "keep down." Feeling beleaguered, cornered, and contemptuous, such whites permitted or abetted continued efforts to use legal, economic, and ultimately, violent methods of denying a whole people self-respect.

Plight of the Poor

Heightening the frustrations of all the rural South is the fact that cotton continues to decline as a significant portion of agricultural production. Again the peripheral South is different, having already begun to diversify its farm production and move toward industrialization in the 1940's. The Deep South—Black Belt Alabama and the Mississippi Delta particular y —have been much slower in abandoning cotton. Yet here, too, unmarketable short staple cotton and curtailed allotments, cattle, pine trees—along with mechanization have pushed people off the land. As a single staple economy wrenches itself toward a mature, diversified one, the need for unskilled labor sharply increased.

In the traditional sense these people are beyond the definition of cybernation—men and women whose one skill is bending over a hoe or a cotton stalk, who have been trained in this capacity since childhood, whose schools close in planting and pickin' time to resume in "slack" seasons. They themselves are products of the plantation system—of a feudalism that transcends the old manorial concept and becomes almost a familial relationship, with the plantation manager, the Man, a patriarch. That this patriarch might be benign and allow his docile children to remain on the land long

after their usefulness has gone is often true. But once they threaten his dominion, he punishes them simply by removing them, cutting them off from their inheritance, which is the land, the hoe, and the cotton stalk.

Many of the disinherited are like the 82-year-old man whose mother was born a slave on the Wilcox County farm he was forced to leave. In his new home without water or light, he will live by "growing some corn." In West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, a woman, blind, crippled, born a slave, will live in a shanty with relatives. Another man and his wife, living on $33 a month social security, are homeless after registering to vote. Driven off the land they had farmed for decades, these people's resolve was best expressed in one old woman's pathetically stubborn defiance: "Our only sin was wanting to be citizens . . . . Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

Retaliation against younger families began in September and usually hinged on their attempts to exercise "freedom of choice" in school desegregation. During October, November, and December the cause was voter registration. The crops were in and the people, old men and women, young families, had to go.

A family in Bolivar County, Mississippi, which had always increased its cash yield by following the mechanical cotton picker to glean what it missed, watched the "picker" drag a disc, plowing their cotton under. The truck which used to pick women up to take them to the fields "didn't stop at their houses any more." Men who had held jobs for over ten years suddenly were demoted or fired. A man lost his job with the Alabama Power Company after enrolling his child in a "desegregated" school; the county was holding up his unemployment check. A Thomas County, Georgia, man lost his job and his land after transferring his children to a "white" school. Women lost their jobs as domestics and their husbands could no longer find work as handymen. Many, like an evicted sharecropper who said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working," forfeited their livelihoods for their challenge to paternalism.

All over the old recalcitrant part of the South families lost their land and their homes for registering to vote or for transferring their children. More than a hundred families in Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, Alabama, at least a hundred people in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, and uncounted numbers of families in Bolivar, Issaquena, Sharkey, and Washington Counties, Mississippi, were put off the land. Though many of these evictions were punitive, reduced acreage allotments under the Agricultural Act of 1965 were to take a far greater toll. An estimated 4,706 seasonal workers in the Mississippi Delta alone would not be needed in 1966. These

people will join the already staggering number of unemployed in the state. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in December, 1965, stated that "the Mississippi welfare agency estimates that as many as 500,000 more needy persons will be added to the regular winter case load of about 300,000." Mississippi's total population is only 2,178,174. That 800,000 (or 36.7%) of this number were scheduled to receive some form of public assistance indicated the magnitude of the problem.

Tent cities in Issaquena and Washington Counties in the Delta and in Lowndes County, Alabama, housed the dispossessed. In one of the coldest winters in Delta memory people huddled inside the tents, unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times the food got tangled in red tape and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness.

Secretary Freeman had assured the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches that money would be available "soon" for Operation Help (an experimental commodities program set up under contract between state officials, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Agriculture).

A spokesman for inhabitants of a tent city near Tribbett, Mississippi, recounted more than a year's frustrating efforts to get commodities distributed to additional poverty-stricken people in the state. Each time a private organization within a county offered to finance and staff distribution centers for the food, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. Immediately after the state bureau set up a commodity program in one such county the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another, the Food Stamp program was substituted. Food stamps must be purchased; a dollar stamp will buy six dollars worth of food (the figure represents the national average); so the very poor were not helped at all by the program. Finally a state-wide plan was initiated under which the Welfare Department was to get 24 million dollars worth of additional commodities from the Agriculture Department and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute food to 500,000 people for six months.

In the old system conditions under which vital food commodities were distributed, when they were distributed, were described by a Delta woman:

> "To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they

don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

In many rural areas county welfare or other administrative boards have refused to accept federal food and money. In Washington County, Mississippi, where the greatest number of people are off the land and out of work, the board of supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because (in the words of a Delta newspaper) "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Earlier in that county, in desperation, a group of about 50 of the dispossessed had left their tents and taken up residence briefly in an abandoned air base near Greenville. This adroit demonstration brought the nation's attention at last to the plight of Mississippi's poor Negroes generally, or at least to the surface of their problems.

The federal government responded in its traditional manner—by, as a spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity's Rural Task Force said, "putting the problem in the same category with Watts, trying to head off trouble." It undertook a labor survey in the Delta and activated the long-promised, dormant 25.6 million dollar surplus program in the state, "the most massive food distribution program since the depression." If the commodities program were stop-gap, presaging more constructive action, it would be welcome relief. But there was the impression that thirty years after the depression, federal remedies for hunger and broken lives and hopelessness had not changed. People who needed the best, most imaginative programs society could muster still got commodities—subsistence—"the dole."

There was not much chance that such palliatives could do more than keep the mass of people alive while buying off moderate leadership. Caesar's old desire for fat folks around him had not changed.

As a matter of policy the poverty program brings together in local administrative agencies whites and Negroes of all classes. While this is perhaps a noble blueprint intention, it has the effect in such a state as Mississippi of putting intransigent whites in a position to block the kind of change which the program is designed to facilitate.

The poverty program had indicated a shift in emphasis on the part of the federal government toward solutions to the fundamental problem of dependence, of economic vulnerability. It came before massive demonstrations demanded it. But it has not as yet reached those who most desperately need it, and its effect has been in all too many instances one of heightening frustrations. This adds another dimension to the problem of government's role in the Negro's struggle: In the event of massive protest or outright riots

by poor people the government's traditional approach of enacting a law that answers the surface needs and quiets the protesters will be less easy, since such a law already exists. So again—the need for strong enforcement and implementation is at the crux of the problem. A reappraisal of this essential aspect of government programs as they affect the Negro community is vital if the nation is to have an answer for outbursts such as Watts which seem almost inevitable in the immediate future.

The poverty program had promised to do more than "dole"—to allow poor people themselves to launch an attack on poverty by means of increasing their own training and exposing themselves to at least a smattering of middle class culture and values. Yet it has failed in many instances to provide even the stop-gap measures such as commodities to fill immediate needs of those who are desperately poor. Its effect was to deepen the disillusionment of people like those in Mississippi who said:

> "You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin' but needs . . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples. We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration [at the Greenville air base]. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

> "I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.
> "We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

Self-Help

To a few, "building for ourselves" had gone beyond the immediacy of a tent city to establishment of cooperatives aimed at breaking the chains of economic dependence. Cooperatives, producing everything from candles to furniture, handbags, quilts and clothing, faced many difficulties. Tools, teachers, and money were badly needed. Without capital, and long-term capital at that, most cooperatives were doomed. Outlets for products were hard to find; often they were either "sympathy" markets which are quickly exhausted or sophisticated ones that require a broad financial base for

participation. Cooperatives which foster communal arrangements run the risk of becoming another Koinonia (an integrated communal farm in south Georgia which was under siege for several years). The co-ops held out hope for a way to those desperately in need of it and so were in danger of increasing bitterness and frustration if the effort failed.

At the same time, they also fostered a spirit of organization that does not die with the failure.

Self-respect on the part of Negroes is at the heart of all efforts to improve their status within the community and the nation. For people who have lost all hope and confidence (and this would include many whose pathetically small educational experience has stifled verbalization rather than enhanced it) self-respect can come from another's interest and respect. That civil rights organizations stress the beauty and worth of each individual has had a large part in instilling self-respect in people whom society as a whole has literally forgotten. To men and women who have had their identities absorbed into a system more ruthlessly dehumanizing than modern industrial society, being valued by another person can be a real beginning toward self-respect. The co-ops have much the same effect, producing tangible objects that are sources of pride. In a real sense the Tribbett tent city, set up to provide homes for striking Delta laborers, while failing to provide a permanent solution to the complex problems of jobless, homeless people, was a rallying point for all the Delta's dispossessed. All across the South, aggressive county "Improvement Leagues" and "Christian Associations" are evidence of Negroes' new awareness of their power.

Half a century after Booker T. Washington's "self-improvement" plan, the poorest Negro's chance of sharing in the South's "new prosperity" was so remote that even the hard-won ballot was often a cruel joke. If the voter's league succeeded in conquering white dominance and taking over a county—what then? Where would the money come from to pave the roads candidates promised would be paved?

To desegregate rural schools may solve the immediate problem, but those schools remain the worst in the nation. Many rural counties do not now afford the minimum matching funds states require. It is prosaic but nonetheless true that nascent efforts toward tax equalization may be the most far-reaching gain for rural Negroes yet devised. But virtually every tax case must be fought long and bitterly in the courts, holding in abeyance any hope that Wilcox, Lowndes, and like counties can be governed at all.

In struggling with these problems newly formed Negro organizations are confronted with the old vestiges of protest, of negativism, and with a growing bitterness and real alienation from American life. Woven into these organizations is a new radicalism which, on the surface, wants no part

of the white man's consensus, daring the Negro to go his own way—to, as Charles Silberman said in *Fortune* (November, 1965), "stop pounding on the door" and, in effect, "tear the house down." Some groups are torn between the tempting chauvinism of their own political slate, which proves their strength, and merger with white "moderates" who are willing to yield to the most superficial of their demands in order to manipulate that power. This presents Negroes with a dilemma that must be faced by the nation as a whole.

The dilemma is an American reflection of a world-wide pattern in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America—all fostered by industrialization, creating "haves" in cities, by-passing shabby "have-nots" on the land. Until recently people in the countryside were never organized.

The Populists came closest in the past, close enough to put a permanent fear into southern Bourbons—fear that lower class whites and Negroes might actually cooperate to throw off Bourbon rule. That fear operates today. So far there has been little actual political cooperation between the races, except in border states like Texas where the Negro population is comparatively small and increasingly urban. There labor, Negroes, Latin Americans and white liberals struggle toward an effective coalition. But Texas has a degree of primitive political sophistication that removes it from the southern arena. In the South generally the lower class white has absorbed enough of the shibboleths, looks forward to a share in the "new prosperity," and finds such psychological value in feeling superior to the Negro that it has been difficult to forge a class awareness. He may, however, come to vote with Negroes on some issues without really meaning to. These people still feel a link with the upper class power structure because of color, rejecting alliance with the Negro for economic reasons. That this further isolates the Negro goes without saying.

Answering Anger

Urban Negroes are cut off from all but the most impersonal contact with whites. They are crowded into slums in the city's core surrounded by housing project palisades, ringed by white suburbia. Until very recently urban Negroes have been poorly organized, venting their frustration on other Negroes. Now radicalism of the same tonal quality as the rural brand has permeated city organizations, directing the rebellion outward. In the past the only attention-getter that produced results was demonstrations. But outside of isolated picketing of a slum-lord's home or sporadic rent strikes, there is a troublesome realization that the negativism of protest can only call attention to the problem and has little to do with fundamental

solutions. In one large city slum, civil rights groups and unaffiliated interested citizens have worked for more than a year to organize effective self-help projects that reach people untouched by the poverty program. The efforts met with limited success until early February when an old man froze to death in an unheated shack. Out of this and other instances of people wretchedly cold, hungry, and hopeless came picketing and rent strikes, and the threat that the slum could become another Watts.

Young liberal idealists who have worked to organize the community have themselves been challenged by the new mood of anger and rebellion. People evicted for participating in a rent strike gathered around a campfire which was the only warmth for families living in hastily erected tents. Out of this meeting came the new voice, the new challenge and the old weapon: "Why don't we 'accidently-on-purpose' burn all these damn houses down?" Young men and women, Negro and white, who had recently seemed radical suddenly became the "moderates," arguing against the burning and the destruction of a white-owned grocery store and white-run Bible center in the area. They came away knowing that their victory was a new form of tokenism—violence grudgingly held in abeyance.

In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding on Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slums. It has, through "welfare," paid poor Negroes (and, incidentally, whites) to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight. If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they will have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc voting, and above all work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. City governments would have no choice but to deal realistically with the *causes* of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators.

Until recently the great mass of Negroes living in poverty in city slums has been cut off from middle class Negroes, who emulated their white counterparts. The same thing was true politically—in rare instances when a Negro was elected to public office he usually joined the white power structure as soon as it made room for him. Now there is a new middle class mood of resentment, which matches in spirit if not in depth the folk consciousness of rural radicalism.

Reasons for this resentment are obvious. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones touched so far by federal legislation, have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow. There is a new awareness that even the first "easy" gains—simply peeling off the old dead layers of institutionalized prejudice—took ten years. To struggle so long just to see two prominent civil rights leaders' children in one ele-

mentary school or seven middle class Negroes join the Georgia House while an outspoken representative of lower class Negro radicalism was denied his seat on grounds that he disqualified himself by rashly-worded opposition to the Vietnam war—to buy tokenism at too high a price—has at last worn patience thin. Finally, too, successful middle class Negro politicians are becoming aware of the wishes and race consciousness of their overwhelmingly poor constituency. Typical of this new voice in southern politics was the conservative, newly-elected Negro alderman of Atlanta who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the city would no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper class white alliance which had agreed on an annexation balance and had at the same time assured control by paternalistic whites. Affirming that Negroes might soon control the city because of the white flight to the suburbs, the alderman speculated on Negroes' control of such vital services as electric power and water as an effective method of bargaining with white suburbia. He urged a fair housing law as a realistic remedy.

All levels of government must deal realistically with this new determination to negotiate from strength rather than rely on the old appeal to white conscience. Whites, too, must realize that in many ways the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life; at the same time frustration with lagging progress tempts the outsiders to destroy it . . . .

Federal Response

To many it has seemed that the nation's response to Negroes' needs has been unimaginative. And most efforts to implement existing laws have met with limited success. In the case of both the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, government action came as a response to protest by organized groups, and, though their effects were far from complete, they stilled the protest. There is every indication that the government will react in the same manner to continued violence against civil rights workers in the South. But this is merely a surface response—a sort of negation of negativism. Little actual headway can be made until Negroes in the South are less economically vulnerable and thus less subject to that method of intimidation. There is an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves and their determination over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating. Violence

often merely strengthens the will and in many cases unites a whole community where other attempts at unity have failed. And yet the violence persists, and does have its deadly effectiveness, if not directly any more, then in subconscious ways that limit Negro options and initiatives.

One of the strongest moves toward better enforcement of the civil rights law was the tightening of guidelines for school desegregation by the Office of Education for fall, 1966, school openings. But the test of this new strength was yet to come.

In a letter asking Negro parents voluntarily to send their children to segregated schools in spite of a Justice Department-initiated suit seeking desegregation of the system, Wilcox County, Alabama, school officials invoked the old reminder that one day the Yankee would tire of idealism, as he had in the past, abandoning the Negroes once again to the white South: "The people of this county will, in all probability, have to continue to live here in this county together after the influences from without have ceased. It is best for all if they can do so in a mutual spirit of good will."

One recalcitrant county in a state notorious for defiance should not be treated as a curiously rebellious mutant in an otherwise acquiescent region. At almost the same time that Wilcox County sounded its primitive warning, Deep South public officials were protesting the sudden, drastic nature of the Office of Education's new guidelines requiring pupil desegregation beyond tokenism and a start toward faculty integration. Twelve years after the Brown decision, feigned shock and overt defiance were not yet isolated phenomena and the violence hinted at in the Wilcox letter is still very much a factor to be reckoned with by people who defy custom in the "hard-core" South.

There have been ten killings, uncounted beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings since that "peaceful" school desegregation began in September, 1965. Yet the result will never again be the old fearful withdrawal. And, though the violence is largely rural, it is felt in the city more keenly now than ever before. Though Negroes have for some time been moving into cities and all major civil rights organizations except the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee operate chiefly from city bases, the emotional center of the civil rights movement remains in places like Lowndes County, scene of two civil rights slayings, and a symbol of the Movement is unpunished brutalization of Negroes in such places. Now a "civil rights assassin" who gets off with a stern reprimand by the judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread violent reprisal by Negroes in city slums and on the land. A Negro "moderate's" outrage that his brother's killer escaped without even the reprimand prompted his rejection of any possibility of dealing peacefully with whites: "We'll have to lay and wait for them all night, and fight with

them all day . . . . No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves. . . . It's time to start killing."

Throughout accounts of the white South's violence there runs a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination—and a warning: "I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

* * * * * * * *

Behind misleading headlines and misconceptions about orderly progress in the South were complexities long familiar.

In the first place, since 1954 and before, reaction to federal court decrees and law affecting segregation had been of three kinds—a grudging, but good faith acceptance, an effort to evade through administrative delay and cheating, and all-out resistance with violence and terroristic intimidation and reprisal. All three reactions could and did occur in all eleven states. Some states, like Tennessee, were characterized by a predominance of the first; some, like Virginia and South Carolina, by a predominance of the second; and some, like Alabama and Mississippi, by a predominance of the third. These were old familiar configurations in the South.

The pattern of reaction to the 1964 civil rights law was essentially this same three-way split. If there was any cause for rejoicing, it was in that at least in its official stance, the government of such a state as Mississippi was no longer encouraging all-out, violent resistance. But there was no overnight change in the South in attitude or patterns of compliance, with the overnight change of the law.

Nor was there any change in one of the oldest truths regarding these three southern reactions to the will of the nation. The resistance would be attempted, grow, and persist to the degree that the enforcement arms of the federal government allowed it. Full enforcement, as it has always been, was possible. It was not forthcoming.

Two other pieces of federal legislation promised a permanent solution to this old problem of enforcement. One was the pledge of the Johnson Administration in 1965 to enact new laws to strengthen southern institutions of justice, and to protect persons exercising constitutional rights from southern lawlessness. The other was the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which promised eventual development of Negro political power sufficient to demand compliance, and an end of lawless violence.

Out of these forces—poverty, continued white resistance, less than full federal enforcement, resultant disillusionment—and out of the new psychological state of Negro Americans (their unwillingness to settle for anything less than full citizenship) was coming something new in the South. It could destroy whatever hopefulness there was in the situation for the

kind of transformation the nation seemed to think had already come. Or it could be another catalyst to force the nation and the white South yet another turn in the torturous facing about to full intellectual honesty in dealings with Negroes.

This most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace. The anger itself is not new, nor the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new. That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded—this seems about the only hope.

But the worst excesses of the ugly side of the South have always had a counterpoint, however faint, of a relation between the races more truly representative of the American ideal than anywhere else. In the shifting patterns of public and private life in the South, forces are at work which encourage this better side of the South more than they have ever before been encouraged. The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here.

PART II

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence September, 1965 through February, 1966

(A Selection)

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
September, 1965 through February, 1966

SEPTEMBER

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/16/65. Dateline: Laurel (AP).

"Shots were fired into the house of a local civil rights leader here today for the second time in 90 days."

A Negro dentist, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, said, "There were no injuries this time as was the case June 15."

Folling Fork and Anguilla, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Ten families enrolled their children in "white" schools. All working members of all ten families lost their jobs.

Akron, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 9/3/65. Dateline: Akron (AP).

The night before 35 Negroes were to enter a previously all-white school someone tried to set fire to city hall and the fire department.

The Negro children were not permitted to enroll.

AFSC Field Report.

White men with guns ringed the school and prevented Negro parents from registering their children.

Grace and Glen Allen, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Negro parents who tried to exercise "freedom of choice" were evicted.

Calhoun, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/29/65. Dateline: Calhoun (UPI).

A Negro motorist was injured when three white boys pushed his car over an embankment and left him in the wreckage.

West Point, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

A family who owns a few acres of land and their own home near West Point enrolled two of their eight children in the "white" school. For the past twenty years the father had worked at the same job in West Point. After his son tested the validity of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act, the father lost his job. He got it back, enrolled his children and lost it again. He was offered money to withdraw the children. He refused. His wife lost her job as a domestic. In November, just after his employer had called him back to work, the sheriff arrested him for having a shotgun in his car. (Carrying a shotgun in an automobile is legal in Mississippi.) He was fired again in December. Later he was jailed for running a stop sign.

Baker County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/4/65. Dateline: Washington (AP).

A group of Baker County Negroes asked the Justice Department for protection from local whites.

One spokesman said that 150 Negro children were signed up to go to the white schools but their parents were threatened with loss of jobs, so the number went down to 40.

Another spokesman said Negroes were beaten when they went to the courthouse in Newton to try to talk to the Baker County sheriff.

Amherst, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 9/6/65. Dateline: Amherst (AP).

A riot involving 250 people of both races broke out during a fight between five Negroes and five whites.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

The mother of three of 19 Negro children attending "white" schools in Elmore County has been active in voter registration and school desegregation. She had been regularly called as a substitute teacher until she enrolled her children in integrated schools. Since then she has had only one call. In October her house burned, and the fire department did not attempt to put out the blaze. One of her sons was accused of stealing a pair of $4 sunglasses from the supermarket where he had worked for some time. He was arrested, found guilty, sentenced to jail or a fine of $38. When his mother paid the fine, her son was released bleeding from a head wound.

Americus and Sumter County, GEORGIA
Atlanta *Journal* 2/16/66. Dateline: Washington.

"Intimidation, harassment and violence have prevented school desegregation in Sumter County, Georgia, and accompanied it in Americus, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission."

"In Sumter, all Negro children who picked white schools to attend under a free choice plan changed their minds . . . .

"In Americus . . . Negro students were struck with fists, had rocks and books thrown at them, were called derogatory names, had books torn from their hands, were tripped and spat on, and were nearly run down by cars in the school parking lot."

Headland, Henry County, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

A mother said the whites sent someone to try to convince them not to send their children to the "desegregated" school. She got a message that someone would "hang those children up to a tree if they tried to go to the white school."

West Point, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

A couple who own their home took several children to the "white" schools in the opening days before buses began picking them up. When whites fired into her home, the woman sat on her porch with her shotgun and fired back. As a result of their transporting the children, both lost jobs and the white man who owns access to the road leading to their property fenced it off and put up "no trespassing" signs.

Cottonwood, ALABAMA
AFSC Field Report.

When one mother sent her son to the "white" school a policeman came to her home and said that if she did not withdraw the boy he would be "put away."

Merigold, MISSISSIPPI
AFSC Field Report.

After enrolling their seven children in the newly desegregated Drew school system, a Negro family was evicted from the plantation where both had worked ten years. The overseer offered to go with them to withdraw the children. When they refused, he would not allow the family to follow the automatic cotton picker to increase the yield of their 26 acres. When the picker went along the rows there was a disc attached to it that plowed the cotton under.

Thomas County, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro farmer enrolled two of his children in Thomas County "white" schools. His home was shot into and he began receiving threatening telephone calls. His landlord told him he had three days to get out of the home in which he had lived for nine years. After he moved to Thomasville, the county superintendent told his children they would have to leave the county school system as their residence was now Thomasville.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 9/18/65. Dateline: Wetumpka.

After being struck with rubber bands repeatedly by the same white boy, a Negro girl jabbed him in the arm with a pencil. She was expelled from school, arrested, held in jail overnight, and finally released on a $300 property bond.

Alabama *Journal* (Montgomery, Ala.) 1/5/66. Dateline: Wetumpka.

Fire destroyed the home of a Negro man, "whose daughter, one of 17 Negro students who desegregated Wetumpka High School in September, had been suspended from school for stabbing a white boy with a pencil. She returned to school Monday, following the end of her suspension period."

The deputy state fire marshal found two whiskey bottles "filled with something" in the bed of a truck parked outside the burned home, but said he saw no evidence of arson or "racial trouble."

Demopolis, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro truck driver was fired from his job after attending a PTA meeting at the "white" school where his daughter is a student. He had held the job 18 years and had an excellent employment record—the only driver with no traffic violations on his record. After the PTA meeting local merchants had a meeting and agreed not to accept any merchandise he delivered.

Camilla, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 2/22/66. Dateline: Washington.

"The Justice Department has charged a Mitchell County, Georgia deputy sheriff with illegally arresting and beating a Negro farm worker" in September.

AFSC Field Report.

When a Negro tenant farmer filled out transfer forms for his six children to attend the "white" school, the man whose farm he lived and worked on came with a deputy sheriff and asked whether he planned to transfer his children. The tenant replied that he intended to do so. He was then handcuffed and taken to jail, severely beaten on the way, and again beaten while in jail, this time by a white prisoner.

Choctaw County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

On the first day of school white men with guns surrounded the "white" school.

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/25/65. Dateline: Memphis.

In an effort to arrest a Negro suspect two white police officers were "struck by a hail of bricks, bottles and boards" hurled by other Negroes.

Conway, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/29/65. Dateline: Conway.

A local union official, active in the county voters' movement, was victim of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

Fayette County, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 9/2/65. Dateline: (AP).

"A west Tennessee school bus driver, accused of spraying disinfectant on two Negro first graders before letting them on a desegregated bus, was sharply criticized by his superiors."

The Fayette County school superintendent called it a "stupid act that marred the peaceful and orderly desegregation program in our county."

The bus driver declined "to admit or deny the incident, but said he assigned the youngsters to the rear of the bus."

Wilmington, North Carolina

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/7/65. Dateline: Wilmington (UPI).

A Negro man and his white neighbor were sitting on the Negro's front porch when another white tossed two lighted Molotov cocktails into the side of the dwelling. Neighbors smothered the flames.

Jacksonville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/5/65. Dateline: Jacksonville.

"Two young men who admitted guilt in connection with the dynamite bombing of a Negro migrant workers' sleeping quarters last month near Swansboro, Monday were given five-year suspended sentences in Onslow Superior Court.

"In passing sentence . . . [the judge] said he had given much thought to the crime during the weekend and concluded there was no motive to harm the Negroes, that the men were trying to frighten them."

Enterprise, Coffee County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro salesman was demoted from area manager for a Chicago-based business firm to representative. He consistently led his region in sales. He had enrolled his children in an integrated school in September.

Warner Robins, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro woman had been lunchroom manager in the Negro high school for ten years. Her daughter urged Negro parents to transfer their children. The lunchroom manager, whose work had never drawn complaints, was fired ostensibly for not keeping her kitchen in good condition.

Waynesboro, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro family exercised "freedom of choice" and sent their child to a formerly all-white school. They were evicted and their home was shot into.

Aberdeen, MISSISSIPPI

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/7/65. Dateline: Aberdeen.

"Police said Monday that at least 32 shots were fired Sunday night into the home of a Negro couple whose son enrolled at a previously all-white school in Aberdeen last week . . . ."

The couple's son was one of two Negro children admitted "without incident" to the second grade.

"School desegregation also got under way in several other cities over the state without trouble . . . .

"Other shooting incidents were reported in Central Mississippi—one in Scott County and another at Florence.

"The Scott County sheriff's office declined comment on a report that a Negro parent exchanged shots with a group of white men who tried to burn a cross in front of his home near Forest . . . .

"They also have a daughter who registered at a previously all-white school."

McComb, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/9/65. Dateline: McComb (AP).

A hand grenade was hurled into a yard, exploding near two Negro workmen who were building a patio.

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 9/21/65. Dateline: Washington.

A spokesman for Negroes in the Vanceboro area blamed inadequate police protection for Negroes from the Ku Klux Klan for outbreaks of violence by Negro youths.

"The Negroes of the Vanceboro area, and the whites who believe in justice and lawful means, have been more than patient with the many atrocities which they have suffered in the last few months," the spokesman said.

OCTOBER

Knoxville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 12/4/65 Dateline: Knoxville (AP).

Three 15-year-old Negro boys were indicted for murder in the razor slaying of a white man, October 16. They were quoted at the time of their arrest as saying they attacked the man "because he was the first white man they saw after they became angered over watching a white boy stab a Negro boy in a street fight."

Suffolk, VIRGINIA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 11/1/65. Dateline: Suffolk.

"Two Negroes were wounded Sunday (10/31) by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car . . . just after they left a Negro voter rally."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 11/1/65. Dateline: Barnwell (AP).

The local NAACP field director said that four Negro voter registration drive workers "were severely beaten up and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 or 20 white youths and men at Barnwell Saturday night.

"The field secretary said the group told him at least one Barnwell police officer saw the incident and did nothing."

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/4/65 Dateline: Nashville (AP).

An African student, arrested when companions were allegedly found drinking whiskey from coffee cups (violating Nashville's blue laws), charged that he was beaten by police.

Blackville, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/13/65. Dateline: Blackville.

"Fights between whites and Negroes that broke out during a municipal election write-in campaign by Negroes here were under investigation Tuesday by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The Negroes filed a protest with the U. S. Attorney General, charging that Negro pollwatchers were beaten. Blackville city officials said Negro pollwatchers attempted to come inside the voting booths.

"The fights took place outside polling places Monday, Blackville police said. No charges were filed, officers said."

Covington, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/21/65. Dateline: Memphis (AP).

"A Negro civil rights worker said Wednesday a white man pistol-whipped a

Negro woman and fired shots at a Negro man outside a drive-in restaurant in nearby Covington Tuesday night."

While the two Negroes were inside the drive-in "this man walked up to the car and told the others they had no business there."

Chattanooga, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/14/65.

A Negro neighborhood youth corpsman was shot and killed by a white fellow worker. The young Negro was seated on bleachers the corpsmen were building near a high school, when the white youth walked up and opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol.

Tallapoosa County, ALABAMA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 10/12/65. Dateline: Norfolk.

A white girl participating in a VISTA training program at Tuskegee Institute was living with a rural Negro family in Tallapoosa County.

"Soon after we got there this white man came by, screaming that the Klan was coming and asking us to go with him and he'd save us," she said. "We didn't go with him.

"But then later this Negro man was beaten up and had his arm broken because of his association with us. They threatened to take another man's job away."

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/2/65. Dateline: Vanceboro.

A Negro church was dynamited Sunday, Oct. 31, in the third bombing in Craven County during the year.

"Negro leaders said it had not been used for civil rights meetings and they were at loss to explain the incident."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/22/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

A young Negro was charged with murder in the knife-slaying of a white man.

"The white youth reportedly swung at the Negro with a bat and was stabbed in the chest."

Colerain, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/12/65. Dateline: Colerain.

In a predominantly white neighborhood a school scheduled to receive six Negro classes containing approximately 200 students was heavily damaged when "oil or gas of some type" was poured on the floor and the building set fire.

Montgomery, ALABAMA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 10/31/65. Dateline: Montgomery (AP).

Alabama's attorney general, "an outspoken moderate on the racial issue and frequent critic of Gov. George C. Wallace, is nursing a sore jaw and some loosened teeth Saturday, after being slugged at a football game."

The attorney general had recently acted as prosecutor in the murder trial of a Ku Klux Klansman.

Trenton, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/16/65. Dateline: Trenton (AP).

The FBI began investigation of a dynamiting outside the home of a Negro in the Wise Forks community.

Hampton, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/6/65. Dateline: Hampton.

"An elderly Negro junk dealer was shot and killed in Hampton Tuesday afternoon, apparently after an argument over money."

The sheriff said the old man had been "a fixture in the town. He made his living by collecting and selling junk from a movable cart."

A white man was charged with the murder.

Lincolnton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/23/65. Dateline: Lincolnton.

"A pickup truck drove into a line of about 95 teen-age Negro marchers Friday afternoon, signalling a charge by about 30 whites shouting 'Kill the niggers! Kill them!'

"Demonstrators were beaten to the ground as five state troopers left their cars and tried to restore order. No one was reported hurt . . . .

"Meanwhile in Washington, Ga., 13 Negro civil rights demonstrators swore out peace warrants against the white driver of another pickup truck, charging he had tried to run them down."

Smithfield, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Smithfield.

Five white persons, including three high school students, are charged with dynamiting the all-Negro Bagley Elementary School in the early-morning of October 25.

Newton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/6/65. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The Baker County sheriff said five carloads of unidentified men built a large fire in front of a rural Negro home Monday night and then began firing, apparently with a shotgun.

Crawfordville, GEORGIA

Washington *Post* 10/19/65. Dateline: Crawfordville.

The Taliaferro County sheriff said that seven Ku Klux Klan 'Black Shirts' were arrested on charges of "forcing a Negro farmer off a road near here yesterday, attempting to beat him and pointing shotguns and pistols at him."

The sheriff said that the farmer had not taken part in recent demonstrations in the area.

"He's just a good ol' darky," the Sheriff said.

Americus, Sumter County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 10/22/65. Dateline: Americus.

"Telephone harassment and cold shoulders in Americus have forced a 63-year-old former college president and his wife to become the second family to decide to leave the southwest Georgia town where racial unrest flared this summer."

The white man had sent a letter to local government officials asking them "to try and contain our racial problems."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/7/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

"A white ambulance driver who refused to pick up a dying Negro traffic victim Wednesday night has been fired from his job."

The manager of the ambulance company said the driver reached the still-conscious man and drove away, "leaving the victim lying on the concrete where he died."

The driver told the ambulance manager he did not pick up the injured Negro because "he didn't think he was seriously hurt."

The Negro was victim of a two-car collision in which he was trapped between the vehicles. An official wreck investigator said both the man's legs had been chopped off by the impact.

NOVEMBER

Livingston, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/19/65. Dateline: Livingston (AP).

Five white men were given six-month suspended sentences for aggravated assault "in the shooting of a Negro's car near Watson."

The Negro man drove his car past the one in which the five were riding and they opened fire on him with a rifle.

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal.* 11/9/65. Dateline: Nashville (UPI).

"A 10-year-old Negro boy brutally beaten . . . by a white youth died Monday night." A fifteen-year-old white boy, already charged with assault with intent to murder, "probably" would be charged with murder, according to police.

Fayetteville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/8/65. Dateline: Fayetteville.

Three Negro marines, armed with pistols, a carbine, a sawed-off shotgun and a hand grenade, terrorized the Fayetteville area several hours before their arrest. They claimed membership in the National Abolitionist Forces, "described as a militant Negro group."

The organization's handwritten oath includes clauses "against the Ku Klux Klan and white rule," officers said.

Ferriday, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/23/65. Dateline: Ferriday (AP).

Police, arriving at the scene of a firebombing, arrested the civil right's worker whose home was target of the blast. The man had emerged from the burning building carrying a shotgun.

(In Dec. 1964 a Negro man died of burns after his shop in Ferriday was firebombed.)

Mami, FLORIDA

St. Petersburg *Times* 11/25/65. Dateline: Miami (UPI).

"A 30-year-old Air Force veteran was charged yesterday with firebombing Negro and Jewish residential areas from a small airplane to 'scare the pants off' left wing agitators."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S. C.) 11/2/65. Dateline: Barnwell.

A fight erupted between Negro and white youths at a Halloween street dance. One Negro girl received a stab wound and three other Negroes reported injuries. Police suggested that the Negroes sign warrants for the arrest of whites responsible for the attack, whose pictures appeared in a newspaper. Civil rights workers helping with a voter registration project in the area said they did not pursue the matter "because it wouldn't do any good."

Greenville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 11/20-21/65. Dateline: Greenville.

"When police halted a civil rights march here last Saturday, one officer's leg was broken and other policemen were hit by flying bricks, rocks and bottles."

To the city attorney, who was also injured, it was "clearly a case of anarchy."

Many of the young people involved were "in high spirits after the incident. They said it was provoked by police. Six of the marchers said they were hit with billy-clubs before the rock-throwing began."

Local Negroes, cooperating with SCLC's protest against "segregated justice," want "a better life, and they want the whites to know it . . . .

"Some white people still say they don't understand what the Negroes want. A slender 18-year-old Negro girl found this hard to believe.

" 'Nothing seems to help,' she said, 'We're trapped!!'. . . .

"One 15-year-old girl told a mass meeting that 'there ain't one of you here that's a man, because you let them cops make you run.'

"After Saturday's fray, a battered sign the marchers had carried lay on the ground.

"It said, 'Violence Is the Result of Ignorance, Peace is God's Way.' "

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 11/10/65. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A former Marine Corps surgeon has been charged with arson in the burning of two Negro churches and a home.

Baton Rouge, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/8/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (AP).

The FBI joined local investigators "seeking a reason for the explosions which destroyed a Baton Rouge printing shop late Saturday night."

The owner said "about 80 per cent of their jobwork was for churches, that they had printed no controversial material, and had not been involved in any labor disputes."

Prior to the bombing the FBI had made a routine investigation at the plant to determine if the owner had printed cards for the Ku Klux Klan. A few days later, the owner said, "a man came into the place with several pieces of literature he said he wanted printed for the KKK." The owner declined the job and "explained that the FBI had already checked his shop."

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 11/15/65.

The Memphis branch of the NAACP filed a complaint against two white police officers charging brutality. The complaint cited an incident in which a Negro mother was abused by police. The officers came to her home to investigate a complaint of disorderly conduct. "She stated that she told them no one there had called and there had been no disturbance. When the officers entered the house to search it, she said, she asked them if they had a search warrant and . . . (one of the officers) told her he did not need one."

She said the officers "proceeded into her children's rooms after she told them her daughters were in bed and some of the other children were preparing for bed."

The woman said she was "not allowed to put on street clothes before leaving the house and was shoved into her closet when she tried to dress. She also said she was kicked by one of the officers after being pushed out of the house."

The complaint also charged that she "was cursed in the presence of her children, aged 1 to 15 years."

She charged she was later beaten while in police custody.

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/1/65.

The partially decomposed body of an unidentified Negro was found in Lake Hico November 30. A deputy investigator described the victim as wearing carpenter's overalls with a red shirt tied around his waist.

"For this reason," the deputy said, "we would not rule out the possibility of foul play."

He said police feel that the shirt might have been used to drag the body to the water's edge.

Victoria, Lunenburg County, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 11/19/65 (AP).

A Negro youth suffered a scalp wound when he was shot from a passing car. He was standing in front of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee headquarters.

Charlotte, NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Charlotte (AP).

"The stillness of a foggy, rainy morning was broken by explosions at the large, modern homes of four Negro civil rights leaders. They and their families escaped injury although damage was extensive . . . .

"A city councilman, a federal court official, a dentist and the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were the targets of pre-dawn bombers Monday."

The head of "Operation Rebuilding" felt that "they (the bombers) have done much damage to four homes. They have done far greater damage to our community."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI
Greenwood *Commonwealth* 11/20/65. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

A white Unitarian minister who was active in civil rights work fled Mississippi due to renewed threats on his life. On August 22, 1965, he was hit in the back and side by a shotgun blast in what police called a "civil rights assassination attempt." A friend said the minister left because of threats against him and others in the downtown apartment building where he lives. He was asked to leave the building after other occupants were threatened.

Morton, MISSISSIPPI
Arkansas *Gazette* 11/3/65. Dateline: Jackson (UPI).

A Negro civil rights worker sued the mayor and town marshal of Morton, charging he was beaten and falsely imprisoned.

The CORE staff worker filed suit in federal district court, charging that the marshal blocked a march and beat him with "a large club or ax handle," while another white man covered the rest of the marchers with a shotgun. He said he was arrested and taken to city jail and again beaten before being placed in a cell. He said he then went before the mayor and was required to post $275 bond on charge of parading without a permit, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest.

Vicksburg, MISSISSIPPI
Jackson *Daily News* 11/30/65. Dateline: Vicksburg (UPI).

"A mysterious predawn explosion . . . heavily damaged a Negro grocery and shattered windows in several other buildings.

"Authorities said at least three persons were slightly injured in the blast in a racially-mixed business and residential section a few blocks from downtown Vicksburg."

Pelahatchie, MISSISSIPPI
Selma *Times-Journal* 11/8/65. Dateline: Pelahatchie (AP).

"An official report was being prepared today on a shooting in which a rural constable killed a Negro."

A white constable shot a 30-year-old Negro man to death when the man "came at him with an open pocketknife." The town marshal and night marshal witnessed the shooting, according to the local sheriff.

DECEMBER

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA
Arkansas *GGazette* 12/6/65. Dateline: Bogalusa (UPI).

"An Italian woman musician on a tour date here Saturday was attacked by three

white women on the main business street. Her attackers apparently believed she was a civil rights worker.

"City officials apologized for the attack and provided police protection for the duration of the orchestra's stay here. There were no incidents at the concert and the group left town Sunday morning."

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

New York *Times* 12/22/65. Dateline: Atlanta.

The regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union charged that eleven Negro sharecroppers were being forced from their homes in Wilcox County for trying to register to vote.

The ACLU spokesman said some of the complaints seem "directly related to the intimidation section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965."

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON A STUDY OF ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN WILCOX, COUNTY, ALABAMA.

Submitted to the regional director of ACLU from a man living in Wilcox County.

A Negro couple registered to vote. The grocer demanded immediate payment of money owed for groceries: "You think you're smart. I'd like to take a damn two-by-four up side your head for registering. Get out of my store."

One of the families which was forced to move because of participation in demonstrations has no money, no food, and no credit. Their water was turned off by the city just after they took part in a protest march.

In many cases land was taken away and the rent raised from nothing to $25 per month. Most of the families involved make less than $1,000 a year.

A man whose mother was born in slavery on the land he was forced to leave is eighty-two years old. According to the study, "He did not want to move. No water or lights where he now lives. Will grow some corn."

One man and his wife, having no income other than $33 per month from Social Security, were told by their landlord that if they registered they would have to move. They registered and he carried out his threat.

A Negro woman voted in a state election. Her employer hit her with a broom and told her to "get out."

Liberty, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/12/65. Dateline: Liberty.

Headline: "INQUEST IN LIBERTY NEGRO SHOOTING SET"

A Brooklyn, New York, Negro was traveling through Liberty with his wife and family en route to Alabama. After a fruitless search for a place to spend the night, the man was taken to the police station, where officers made calls to find a place.

"When he was asked questions . . . [the man] was shot by a policeman after a brief scuffle with officers.

"The inquest will be held in the Liberty High School Auditorium."

West Feliciana Parish, LOUISIANA

New York *Times* 12/24/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (UPI).

"A Federal Court judge issued a temporary restraining order today against white landlords, barring them from evicting Negro tenants who have registered to vote. The case is the first test of the intimidation section of the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

United States District Judge E. Gordon West later ruled that the charges were not proved, and dissolved the injunction. He held some sections of the Voting Rights Act unconstitutional.

St. Francisville, LOUISIANA

Los Angeles *Times* 12/23/65. Dateline: St. Francisville.

Spokesmen for about 100 Negroes evicted for registering to vote reflected similar bitterness, resignation, and a degree of alienation expressed by men and women turned out of an abandoned Air Force base in Greenville, Mississippi in February:

"My sin, child, my only sin, was I wanted to be a citizen."

"Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

"I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

St. George, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/5/65. Dateline: St. George.

A young Negro was released on $25 bond after being charged with threatening the life of a Negro school principal. The incident came during a CORE-sponsored demonstration at the Negro high school.

"Meanwhile, Negroes reported that a cross was burned in a Negro section of St. George Friday night. The city police department and county sheriff's office said there had been no report made of the fire."

Hamburg, ARKANSAS

Arkansas *Gazette* 12/7/65. Dateline: Hamburg.

"First degree murder charges were filed Monday against two white brothers from Ashley County in the fatal shooting of a 14-year-old Negro boy.

"The boy was shot about 6 p.m. while standing in front of a cafe on the main street of Portland . . . ."

The Ashley County sheriff said that "as far as he could determine there was no provocation for the shooting."

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Mobile.

"At least a thousand" leaflets blasting conditions at the Negro training school, attacking "Uncle Tom Negro preachers," two paper mills and an increase in bus fares appeared in the Magazine Point section of Mobile.

"Like the earlier leaflets, the new one refers to the Los Angeles riots of last summer. It calls the rioters 'heroes' for destroying white businesses and factories.

"Then the leaflet says, 'Be prepared, it's coming to Plateau and Magazine Point soon.'

"No recognized Negro leaders have supported the leaflet. Many of them have denounced it, but a few believe that it might do some good, even though they don't like it . . . .

"R. A. Holt, principal of the [Negro] school admitted, 'It might serve as a motivational force.' " (Referring to hastening construction of a long-promised Negro school.)

Jackson, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Jackson.

A Negro boy, attacked by white classmates, missed three weeks of school because he doesn't "want to lose . . . [his] life."

According to another Negro, the high school principal had called and warned that "things would get worse" if the boy returned.

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Selma Inter-Religious Project *Newsletter,* January, 1966.

"All our documentation [relating to people being evicted due to registering to vote], even our little interview with the Atty. Gen., has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hind-

sight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola."

Eutaw, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 12/6/65. Dateline: Tuscaloosa (AP).

"Conflicting reports were issued concerning the injury a Negro demonstrator hospitalized here received after a civil rights march in Eutaw Saturday night.

"Spokesmen for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reported the woman was shot as Negroes staged the after-dark demonstration.

"But officials . . . said they understood the woman walked into a wooden plank which had a large nail protruding from it."

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 12/7/65.

A fight between Negro and white students broke out at East Jefferson High School, which, after being desegregated for the first time in September, "has had sporadic incidents of racial fighting . . . . Deputies were on hand Monday as a result of court action by attorneys for Negro students.

"Attorneys for the Negro students said in their suit recently that on several occasions Negro students were threatened and beaten."

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/15/65. Dateline: Meridian.

"Meridian police and FBI agents today were investigating the shooting into a home of a Negro student at recently desegregated Meridian High School Tuesday night.

"The more than a dozen shots fired from a high-powered gun were believed fired from a passing auto."

Deerfield Beach, FLORIDA

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Deerfield Beach (UPI).

"Three young white men drove past a tavern crowded with Negroes here last night and sprayed it with bullets, wounding seven persons. A witness said they used a machine gun."

Fayette, MISSISSIPPI

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Fayette.

"A Negro civil rights leader stood at the base of the Jefferson County Confederate memorial, the centerpiece of a white-only park, and hurled defiance at armed white men."

The spokesman "warned the whites that violence would henceforth be met with violence.

"About 50 white men, some with rifles racked across the back windows of their pickup trucks, stood a few feet from the Negro crowd and listened in anger to [the speaker] . . .

" 'If you don't bring it [trouble] you won't get it,' he shouted at the whites. 'But if you bring it, you're going to get it. We're tired of your bombings and beatings. We've talked with you and we've prayed for you, and now we're going to sit and wait for you.'

"The Negroes cheered.

"The whites remained silent and grim."

JANUARY

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/20/66. Dateline: New Orleans (AP).

A Negro church, target of vandals several times during the past eighteen months, was again hit by a packet of "relatively harmless" firecrackers.

Birmingham, ALABAMA
Birmingham *News* 1/18/66.

The *News* announced that business practices prohibited its revealing the identity of the person who advertised Mrs. Viola Liuzzo's death-car, "bullet holes and everything still intact," for sale.

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI
Birmingham *News* 1/22/66. Dateline: Meridian.

Five men were convicted in police court of having "conspired to accomplish unlawful purposes" after their arrest for attempted cross-burning in the Meridian area.

"Crosses flared throughout the state the night of January 3 in what state law enforcement authorities claimed at the time was a planned 'Ku Klux Klan show of force.' "

New York *Times* 1/9/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

"Law enforcement officials said that nightriders burned at least 100 crosses in Mississippi and a church in Baker County, Ga., to protest civil rights gains and the resumption of a Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington where seven leaders were cited for contempt."

Gray, GEORGIA
Atlanta *Constitution* 1/25/66. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A middle-Georgia storeowner who had volunteered information on the Ku Klux Klan said he had received telephone calls threatening both him and Representative Charles Weltner, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, one week prior to his store's being shot into by nightriders.

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA
New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/2/66. Dateline: Bogalusa.

A Negro man, after firing one warning shot, aimed a shotgun blast at a group of white men in his front yard. He claimed the men had previously fired shots into his home. One man was wounded.

Newton, GEORGIA
New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/11/66. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The sheriff of Baker County says an unidentified man threatened his life if he investigated the burning of a Negro church near here.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI
Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg (AP).

A "tense situation" resulted when police arrested a Negro participating in a memorial march honoring the NAACP official who died of burns when his store was firebombed January 11.

Natchez, MISSISSIPPI
Jackson *Daily News* 1/3/66. Dateline: Natchez (AP).

The mayor's supermarket, which had been picketed by both the Ku Klux Klan and civil rights groups during recent months, was destroyed by fire New Year's Eve. Police said the fire was "definitely the work of arsonists."

Tuskegee, ALABAMA
Birmingham *News* 1/6/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

A 21-year-old Tuskegee Institute freshman and "field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot to death . . . following a dispute with (an attendant) at the service station where the elderly white man was employed."

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI
Miami *Herald* 1/22/66.

Two young Negroes joined the rest of their family who had fled to Miami from Sunflower County. After taking part in voter registration in 1964 the father lost his job. One son was sentenced to one and a half years in reform school because he was in a shoe store at the time of a burglary. His brother was later accused of stealing a carton of cigarettes and given the same sentence.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Atlanta *Journal* 1/11/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg.

A Negro man, who according to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, "was engaged in the highest kind of citizenship—helping to secure basic rights for his fellow citizens," died of burns when his home and store were fire-bombed.

Camden, Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/24/66. Dateline: Camden (UPI).

A young Negro planned to attend what was described as a political meeting by an SCLC field secretary and what the local sheriff thought to be a funeral at Antioch Baptist Church. As he tried to turn off the highway into the church parking lot, his car was struck from the rear by another vehicle driven by a white man. The white pulled a pistol and shot the Negro in the head, leaving his body lying on highway 41. He turned himself in to the sheriff, who said that by the time he got to town several Negroes, "upset by the killing," had begun to gather around the body. The sheriff reported that the white man was "real upset."

Lowndes County, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/2/66. Dateline: Fort Deposit (AP).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee set up tents to house Negro families evicted after registering to vote.

The Lowndes County sheriff said that "it was quite possible that some families were diplaced," but he blamed automation and a changing economy for displacement.

The SNCC office in Atlanta had charged that 20 families had been told to move because of voting rights activities.

Southern *Courier* 1/8-9/66. Dateline: Freedom City, Lowndes County.

The sheriff said that "probably the families had to go because they weren't needed as the plantation changed over to cattle raising and mechanical cotton pickers . . ." One evicted sharecropper said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working."

To younger people, with "lots of children, Freedom City can't be the last stop. They will have to find land of their own to build houses and to work."

Application has been made to the Office of Economic Opportunity for $1,500 for each farmer to start a house.

"Not only would this program provide houses for people living in Freedom City tents, but it would also provide them with the work of building them.

"So although Freedom City residents know they can't live in tents forever, they still feel they are a community with a future in Lowndes County . . . .

"To one family, which doesn't want to leave the land they've farmed for generations, there is only one alternative to Freedom City:

" 'We've got to take some of the white man's land and build houses on it . . . . That's what you need to do—he got it all.' "

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/18/66.

"A group of Lowndes County Negroes has asked a federal court here to enjoin white landowners in Lowndes County from allegedly evicting Negro sharecroppers because the Negroes registered to vote." The plaintiffs charged that shots were fired at the "tent city" where several were living.

Franklin County, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 1/12/66. Dateline: Washington.

The Justice Department charged that Negroes in Franklin were "threatened

and intimidated by . . . cross burnings and the shooting of firearms at homes" when they exercised "freedom of choice" in school transfers.

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 1/22-23/66. Dateline: Mobile.

Another in a series of leaflets threatening violence warned that the Mobile County Training School (Negro) "will either be blown up or burned down in broad daylight."

Greenville, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Ministry Reports, February, 1966.

Median income for plantation Negroes in the Delta is $456. Because of mechanization and a one-third crop allotment reduction, the state employment service estimates that 4,706 of the 18,124 seasonal workers living with their families on plantations in the Delta will not be needed to work next year.

Of those already off the land and out of work, living in tent cities and abandoned shacks along the Delta, about 50 entered the unoccupied Air Force base at Greenville January 31. Some thirty hours later they were forced to move out by air police.

Following what for many of them was just another eviction, three spokesmen of the group held a press conference in the Delta Ministry office in Greenville. Out of this conference came specific grievances, resentments, frustrations, and anger, and a real sense of alienation from American society:

"I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

"We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

". . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

"We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

". . . The building was more respectable than poor hungry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways to do for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks . . . .

"The only reason . . . for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection."

A spokesman for the Delta Ministry recounted over a year's frustrating effort to get commodities distributed to poor people in the state. Each time a group within the county offered to distribute commodities the Department of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. In one instance immediately after the state department set up a commodity program the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another county the Food Stamp program was initiated. The Food Stamp program costs individuals money, so the very poor were not helped by it. Under a state-wide plan the welfare department is to get 24 million dollars worth of commodities from Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from OEO to distribute food to 500,000 for six months. The food was due to be ready for

distribution January 23. "When that day came we could not find (any) food being given out. And now it's February."

"I'd like to add to that to live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then . . . when they start qualifying you for commodities, they say you got to find our how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

". . . See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: It's political — that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor."

". . . You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored . . . The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future:

". . . Because of the fact that we was refused by the government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government."

Delta *Democrat-Times* 2/10/66.

"The Washington County Board of Supervisors plans to meet at 10 a.m. Friday to reconsider its decision Monday to reject county participation in an expanded food program.

The president of the board confirmed that "the supervisors will meet in the courthouse Friday and give further consideration to participation in a $24 million program announced by the State Welfare Dept.

"The reason given Monday for the board's rejection was that county farmers and merchants don't want it.

"The program would probably benefit primarily Negroes and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Montgomery, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/1/66.

Four whites, charged with "threatening and throwing rocks" at Negroes, were arrested after their car crashed into two other vehicles on the street where the rock-throwing occurred.

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

One man was arrested in the aftermath of a rock and bottle throwing riot which damaged 11 stores and a number of automobiles.

Macon County sheriff said the incident was triggered when a deputy tried to serve a warrant on one of students protesting the shooting death of a fellow student by a white service station attendant.

Washington *Post* 1/12/66.

Three men were arrested and charged with depositing trash in a public place after they placed a coffin in front of the White House. Spokesman for the three, who were protesting the shooting death of a Tuskegee, Alabama student, said, "A man is dead. We're getting tired."

FEBRUARY

Helicon, Crenshaw County, ALABAMA

Southern Courier, 2/26-27/66. Dateline: Helicon.

A Negro, leading a demonstration against the school principal of Helicon Junior High School, was beaten by sheriff's deputies while trying to aid a boy who had been tear-gassed in the face. After receiving medical aid, the man was arrested and released on bond.

Earlier, on February 7, a *Courier* photographer was arrested for trespassing when he attempted to interview the principal.

In a related incident on the night of February 13 "a stick of dynamite exploded outside the home of a long-time civil rights worker in Crenshaw County," according to the sheriff.

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66. Dateline: Forest.

The county sheriff said he would "appreciate any information" regarding the identity of the party or parties who fired into the home of a 73-year-old retired Negro school teacher."

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/2/66. Dateline: Laurel.

A Laurel man was charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities found several sticks of dynamite in his automobile. He had previously been charged with shooting into the home of a local NAACP representative, but the Jones County Grand Jury failed to indict him.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/26/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

On Monday night about 150 demonstrators picketed a local supermarket. When they failed to move from the path of a white man's automobile, he fired an eight-shot, .32 calibre automatic into the crowd. Five people were wounded, two severely.

Kosciusko, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/4/66. Dateline: Kosciusko (AP).

Headline: "CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MAKE VIOLENT THREAT"

"A band of young civil rights workers say they intend to shoot back if their 'Freedom House' is again made the target of nightriders."

One of the college students living in the house was nicked by pellets on February 2, when a carload of "nightriders" pumped five shotgun blasts into it. The students had been keeping watch in the house since New Year's Eve, when someone tried to burn it down.

Elba, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 2/26/66. Dateline: Elba.

A blast triggered by ten sticks of dynamite ripped through one wing of Elba High School, where two Negro students entered the eleventh and twelfth grades last fall. Two hundred people had just left the building following a banquet, but authorities said there were no Negroes in the crowd.

Members of the Second Howitzer Battalion of the 117th Artillery in Elba "will have 35 men on duty . . . throughout the weekend to preserve evidence relating to the bombing."

Neshoba County, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Democrat-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Neshoba County, (UPI).

A small Mennonite church, burned in 1964 during investigation of the murders of three civil rights workers, was dynamited Feb. 19.

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66.

"A representative of the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. filed suit . . . in Hinds County Court against four civil rights organizations and their directors in connection with the burning of a church March 5, 1965 . . . .

"In the declaration . . . (the representative) said, the defendants began renting the church July 24, 1964, with the purpose of achieving full and complete integration of Negro citizens into the political and economic life of the state of Mississippi.

"Shortly after the organizations moved into the building, the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. was notified that its fire insurance policy had been canceled due to the fact that the property was being used for a different purpose than it was when the policy of insurance was issued. The association then found out that no insurance company was willing to insure the property."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 2/23/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

Authorities discovered a "time-bomb factory," which they think may lead them to the "Birmingham Bombers" who terrorized the city early in 1965.

The county sheriff said the time bombs were "made and set out by members of an organization. He did not identify the organization."

Prattville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/19-20/66. Dateline: Prattville.

A Negro youth was beaten by "at least a dozen" white boys as he was repairing his car at a service station. He was arrested, and, "while in the car . . . he said that someone would get even with his attackers.

"The next thing he knew he was belted over the head again.

"The youth was rushed to the hospital, treated, and released . . . . "

He was "charged with resisting arrest and released on bond."

Zachary, LOUISIANA

The New York *Times* 2/8/66. Dateline: Zachary (UPI).

"A Negro's house was bombed last night, the fourth such mysterious explosion involving Negroes since last summer in the Baton Rouge areas."

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/1/66. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

"A retired Negro school teacher has said his Forest, Miss., home was riddled with gunfire a week ago on the eve of the desegregation of two Forest schools."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Clarion-Ledger-Daily News* 2/13/66. Dateline: Jackson.

"With one dissenting vote, the Senate passed a tightly written bill making it a felony for any person to fire a deadly weapon into a residence or other inhabited structure.

"The offense is currently classed a misdemeanor and carries a light fine and lighter jail sentence. The existing statute is so loosely written that it has occasionally led law officers in rural areas to laugh off volleys of gunshots fired into homes if no injury is reported.

"Officers have been prone to assume the negativistic attitude that since the offense is a misdemeanor, why bother to conduct a full-fledged investigation? A conviction, they have reasoned, would hardly be worth the time, effort and expense consumed by a thorough probing.

"This unfortunate fact, coupled with a barrage of civil rights activity in the state, has triggered the imagination of certain groups of people. The result has been a number of incidents in which nightriders fire upon the homes of persons they do not see eye to eye with."

Morven, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 3/3/66. Dateline: Morven (AP).

A white Methodist minister who set up a Negro Bible school near Morven, said he was being transferred to a church in Mecklenburg County because he feared "violence to my family."

"He said the first sign of any objection to the Bible school came in January when he found what appeared to be a bullet hole in the rear of his station wagon . . . .

"He said his family had received numerous telephone calls, some sympathetic, some curious and some objectionable."

Atlanta, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 2/25/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

The mayor of Atlanta and a young Negro "exchanged heated words Thursday night over whether Negroes living in Atlanta slums will stage a Watts-type riot here to improve their lot.

" 'Atlanta may have some violent disorders as we've seen in Watts,' warned . . . a spokesman from the Vine City Council.

" 'Your statement in my opinion is totally erroneous,' " the major retorted.

After being warned that "Negroes in Atlanta are getting anxious . . . . the mayor repeated, " 'I say to you again, there won't be another Watts in Atlanta. It'll have to happen over the top of me and a couple of other people I know.' "

The mayor then went on to discuss water pollution, finances and the police department.

Irvington, NEW JERSEY

Delta Democratic-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Irvington (UPI).

The NAACP field director from Mississippi, "brother of slain Medgar Evers, Sunday called for a violent answer to violence in the South."

He "claimed there were 32 unsolved civil rights deaths in Mississippi since the death of his brother, June, 1964.

"He said the FBI and the Justice Dept. 'had no intention of bringing justice' to the murderers of his brother, formerly the NAACP field director in Mississippi.

" 'It's time to start killing,' . . . (he) said. 'I will do all that I have to do so that Medgar is avenged.'

"He told his audience the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the nightriders would have to be answered by violence.

" 'We'll have to lay and wait for them at night, and fight with them all day,' he said. 'No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves.' "

Ed Stampfield
RAP

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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Reply to
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GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

July 1, 1966

TO: NSF/RAP Field Representatives

FROM: Jac Wasserman

I have sent you under seperate cover recent pamphlets issued by OEO; an excellent article reprinted from The NATION on "A Strategy to End Poverty" by two professors from the Columbia University School of Social Work; a list of organizations compiled by the South Carolina Council of sources for scholarships and financial aid for Negro students. This supplements the booklet, "Financial Aid for Southern Negro Students," which I sent you some time ago.

Also included in the packet is the most recent quarterly report prepared by Mr. Eugene Hagans, acting RAP field representative in South Carolina. As you may recall, it was suggested that I duplicate and circulate particularly interesting reports from each of the NSF/RAP representatives each month. The practice in South Carolina is for the RAP representative to prepare a quarterly report summarizing his activities, in addition to the daily log of where he went, whom he saw and what he did, which he submits each week. I believe that you will find Mr. Hagans' report both informative and instructive and we would welcome any questions you may have regarding any of the matters referred to in his report.

ASCS elections have been announced for the following states: Alabama, August 16; Florida and North Carolina, September 9; Arkansas and Louisiana, probably first or second week in November; Georgia, September 23; Mississippi, November 14th. I hope that you will familiarize yourself with the new regulations and procedures for the 1966 ASCS elections which are detailed in the ASCS Handbook on County and Community Elections(Short Reference 7-A). Among the important changes for the coming elections are:

1. The County Committees must give public notice of changes of Community boundries at least 35 days prior to the election which will include the designation and boundries of each community within the county. It is important that

you secure the maps for all the communities in the counties where you will be working to assure that farmers who sign petitions to place candidates on the ballot are all eligible voters in the same community as their candidate. Many petitions were voided last year because the signers were not of the same community.

2. The county committee will give notice at least 35 days before the date set for the election that a slate of nominees will be selected for each community. The notice will be given along with the notice of community boundries. In addition to public notices in the newspapers and on radio, a special notice to each voter of record will:

(a) announce the forthcoming mail election;(b) state that petitions must be limited to one nominee each;(c) signed by at least 6 eligible voters (eligible voters may sign as many petitions as they desire): and most important, that(d) petitions must be received in the county office at least 25 days before the date set for the election.

Eligible farmers (including tenants and sharecroppers who do not receive a notice of the elections should go to the county office immediately to request a ballot and to have their names placed on the roll of eligible voters in their community.

The same regulation with regard to minority groups will be in force this year as last. The Community Committees must see that Negroes are placed in nomination in the same proportion as they are to the total farm population. This applies to community nominees only, <u>without regard to nomination by petition</u>. Community Committees are restricted to nominating between six and ten persons to be placed on the ballot, <u>plus</u> all those persons who have been nominated by petition.

Various types of educational leaflets will be developed for the Alabama ASCS elections and these will be made available to you for use in your state. In addition, the Washington office of ASCS will have leaflets available. They also now have a film strip (slides) which explains the election procedures. You can request the slides from your State ASCS office for showing at county and local meetings. County ASCS managers are also available (or should be) to meet with any group to explain the new election regulations. If he refuses to meet with you, please inform the State ASCS Director and also advise us so that we can inform the Washington office.

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August 3, 1966

To: NSF/RAP Field Representatives

From: Jac Wasserman, Field Director

NSF/RAP Staff Meeting: Our next staff meeting is scheduled for October 5-7 in Atlanta. We will start our meeting at 7 P. M. on the 5th. Please reserve those dates. An agenda for this meeting will follow.

ASCS Elections: We have been unable to get ASCS to provide lists of eligible voters in each community without charge, although some county offices may be willing to let you photocopy their list. If local groups are unable to pay the county office for duplicating the list of eligible voters, they can arrange to have someone copy the lists which are required to be posted in the county offices. Please keep us informed of what you are doing to get maximum participation of Negro farmers in the 1966 ASCS elections. As soon as possible after the last date for submitting petitions in your state, let us know how many candidates have been placed on the ballot by petition in each county.

Consultant on Project Development: Walton H. Sharp who was formerly a field representative of our Southern Rural Training Project which wound up its operations as of July 30th will begin begin work with NSF on August 15th as a Consultant on Project Development. Walt's primary responsibility will include services to our Regional Office in Atlanta and to the NSF/RAP field staff in helping to plan and develop training, OEO, and other proposals for low-income groups with whom we work who have need for such expert service. If you are now working with some local groups who are considering specific projects which they hope to have funded by OEO or other government agencies, please write giving us full details and we will try to arrange to have Walt give them whatever assistance is needed. As we anticipate many requests for Walt's assistance, it is important to provide him with as much information as possible regarding the nature of the project, what preliminary work (if any) has already been done, whether you anticipate the cooperation of state and local officials in endorsing the project, etc. Priority will be given those projects which have the greatest liklihood of being approved and funded. All requests for Wal'ts services should be sent to my attention with a copy to Fay Bennett.

RAP

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September 23, 1966

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MEMORANDUM

TO: NSF staff
RAP field representatives
State Council on Human Relations directors

FROM: Fay Bennett

Re: NSF/RAP staff meeting, October 5 - 7, 1966.

Another item for your thinking in connection with our coming staff meeting is the enclosed Memorandum on Policy and Program to End Poverty in Rural America which came from our Board meeting earlier this year.

I am also enclosing another reprint from the Employment Service Revenue on the Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects by Dr. Sam Parigi. I know you have all seen this, but I would like to urge you to read it again so that we can discuss the feasibility of developing a number of these programs in selected areas where they can make the difference to the marginal farmer from being driven off the land to becoming a sussessful operator.

My final enclosure is a summary of the Southern Rural Training Project for the past year. I hope you will also read it.

I look forward to seeing you in Atlanta.

F

September 23, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Dear Fay:

Thank you for your letter of September 21 and for putting me on your mailing list.

I may able to sit in on part of the meeting on part of the meeting on the 5th, but I plan to leave on the afternoon of the 6th to fill a long standing engagement in Huntsville, Alabama.

For whatever it is worth, I have a very favorable impression of both Mike Kenney and Walter Sharp. They seem to me to be very clear-headed, as well as hard and dedicated workers.

I look forward to seeing you.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Adm — RAP

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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I am chagrined to discover that your name is not in our file to receive our reports and mailings. This has now been corrected. Meanwhile I am sending you separately a packet of materials sent out by this office.

Enclosed for your information are copies of letters sent to the state directors of the Human Relations Councils where we are now operating a joint program through the Rural Advancement Project.

Also enclosed for your information is a reprint from the Employment Service Review reporting on a Tennessee farm management training project which brought together the assistance of all of the relevant government agencies and improved the incomes of the participating farmers many times over.

Also enclosed is a summary of our final report on the Southern Rural Training Project. If you would like a copy of the complete 34-page report, I will be glad to send it to you.

If your schedule permits I hope you will sit in on as much of the Atlanta NSF/RAP staff meeting as possible.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm

Enclosures
cc: Jac Wasserman

(more)

P.S. I have just heard from Mike Kenney that he has spent a day or two with LaVert Taylor. While Mike was only with LaVert a brief time, his report confirms my own feelings that LaVert can do a good job if he gets the help he needs to develop his self-confidence. I feel certain that Mike Kenney and Walt Sharp can be of great help to him.

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September 21, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder, Assoc. Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

I am writing this letter to you since I don't have the name of the new executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I trust you will share it with him.

national board

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chairman

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secretary-treasurer

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•

FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

I think Jac Wasserman may have already written to you about our coming meeting of NSF/RAP field staff in Atlanta beginning Wednesday evening October 5 and continuing through Friday afternoon October 7 at the Atlantan Hotel.

This meeting will concentrate on how to go about setting up specific and practical programs to help groups set up training and other programs to meet their needs and improve their incomes.

An example of what can be done to help marginal farmers improve their management skills and incomes so that they are no longer "marginal" is shown by the enclosed reprint on a Tennessee pilot project written by Dr. Sam Parigi, director of our Southern Rural Training Project.

Walt Sharp, who was one of the best field representatives of SRTP last year and who set up a number of the training programs in Louisiana and several other states, is continuing on the NSF's staff as Consultant on Project Development. He is working out of our regional office in Atlanta. He works extremely well with indigenous groups and also knows how to get the cooperation of local and state officials and community leaders. His services will be available to all of the field men. We hope at the Atlanta meeting that priorities can be established and that Walt can set up some dates to work with Mr. Lewis Black in developing more training projects in Alabama.

I hope that Mr. Black can attend the Atlanta meeting and of course we would very much welcome your being with us too. I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm
Enclosure
cc: Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield ✓

(more)

As you know, Mike Kenney has also been added to NSF regional field staff. His title is Field Coordinator. Now that Jac Wasserman has the added assistance of Mike Kenney and Walt Sharp, I know that Alabama will get more help from Jac and our regional office.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

September 21, 1966

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Baxton:

national board

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Your telephone call of last week gave me a big lift. It is most encouraging to know that the peopleof West Tennessee have pledged $3,000 toward the salary and expenses of a field representative who would work cooperatively with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and the National Sharecroppers Fund for economic programs to improve their lot.

We look forward to seeing you and Rev. Isaac Richmond of Ripley, Tennessee, at our coming NSF/RAP workshop at the Atlantan Hotel in Atlanta beginning Wednesday evening, October 5, and continuing through Friday afternoon, October 7.

That will give Jac Wasserman and the rest of us a chance to meet Mr. Richmond, and it will give him and you an opportunity to meet our other NSF/RAP field staff and to participate in the two-day discussion.

Present at the NSF/RAP workshop will be two new men added to our NSF regional office. They are Mike Kenney, Field Coordinator, and Walt Sharp, Consultant on Project Development. Both of these men are extremely able, understand well the problems involved, work well with indigenous groups and know how to help them get programs developed and rolling.

This meeting will concentrate on how to go about setting up specific and practical programs to help groups set up training and other programs to meet their needs and improve their incomes.

An example of what can be done to help marginal farmers improve their management skills and incomes so that they are no longer "marginal" is shown by the enclosed reprint on a Tennessee pilot project written by Dr. Sam Parigi, director of our Southern Rural Training Project.

I do hope that it will be possible for us to raise the additional funds to add Mr. Richmond to our joint staff to work in West Tennessee where the need and promise are great.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm
Enclosure
cc: Ed Stanfield ✓
Jac Wasserman

252

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 15, 1966

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

I think Jac Wasserman may have already written to you about our coming meeting of NSF/RAP field staff in Atlanta beginning Wednesday evening October 5 and continuing through Friday afternoon October 7 at the Atlantan Hotel.

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Walt Sharp, who was one of the best field representatives of SRTP last year and who set up a number of the training programs in Louisiana and several other states, is continuing on the NSF's staff as Consultant on Project Development. He is working out of our regional office in Atlanta. He works extremely well with indigenous groups and also knows how to get the cooperation of local and state officials and community leaders. His services will be available to all of the field men. We hope at the Atlanta meeting that priority can be established and that Walt can set up some dates to work with Mr. James and Mr. Hagans in developing more training projects in South Carolina.

I hope that Mr. James and Mr. Hagans can attend the Atlanta meeting and of course we would very much welcome your being with us too. I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm

Enclosure

cc: Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield ✓

252

As you know, Mike Kenney has also been added to NSF regional field staff. His title is Field Coordinator. Now that Jac Wasserman has the added assistance of Mike Kenney and Walt Sharp, I know that South Carolina will get more help from Jac and our regional office.

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September 15, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human
Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

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I hope that Mr. Thomas can attend the Atlanta meeting and of course we would very much welcome your being with us too.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm
Enclosure
Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield

(more

As you know, Mike Kenney has also been added to NEF regional field staff. His title is Field Coordinator. Now that Jac Wasserman has the added assistance of Mike Kenney and Walt Sh[illegible] I know that Georgia will get more help from Jac and our regional office.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 15, 1966

Mr. August Vanden Boche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 17th Avenue N.W.
Miami, Florida 33133

Dear Augie:

I think Jac Wasserman may have already written to you about our coming meeting of NSF/RAP field staff in Atlanta beginning Wednesday evening October 5 and continuing through Friday afternoon October 7 at the Atlantan Hotel.

This meeting will concentrate on how to go about setting up specific and practical programs to help groups set up training and other programs to meet their needs and improve their incomes.

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I hope that Mr. Taylor can attend the Atlanta meeting and of course we would very much welcome your being with us too.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm
Enclosure
cc: Jac Wasserman & Ed Stanfield

P.S. I am most unhappy to learn that LaVert Taylor's performance has not been what you and we expected. I do believe he has suffered from lack of guidance in the field.

(more)

Our field consultant, Mike Kennay is in northern Florida and expects to spend a day or two with LaVert. I feel certain that Walt Sharp could and also work effectively with LaVert and could give him the guidance ~~of~~ first-hand experience and knowledge that he needs to gain self-confidence and to do the kind of job that needs to be done.

Now that Jac Wasserman has the added assistance ~~from~~ of Mike Kennay and Walt Sharp, I know that LaVert Taylor and the other RAP field men will get more help from Jac Wasserman and our regional office.

The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects

SAM F. PARIGI

What appropriate skill training programs can be developed for unskilled, undereducated, low-income farmers living in economically declining rural areas? This problem for developers of manpower programs is compounded by the outmigration of younger, more skilled persons from such rural areas, and the difficulty of placing older, farm-oriented trainees in urban jobs. Tennessee's pilot farm management program is giving evidence of being a successful answer to this training challenge.

The MDTA farm management pilot program was developed through the cooperation of the Tennessee Vocational Education Division, the Tennessee Employment Service, and agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Although the program is still considered in the pilot stage, seven projects have been completed and four are in progress.

The Training Program

In conjunction with the county school boards which act as sponsors for these programs, the Tennessee Division of Vocational Education has developed a program designed to raise the income of trainees by 20 to 40 percent in the first year and 60 percent over a 3-year period. Prime attention is directed to four topics: Soils, crop production, livestock production, and farm plans. Other subjects receiving considerable attention are income taxes, electricity, farm organizations, and farm legislation. In each case, the trainee is shown how the topics in the training program apply to his own farming operations. This is the key to the high interest and success of trainees in the pilot projects.

A typical program would begin in July with the farm management instructor visiting the farm of each trainee to assess its potential and to discuss with the trainee what definite projects are to be undertaken on the farm as part of the training program. An overall farm plan is then developed for each trainee. The soil on each farm is "typed" early in the program by the Soil Conservation Service and the trainee is shown how to utilize the new information in his planting and fertilizing practices. Use is also made of "averaging" sheets, by which the farmer can compare his net income against what a similar farm would produce with fairly good management practices. Since trainees rarely net as much income as the farm sheets project, this income disparity provides incentive to learn and to exercise proper farm management practices.

Small farmers normally have inadequate records, so each trainee is taught to keep a record book of his farming operations. Bookkeeping is introduced early in the program, and the farm management instructor continues to check the farming records once a month.

Because most trainees know little of the range of agricultural services available to them from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, provision is made for representatives to explain their functions. In addition, the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) has made extra funds available to the trainees to carry out the soil conservation measures determined upon in their individual overall farm plans—

Dr. Sam F. Parigi is Director of the Southern Rural Training Project while on leave from Lamar State College.

For this farmer, the training resulted in better sanitation and good pastures for his livestock.

The trainees were shown how to reclaim their rain washed land so it could become productive.

liming, seeding, erosion control, and woodland improvement. Since funds from the ASCS must be matched by the farmer from his own resources, the trainee is urged to utilize at least part of his training allowances for this purpose. Field trips to experimental farms and plots of successful farmers are also taken to demonstrate proper farming techniques.

Vastly different educational levels are found among the trainees, although the program originally sought to require achievement equivalent to that of a high school sophomore for participation. In the first pilot program, provision was not made for specific classes in basic education, but 100 hours of communications instruction are now provided.

An interesting facet of the program is the integration of farm training and mathematical education. For example, the techniques of measuring land are first treated in the classroom, and instruction is given at that time on the multiplication and division needed to complete the task. Then the class goes into the field to apply the principles learned.

Throughout the program, classroom principles are directly applied to each farm. The instructor makes periodic visits to each trainee's farm and remains available to help the trainee if any difficult farming problems arise.

For trainees with marginal farms, the program may provide information on supplementary income opportunities. In one instance, the instructor suggested that the trainee might build a slaughterhouse to augment the farm income. The trainee bought a secondhand walk-in cooler and constructed the slaughterhouse with the aid of a $2,500 loan from the Farmers Home Administration. It is expected that the combined income from the farm and slaughterhouse operations will lift this trainee from the poverty classification.

Evaluation

The pilot farm management programs have shown outstanding success in raising the income of marginal farmers. A good example is the Yorkville Farm Management class,

the first of the pilot programs, which began on July 15, 1963. Income tax returns indicated average net farm income of $343 for 1962, but $1,285 in 1964. Nineteen men completed the course. One man sold his farm but the other 18 increased their income—14 by over 100 percent! It is expected that the income of the trainees will continue to increase as they complete the various stages of their overall farm plans.

Good Attendance

Attendance averaged 97.4 percent and five men did not miss a class during the entire year. An esprit de corps developed among the trainees, and the community leaders voiced their approval of the program. The success of the program may also be judged by individual conferences held with trainees by representatives of the Employment Service. When asked if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No."

Several conclusions may be drawn from the experience of this pilot program:

1. MDTA training can substantially increase the marginal farmer's income, which is especially meaningful when viewed in the context of the limited economic alternatives for unskilled older farmers. Furthermore, the rapid increase in income may also serve to revitalize the economic condition of destitute rural areas.

2. Marginal farmers seldom have utilized the vast range of governmental aids for agriculture. MDTA programs can help remedy this situation by assisting the small farmer to obtain the agricultural services to which he is entitled. Moreover, the concentration of trainees makes it easier for the agricultural agencies to provide services. Rather than duplicating farm agency services, the MDTA program supports them.

3. MDTA courses should also be promoted for marginal small business owners who lack managerial "know how." There is an extremely high rate of small retail business mortality which could be lessened through training related to finances, marketing, recordkeeping, and inventory.

Sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund and financed by a Department of Labor contract (as an Experimental and Demonstration Project under MDTA), the Southern Rural Training Project has stimulated the development of 28 training and basic education programs for more than six thousand unemployed and underemployed persons in seven Southern states. A number of these programs have already been funded and are in operation.

The purpose of the Southern Rural Training Project, directed by Dr. Sam F. Parigi, was to demonstrate that local leadership in poor rural areas, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, could develop training programs to up-grade the skills and economic status of low-income, poorly educated rural persons.

Because of the expressed great need for such training programs and the relative unavailability of government services in rural communities, the Southern Rural Training Project has acted as a bridge between federal programs and the people who need them.

For further information contact:

National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

or

Regional Office
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Reprinted from *Employment Service Review*, January, 1966

NSF

SUMMARY OF FINAL REPORT

The Southern Rural Training Project was an experimental manpower development project authorized under Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. The SRTP was originally created in January, 1964, by a contract between the U.S. Department of Labor and the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., and was continued under a new one-year contract which terminated on July 31, 1966.

SRTP was to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, coupled with the resources of nearby colleges, employment and education agencies, and other organizations, could help develop training programs to assist unemployed and underemployed persons in improving their economic situation.

During the past year SRTP has helped local leadership in Southern communities to achieve the funding of twelve programs which will provide training for more than 2,100 low-income adults. Favorable consideration has been received for most of sixteen additional projects to serve 3,000 trainees. The cost of SRTP per trainee will average $30-$70, depending upon the number of projects, not yet approved, which become operative. Projects have been developed by SRTP under the Manpower Development and Training Act, Titles I and II; the Economic Opportunity Act, Titles II-A, II-B, III-B, and V; and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The funds for two-thirds of the projects developed will come from federal agency sources other than the Department of Labor (OEO and HEW).

Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act was found to be the most suitable legislation under which projects in rural areas could receive funds. In developing these projects, SRTP field staff encouraged indigenous people to take an active part in the planning and processing. Bi-racial advisory committees were organized, allowing seasonal farm workers to meet on an equal basis with their employers and with government agency personnel. These committees, it is hoped, will become permanent organizations to apply for other programs to meet their community needs.

In Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee, the first funded Title III-B programs were developed with the assistance of SRTP. From these programs, a model was developed upon which the design of other III-B projects was based, with variations to fit specific local needs.

With MDTA programs, SRTP found that the greatest problem rested in the long delays between initial application and final approval of projects. During these delays, which often extended to a year or more, local people remained ignorant of what was happening to their project; local enthusiasm consequently lessened; potential trainees were forced to accept alternatives; and replacements had to be found for originally chosen staff.

The greatest contribution of SRTP lay in providing the technical assistance necessary for local groups to learn to develop and process projects. If rural areas, small towns and colleges, and groups without financial resources are not to be excluded from manpower development efforts, similar technical assistance must be provided to potential project sponsors throughout the rural South

The National Sharecroppers Fund is glad to have had this opportunity to use its resources in cooperation with government and local groups to meet urgent training needs. NSF expects to continue its role in bridging the gap between these local rural groups and government resources.

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
(Supervisor, Southern Rural Training Project)

(Second
printing)

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

Summary of Project Development (Final)

Projects Funded

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Farm Bureau	III-B, Reserve, Louisiana	120	$ 76,586
School Board	II-B, Holly Hill, S. Carolina	500	25,105
College	Department of Labor E & D St. Mary's Dominican, Louisiana	90	70,650
College	Department of Labor E & D Loyola University, Louisiana	150	124,300
CAP	III-B, Ferriday, Louisiana	100	67,698
MACTAD	III-B, Mobile, Alabama	100	52,131
CAP	III-B, Fayette County, Tenn.	180	117,781
College	Department of Labor E & D Jackson State, Jackson, Miss.	115	56,209
CAP	III-B, Dorchester, S. Carolina	180	200,420
CAP	III-B, Thibodaux, Louisiana	180	224,668
CAP	III-B, Thomasville, Georgia	150	446,190
Community Organization	Department of Labor E & D Mobile, Alabama	280	966,570
		2,145	$2,428,308

Submitted But Not Yet Funded

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Community Organization	OJT Prime-Contract Mobile, Alabama	100	$ 40,000
CAP	III-B, Shiloh, Tenn. (Savannah)	960	713,479
CAP	III-B, Elk River, Tennessee (Fayetteville)	320	308,812
County Welfare Dept.	Title V, Thomasville, Georgia	90	350,000

Submitted But Not Yet Funded (contd.)

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Citizens Agency of TVA	III-B, Beech River, Henderson County, Tennessee	240	$ 183,158
CAP	III-B, Dillon County, S. Carolina	360	349,340
Labor Union	Department of Labor E & D, Washington, D.C.	100	48,400
NSF	OEO II-B, Program Development in Georgia & Alabama	60	216,635
CAP	III-B, Alexandria, Louisiana	360	303,820
Office of Mayor City Council	III-B, Triana, Alabama	100	135,720
College	Department of Labor E & D, Mississippi	225	98,298
CAP	III-B, Orange-Calhoun Counties, South Carolina	240	256,540
CAP	III-B, Grand Coteau, Louisiana	100	91,950
Educational Institute	III-B, Fitzgerald, Georgia	120	191,650
		3,375	$3,287,802

Projects Developed, Processing Continuing By Other Sponsors

Sponsor	Type of Project	Number of Trainees	Amount of Budget
Office of the Mayor	Department of Labor E & D Tampa, Florida	400	$ 677,113
State Dept. of Education	Office of Education E & D Florida	180	57,610
College	E&D, Fort Valley, Ga., TAPPED	240	153,054
		820	$ 887,777
Total Project Development		6,340	$6,603,887

Administration RAP

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404 522-3697

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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
FAY BENNETT *executive secretary*
LOUIS ARONICA *program secretary*
JAC WASSERMAN *field director*
HUBERT THOMAS *Georgia representative*
OCIE LEE SMITH *Louisiana-Arkansas representative*
JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
EUGENE W. HAGANS *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

September 28, 1966

MEMO

From: Jac Wasserman

To: NSF/RAP Field Staff

I. Subject: October Staff Meeting: October 5-7, 1966.

In order to use our time most efficiently at the coming staff meeting, and to get into the habit of seeing our daily work and operations as part of a group effort across the states in which we work, we would like to request that each field man come to the staff meeting prepared to give a Summary Report of his activity for the current year(1966).

II. Summary Report:

A. Please be prepared to present a report of between 20-30 minutes of your work in 1966 in the following areas:

(1) community organization
(2) co-ops
(3) credit unions
(4) OEO programs
(5) relations with state and local USDA agencies and officials
(6) ASCS elections
(7) other Federal programs

B. What do you expect to do as a follow-up for the rest of this year, and for the first six months of 1967? What new programs are you planning to work on, and where?

C. How do you evaluate what you have been doing?

(1) Do we have any real influence in helping solve the problems of the very poor?
(2) How do you view your relations with the Regional office? What are your suggestions for improving relations?

D. Where should we put our time and energy in the field as a whole field staff?

(1) Job development?
(2) Federal programs?
(3) Co-ops and credit unions?
(4) Other?

III. One of the kinds of discussions we would like to come out of the staff meeting would be a discussion as to whether or not the whole field staff should begin working on one project area -- e.g. credit unions, co-ops, job development, etc. -- in order that we might develop a sense of capability and expertise and group movement that can be shared among us, and so that people would not feel that they were working alone and without connection to the rest of the field operation.

Another type of question which might be raised at this staff meeting is: Should our field operations now begin to distinguish between rural-farm and rural non-farm programs, particularly in the light of the fact that there are more people living in rural areas in the South who do not live on farms, than those who live on farms?

IV. We would like to have these 1966 summary reports given orally, and be accompanied by a written outline or a summary which will be available for distribution to all participants.

Adm

RAP

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

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administrative assistants

October 11, 1966

MEMO

To: Lewis Black
James Mays
L.S. James

From: Jac Wasserman

The only representative who came to our last Atlanta staff meeting with duplicate copies of his past year's report was LaVert Taylor. Hubert Thomas read his report to us, and copies are now being duplicated for distribution. These will be sent to you in a few days.

We would like to have your report for our files and for distribution to the other men. Could you arrange to send to me ten copies as soon as possible? We can all learn from each other and such exchanges of our experiences, problems, and successes can help us to help each other and to do a better job.

We would be most grateful to also receive your evaluation and criticism of the staff meeting, and your recommendations for improving the next one.

c.c. LaVert Taylor
Hubert Thomas
Gary Piper
Ed Stenfield ✓

(Administration file) R.A.P.

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October 31, 1966

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MEMO

To: NSF/RAP Field Representatives and Project State Directors

From: Jac Wasserman

For those who have not yet received them - enclosed please find copies of reports made at our staff meeting in Atlanta, October 5,6,7 (or written afterwards at our request). Reports from James Mays and Lewis Black will be sent as soon as received at this office (hurry up!).

If anyone has not yet received the reports which are now in (LaVert Taylor's, Hubert Thomas' and L.S. James') please let us know for immediate mailing.

We would appreciate receiving your frank evaluation of the staff meeting and your suggestions for topics that you would like to have discussed at our next staff meeting. This is tentatively scheduled to be held in Mississippi, probably during the week of January 16th. Will you please clear these dates with your state director to be sure there is no conflict with other planned activities which require your attendance.

c.c. Fay Bennett
✓Ed Stanfield

Administration R.H.P.

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November 10, 1966

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MEMO

To: NSF Field Representatives

From: Mike Kenney

Subject: Organizing materials prepared by groups in Mississippi

1. Enclosed are copies of organizing manuals: "Leadership Manual," "County Government in Mississippi," "The Time Has Come to Get That Power! A political handbook for the black people of Hinds County," and "What is a Co-op?". These were prepared by Ted Seaver or by the Freedom Information Service in Mississippi.

2. They appear to be excellent jobs and might serve as models for your work or for groups in your areas.

3. Please show them to your State Directors also.

4. If you would like more copies, please order them direct from Freedom Information Service, or from Ted Seaver -- whose address you can obtain from James Mays. (The address for Freedom Information Service is: P. O. Box 120, Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174.)

5. Finally, we would be very interested in getting written responses from you giving us your feelings about these manuals.

Mike Kenney

c.c. Fay Bennett
Ed Stanfield
Bob Valder
August VandenBosche
Frances Pauley
Alice Spearman

adm

RAP

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November 11, 1966

MEMO

To: NSF/RAP Field Representatives

From: Jac Wasserman

1) Enclosed please find a list of cooperative associations in your state that have received loans from the Farmers Home Administration.

2) I would recommend that you visit as many of these associations as possible to find out as much as you can about how they were formed, their activities, and whether Negro farmers in the area are participating in these associations. This information may be helpful to you when assisting other groups in the state who may want to form their own cooperatives with assistance from FHA.

3) The FHA county supervisor or the FHA State office can give you the names of the officers of these associations and their addresses, as well as any other pertinent information about their operation.

4) We would appreciate receiving a report from you after you have had the opportunity to visit some of these cooperatives.

JW:rlu

c.c. August VandenBosche
Bob Valder
Frances Pauley
Alice Spearman
Fay Bennett
Ed Stanfield

} lists available upon request

administration R.A.P.

Ed Stanfield

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December 6, 1966

MEMO

To: NSF/RAP Field Representatives

From: Jac Wasserman

Subject: FHA funded co-ops in the South

1. On 11 November I wrote you a memo which recommended that you visit as many of the co-ops as possible in your state, and requesting a report of your visits to these co-ops.

2. We have not received a reply from you on this subject.

3. The reason we are interested in these co-ops is that Mike Kenney and Al Ulmer, et al, are working on calling a South-wide conference of low-income co-ops early next year. From this conference we hope to get a Federation of co-ops which can become a powerful force in changing the social and economic conditions in the rural South.

4. But, since we do not have any information about these co-ops funded by FHA we do not want to send out invitations until we find out more about what kind of people are involved. We know that more than half are Negro co-ops, or associations without charters. We would like to know which co-ops are white and which are Negro; which integrated, and which are relatively independent of the power structure, which have charters, etc.

5. Much of the information about the cooperatives in particular counties can be obtained by visiting the FHA County Supervisors. If these are small associations of a few farmers formed solely to purchase equipment, they can be eliminated from the list we sent you. We are particularly interested in cooperatives open to <u>all</u> eligible farmers.

6. Mike and Al are going to be spending most of their time between now and February working on this conference. They need the information you can furnish them. Would you please make it a point to visit the FHA county offices and the co-ops in your immediate area, and get a report to our office by the end of the first week in January. Thank You.

RAP (general)

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December 27, 1966

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executive secretary
JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Donald A. Jelinek
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
31½ Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama

Dear Don:

We reported on the suit you filed on behalf of several farmers against J.A. Minter et al at our Board meeting recently. The Board was pleased to know that this suit has been filed and that Jac Wasserman and other members of our staff have been helpful in obtaining pertinent information needed in preparing the brief.

However, our Board sees no action that it can take at the present time in support of the brief in addition to what we have already done. They would like to continue to be kept informed and to receive copies of legal documents in regard to the suit. The lawyers on our Board will then discuss the possibility of appearing amicus at the appelate level.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

c.c. Jac Wasserman
Mr. Edwin Stanfield

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

For Your Information
DEC 9 1966

DEC - 1966

DEC 16 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Miss Bennett:

We have received a report from our Georgia State Office concerning the letter you received from Mr. Hubert D. Thomas of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Our State staff has discussed the observations made by Mr. Thomas regarding the inadequacy of rural housing funds with our staff members who attended the meeting at Quitman, Georgia. Apparently Mr. Thomas' observation was based on a misunderstanding because our staff did not mention a shortage of funds for self-help housing loans. They did, however, mention that the Farmers Home Administration was trying to obtain local lenders for insured loans.

If additional information is needed, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Administrator

ACTING ASSISTANT

Adm - RAP 1

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December 6, 1966

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To: Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

From: Jac Wasserman, Field Director JW

Subject: Summary of Activities for Quarterly Period
July 1 - September 30, 1966
Charged to Norman Fund Grant

Jac Wasserman

July 1-8 : Meeting with groups in Southwest Georgia

July 15-17 : [redacted]. To Selma and Montgomery, Alabama to help set up ASCS campaign

July 20-28 : Meeting with groups in Southwest Georgia and attending workshops of Scholarship and Education Fund for Racial Equality at Frogmore, South Carolina

Mike Kenney

July 15-22 : Work in Black Belt counties to help set up ASCS campaign in Alabama

July 22 : Co-op Institute meeting in Atlanta

July 24-28 : Continuation of ASCS work in Alabama

August 6-8 : ASCS court hearing in Washington, D.C.

August 21 : Selma to Atlanta

August 31 -
September 6 : Washington, D.C. to work on OEO proposals and meetings with USDA officials

Sept. 12-13 : Workshop in Albany, Georgia on ASCS elections

Sept. 14-16 : Workshop on self-help housing in Orlando, Flarida and field work with LaVert Taylor in Northern Florida

Miscellaneous

Contributed $70.00 toward the expenses of transporting witnesses from Alabama Black Belt counties to Washington, D.C. for court hearing on malpractices in ASCS elections.

JW:rlu

c.c. Fay Bennett

REPORT ON THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECTS

GENERAL

The programs of the Rural Advancement Projects are as varied as the needs of rural people in the four states now participating and the personalities and talents of the four directors. Some programs are common to all, such as the emphasis in late summer and early fall on ASCS elections and efforts to educatedrural folk about avialable government assistance. This is due in no small measure to the good technical assistance provided by the National Sharecroppers' Fund, which has convened the four directors along with NSF field men for three meetings in Atlanta, But the adaptability of the rpogram can be seen in the emphasis on credit unions in Alabama while community organizations was pushed in Georgia.

Each of the RAP Directors, simply by his presence and knowledgeability, has become the focus of considerable help to the areas served. They found themselves drawing on the resources of SRC's Voter Education and Community Organization Projects, as well as those of the Southern Rural Training Project and many agencies of the federal government. Their being on the staffs of the state councils on human relations focused the attention of the other staff members as well as laymen on rural needs.

We think that the following reports will indicate a usefulness far beyond the specific instances cited.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. L. S. James has been Director of the South Carolina Rural Advancement Project, the pilot project, from its beginning. He took a six-months leave of absence this year, in order to work with the Southern Rural Training Project. During this time the Rural Advancement Project had Mr. Eugene Hagans as Acting Director.

As with all of the R.A.P. men, much of Mr. James' time, especially during the summer, was devoted to Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections. According to the 1960 census there were thirty counties in South Carolina which had between 30% and 75% of the total number of farm operators who were non-white. Yet in 1965 there were no Negroes on any county committee and only fourteen on community committees. And those fourteen were in only six counties. Since the ASCS committee aparatus determines crop allotments for all farmers this matter is of great importance. The effort in South Carolina included a statewide meeting in Columbia on August 6 which was attended by representatives of 20 counties,

numerous local and county meetings, and constant education through conversation on all field trips.

Mr. James' other activities included the following, which are typical:

A Negro woman, a Home Demonstration Agent, was being assigned to work with Negroes only and knew of many cases of discrimination against Negroes in her county. She was helped to direct a formal complaint to appropriate authorities and to secure investigation. She reports much better treatment as a result.

A modern cooperative supermarket has opened in Denmark, South Carolina. It is operated by the Bamberg County Economic Development Corporation, which Mr. James helped organize two years ago.

Mr. James is a member of the Board and Executive Committee and Chairman of the Personnel Committee for "Project T-Square" (Training for Tomorrow), an O.E.O. program which will set up 12 major centers for training unemployed people and providing basic education for persons who completed less than five school grades.

Realizing that farm operations cannot provide the total answer for rural workers, Mr. James seeks other avenues, After patient negotiation over a period of two years he has succeeded in getting two Negroes employed as bus drivers by the Columbia City Bus Transportation Company. These pioneers are doing well.

FLORIDA

Staffing of the four RAP projects was completed with the employment of The Reverend LaVert Taylor in Florida, starting March 1.

Mr. Taylor works out of Tallahassee. He has been concentrating on community organization, educational groundwork for coops and credit unions, familiarizing himself and area Negro farmers with USDA officials and programs, and the ASCS elections. He has deliberately confined his efforts mostly to three north Florida counties: Leon, Jefferson, and Jackson.

In the matter of community organization, Mr. Taylor has avoided formation of new organizations. He found that the people felt "exploited" by national agencies--including civil rights groups--which seemed primarily concerned with establishing local affiliates of their particular institutions. Instead

he has sought to make existing groups more effective. In Jackson County he was instrumental in reorganizing the Farmers Home Organization, reactivating six community development groups, organizing a voter registration program through the local NAACP, and working through a strong Voters League on ASCS elections. He also helped to secure acquisition of land--at fair compensation--for an International Paper Company plant at Sneads which will mean 500 jobs for the area. In Leon County he secured cooperation of three community groups to sponsor a Conference on School Desegregation.

ds

A conference on co-ops and credit unions was held in Jackson County with the aid of Mr. Al Ulmer of SRC's Community Organization Project, Mr. Lewis Black of the Alabama RAP Project, and the regional office of the National Sharecroppers' Fund.

Mr. Taylor has found the County Agents in both Jackson and Jefferson to be altogether uncooperative. There is no Negro agent in either county and no 4-H Club program available to Negro youngsters. The situation has been reported to the Department of Agriculture with no results to date. On the other hand, the local offices of the Farmers Home Administration have been very helpful.

Efforts on the ASCS elections resulted in election of a Negro as Vice Chairman of one community committee and two others as members of the same committee in Jackson County. No Negroes were elected this year in Jefferson County.

GEORGIA

Mr. Hubert D. Thomas, RAP Director in Georgia, has concentrated on the counties of southwest Georgia.

He began with three area workshops on rural problems. They were held in Albany, Bainbridge and Thomasville and were attended by people from twelve counties. Mr. Wasserman of the NSF regional office and the late Oliver Holmes of the Georgia Council on Human Relations assisted with these workshops.

Thomas' next major effort had to do with the Quitman office of the FHA. Not a single loan had been made to a Negro farmer in that area. Mr. Thomas' efforts, in cooperation with the NAACP, resulted in an investigation and to date three Negro farmers have secured housing and operational loans. Also, the FHA Supervisor was transferred and replaced with a man with a different attitude.

A major project has been the formation of a multi-county council on human relations in southwest Georgia. The council has had well-attended meetings in the seats of the various counties. The human relations coucil has been instrumental in forming Community Action Programs in Worth, Colquitt, Thomas, Grady, Miller, and Mitchell counties.

With the assistance of Al Ulmer of SRC Mr. Thomas helped eighteen heads-of-households from southwest Georgia to apply for self-help housing loans. They have entered into an agreement to pool their labor to build a house for each family, using financial and technical assistance provided through the OEO. Others in the area are interested in this program.

The Georgia RAP Director assisted the Civil Rights Commission to set up an open meeting on discrimination in the Extension Service, Farmers Home Administration, and Agricultural Stabilization Service. This meeting, at which complaints and the testimony of officials were heard, was held in Macon in May.

ALABAMA

Mr. Lewis Black is the RAP Director in Alabama. He was employed beginning February 1. A school teacher in Greensboro he had been for many years a successful leader of Negroes in that area. He retains his home in Greensboro and works from there.

He has given considerable attention to establishing and improving credit unions. Applications for credit union charters have been made in Wilcox and Sumter Counties. A charter has been approved for one in Marengo County, Mr. Black is working with groups in Greene, Monroe, Clarke, Tuscaloosa, and Lee Counties toward establishment of credit unions.

A cooperative supermarket has been established in Hale County and a promising marketing co-op has been started in Perry.

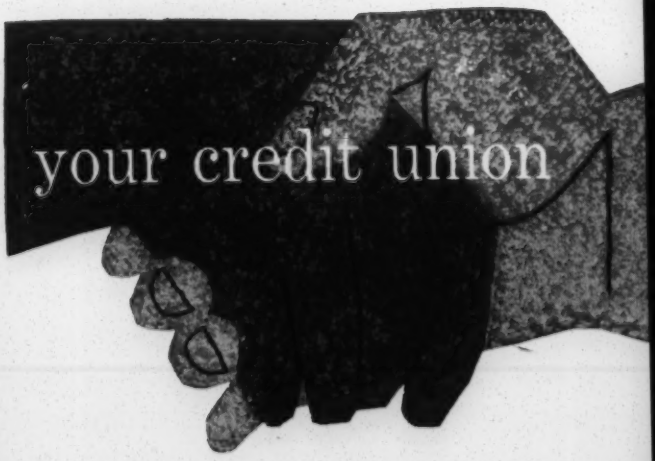
Both the RAP Director and the Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have worked for months to secure a surplus food distribution program in Hale and Perry Counties. The county officials refuse to pay the cost of storing and distributing the badlyneeded commodities from county funds and thus far have blocked efforts to organize a Community Action Agency, so that funds could be secured from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Black has had word that the Agriculture Department will send the commodities to a private organization for distribution--provided they have $12,000 in the bank to pay the distribution and storage costs!

Mr. Black helped to prepare a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program which was operated through Miles College this summer.

He assisted organizations in five counties to prepare proposals to SRC's Voter Education Project. Two of them were funded.

Like the other RAP Directors, Mr. Black's efforts in July, August, and September were concentrated on the ASCS elections.

RAP



a credit union is a group of people who combine their funds, and who make those funds work for their own benefit.

THIS BOOKLET TELLS WHAT YOUR CREDIT UNION CAN DO FOR YOU

The object of a credit union is a unique financial service for its members—credit, savings, dividends. Only the members can use and profit from the credit union's services.

Your credit union is NOT a bank. It is not a labor union—it is not a loan company—it is not a credit bureau. It is not even a business in the usual sense. It is different from all other financial institutions.

But everybody can use the help of a credit union in most transactions that involve money. This includes well-off people with plenty of cash, as well as people who desperately need financial aid. It includes all the 13 million average people who are now credit union members, most of them with tomorrow's pay check already spent for the good things of life.

The credit union can help you, too, in more ways than you think.

YOUR CREDIT UNION IS LEGALLY CHARTERED FOR FINANCIAL SELF-SERVICE

Credit unions are chartered by the state, provincial, or federal government, and are incorporated under credit union law. The charters differ in some details, but they all provide for the same basic services.

The government that issues the charter supervises the credit union.

The first credit union in North America was founded in Canada in 1900. In 1909, the first credit union in the United States was founded in New Hampshire, and the first state credit union law was passed in Massachusetts. A Federal law permitting organization of credit unions anywhere in the United States was passed in 1934.

Under most laws, a credit union charter is granted to seven or more persons, and to a field of membership of 50 or more. Members must have a "common bond" of association—be employees of the same employer, or belong to the same church, fraternal group, labor union, co-op, or closely knit community.

it pays to save in the credit union

MORE THAN 13 MILLION MEMBERS HAVE PUT ABOUT 5.5 BILLION DOLLARS OF THEIR SAVINGS MONEY IN THEIR CREDIT UNIONS

The credit union gives you convenient, profitable savings service. "Savings" actually take the form of purchasing credit union shares, usually in units of $5 each. The only actual cost to members is the small membership fee.

The credit union is always handy, making saving as easy as possible. Usually it is located on the premises where members work, or conveniently nearby. Credit unions with scattered membership encourage regular saving by mail. Only $3.57 saved each week (with a 3% dividend) will total $1,000 in 5 years.

Your investment in credit union shares is withdrawable and is safe. This was dramatically proved during the depression years, when credit unions grew stronger than ever.

Dividends (paid on shares) in well-operated credit unions are extremely good. The average is well over 3%.

As a matter of fact, well-established and well-managed credit unions by the thousands are completely self-supporting, pay adequately the people they hire to do the work, maintain convenient and attractive offices, and still pay the highest return on investment of any savings institution in their communities.

Some not only do this; they also refund interest to the borrowing members.

it costs less to borrow at the credit union

ANOTHER BENEFIT OF THE CREDIT UNION IS CONVENIENT, LOW-COST LOAN SERVICE

Credit unions never charge more than 1% per month on the unpaid balance of a loan. This is a $6.50 charge on a $100 loan repaid in 12 monthly payments. The cost is reduced if a loan is paid in advance of schedule. The credit union invites you to advance-pay as much as possible to benefit from lowered cost. There are no penalties, no refinance charges.

When you borrow from your credit union, you deal as a member-owner, not as a customer. The difference is vast.

The loan terms are straightforward. You know exactly what your credit is going to cost—there can be no "pack," no extra fees, no hidden charges, no shift in the rate of interest charged.

why borrowing is different at the credit union

THE GREATEST DIFFERENCE IS THIS: THE CREDIT UNION EXISTS TO MEET NEEDS AND REQUIREMENTS OF MEMBERS, NOT TO MAKE MONEY ON THEM

You can borrow for virtually any worthwhile purpose—emergencies that demand cash, consolidation of pressing debts, installment purchases of every description. You can borrow when it's necessary, or when it's merely convenient. No good purpose is overlooked. Many members have learned the wisdom of borrowing to avoid withdrawal of hard-to-replace share savings.

The credit union expects to get its money back from borrowing members, and it does. But few loan requests are refused, and the member who meets unexpected difficulties can always expect friendly and understanding cooperation from his credit union.

credit unions have many safeguards

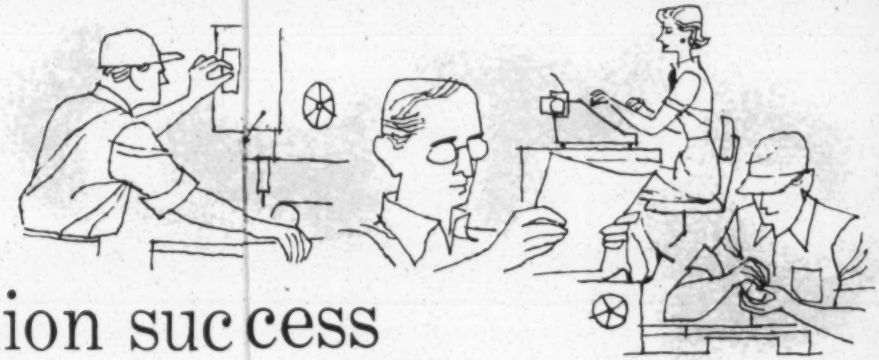
Credit union law requires the credit union to maintain ample reserve funds for possible bad loans. These funds have proved to be more than adequate. Based on available data, credit unions have had losses of approximately ⅕ of 1%.

A credit union auditing committee (supervisory or examining committee), elected by the members, examines the books periodically. The government also sends its examiners to the credit union once a year or more.

All persons who handle credit union funds or records are bonded.

Most credit unions provide Loan Protection insurance, insuring borrowers in the amount of their loan balances without extra cost. This protection (subject only to liberal age and health restrictions) cancels the loan if the borrower dies or is permanently disabled. The debt dies with the debtor, releasing co-signers and any property pledged as security.

But the best guarantee of the security of funds in the credit union is the character of the members who belong to it. The many thousands of credit unions operating today demonstrate how solid that security is.



MEMBERS ARE THE SECRET

# of credit union success

Credit unions seem to violate all laws of economics. Why can credit unions pay good dividends, and at the same time extend credit far more freely and at lower true cost in the long run than any other source of consumer financing?

The explanation is easy: credit unions require no heavy capital, no elaborate space, no competitive location. Most officers serve without pay. The borrowers are dependable, and losses are few.

But more important than low operating cost and negligible losses is the motivating power of the credit union. It comes from people like you who belong and use the services offered. Members make the credit union succeed.

credit unions are easy to understand

Credit union operation is not only safe, but simple as well. When a group of people obtain a charter, this is what they do:

1) put their money (shares) into a common fund—
2) elect some of their members (as directors) to manage the fund—
3) lend money to each other from the fund—
4) charge interest for the use of that money—
5) and with the interest (credit union income),
6) pay the cost of running the credit union, and then
7) distribute the rest of the earnings to shareholders (as dividends)

Management of the credit union is delegated to the board of directors. Directors are elected at organization meetings and thereafter at annual membership meetings. A Credit Committee is also elected to pass on all loan applications—and a Supervisory Committee is elected to check the books and guard the interests of the members.

Officers are president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary-clerk. They are elected by and from the board. Chairmen and secretaries of standing committees are named in some credit unions by the board, in some by the committees themselves.

The treasurer is the manager of the credit union, unless a manager is hired. The treasurer is the only *elected* officer who may be paid.

questions and answers

Q. **How much money may I put in the credit union?**

A. In only a few areas are there legal limits. Most credit unions encourage you to save as much as you can.

Q. **How much can I borrow from the credit union?**

A. Here the law does set limits, which vary with individual laws. The board is empowered to make further rules, but the most successful credit unions are generally the ones with the fewest loan restrictions.

Q. **Who gets the profits in the credit union?**

A. There is no profit. The credit union has no capital stock, no absentee owners. The members have the only claim on the assets. What money is left over after expenses can only be used for the good of the members.

Q. **Where does the credit union keep its money?**

A. Most of it is out in loans to members. A working balance is kept in a local bank. When shares greatly exceed loan needs, the excess can be loaned to other credit unions, or invested in government bonds and other approved outlets.

Q. **Who may join the credit union?**

A. Only the persons named in the charter as the field of membership may join the credit union or use its services. In most credit unions the field includes the member's immediate family.

Q. **How do members exercise their ownership?**

A. All members can vote at the annual meeting, when officers are elected and policies are decided. Nobody outside the credit union has any part in its management, policies, or operation.

Q. **What is an interest refund?**

A. An interest refund is a return of a portion of the interest paid on loans to the borrower. It is an increasingly popular way of reducing the already low cost of credit union loans.

how can you use your credit union

Start a savings program. Make regular purchases of shares, and keep your money growing.

Borrow when it helps you. For example, before you make your next major purchase "on time," check with your credit union on the true cost of the proposed transaction. Financing at the credit union will probably save you money.

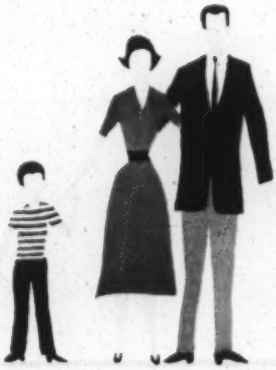
Be an active member—get interested! Hundreds of thousands of people in the United States and Canada have found credit unions and the way they help people an absorbing personal interest. As an owner of the credit union, it's your chance to accomplish solid and significant results—results that can affect the lives of every member of your group.

If you are not a member, remedy that right now. Go to your credit union office, or the nearest credit union officer or authorized representative, and sign up!

Take along your money problems, and begin working them out today.

Sign the card! Become a member-owner of your credit union.*

**And make it a joint account with your wife!*



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FORM M103
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

IDENTIFICATION

The Southern Rural Training Project is a manpower development project authorized by Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act. It was created by a contract between the United States Department of Labor (Office of Manpower, Automation and Training) and the National Sharecroppers Fund in order to help carry out the fundamental goal of Section 201 of the Act:

> *". . . promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training. . . ."*

OBJECTIVES

The project is designed to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, can assist in developing effective training programs that will help rural unemployed and underemployed to better their economic status. In its first year of operation the project has stimulated programs in Georgia, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Now in its second year, the Southern Rural Training Project will assist in developing programs in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Other Southern states may be added.

PROCEDURE

President Lyndon B. Johnson in his Manpower Report of March, 1964, said, "We must have new willingness to experiment with fresh approaches and put resulting knowledge to practical use."

In keeping with this approach, the Southern Rural Training Project staff, through local contacts with leadership of rural groups, helps to develop experimental and demonstration programs as well as other needed training programs. This work is done in cooperation with various interested groups, such as the State Employment Service, agricultural agencies, educational institutions, and other state and federal agencies concerned with training. At times these groups, despite their real interest in and desire for such government projects in their area, are understaffed and, consequently, cannot devote the time necessary to initiate these projects to reach the rural, hard-core unemployed and underemployed. Moreover, occasionally some agencies are geared more for the urban rather than rural disadvantaged persons. Thus our procedure, in working closely with the local sponsors of proposed projects, is to help develop effective working relationships with the various agencies and groups in the area in an attempt to bring desirable manpower development projects into existence.

THE FIRST YEAR

Several training projects of diverse patterns have been developed with the assistance of the Southern Rural Training Project staff during the first year of its operations. One, sponsored by Austin Peay State College, Tennessee, is a cooperative plan involving three TVA watershed community groups. It will train farm people, unemployed miners, and mountain people, and will test different selection procedures. A second, sponsored by the Chattanooga Public School system, will train a group of rural migrants in the city, together with a group from the rural supply areas; it will emphasize literacy and test various teaching methods. A third, sponsored by Fort Valley State College in Georgia, will train small farmers in farm management. A project sponsored by the Loyola Institute of Human Relations in New Orleans will train sugar-cane workers in the use of farm machinery. Another, also in Louisiana, is sponsored by St. Mary's Dominican College and will train rural young women as secretaries. Other projects are in the planning or idea stages.

In addition, the Southern Rural Training Project, under the provisions of a special amendment to its governing contract, has participated in a special program, in cooperation with the State Employment Service, designed to test and demonstrate suitable methods of bringing unemployed farm workers together with those who have need of their services.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a nonprofit, voluntary agency with more than twenty-five years' experience in working with Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm and rural families. Through this work NSF has gained contacts throughout the South and has developed programs for rural people who are hard to reach through normal governmental channels. In these programs NSF has worked cooperatively with many church leaders, educators, and community relations leaders, as well as with government officials.

OVER-ALL PURPOSE OF THE SRTP

The SRTP's activities will be geared to assist in achieving the fundamental goals of President Johnson's Active Manpower Policy:

- **to ascertain job needs**
- **to develop the abilities of our people**
- **to link the first two—to match people and jobs**

For information, write or phone

Dr. Sam F. Parigi, Director
Southern Rural Training Project
1407 Fifth Avenue, N.E.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37917
615/524-3451

PROJECT STAFF

DR. SAM F. PARIGI, Director of the Project, is an Associate Professor of Economics on leave from Lamar State College, Beaumont, Texas. Dr. Parigi is a member of the American Economic Association; the Industrial Relations Research Association; and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He is President-elect of the Lamar chapter of the Texas Association of College Teachers, 1965-1966, and is experienced in working with economically disadvantaged persons.

PETER L. PESOLI, Field Coordinator, is on a year's leave of absence from St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas, where he is an Associate Professor of English. Mr. Pesoli's background includes actively working with labor union organizations and minority underprivileged groups. He is a state officer in the Texas Regional Conference of American Association of University Professors.

FLORIDA - GEORGIA

ALFRED L. MORRIS, Field Representative, was formerly an Associate Professor of Business at the Fort Valley State College in Georgia and acting Department Chairman for five years. He has been the recipient of a number of research grants. He also has served as a Special Program Developer for the State of Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity.

→

LOUISIANA - MISSISSIPPI

WALTON H. SHARP, Field Representative, is a graduate of Lamar State College of Technology with a B.B.A. degree. He was formerly with Dun and Bradstreet in the areas of Houston and Beaumont, Texas.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA

L. S. JAMES, Field Representative, has completed residence requirements for the PhD Degree at the University of Pennsylvania, and is experienced in manpower development. His experience includes: President of Bowie State Teachers College, Principal of a Normal and Industrial School, Counseling Psychologist for the Veterans Administration, and Field Representative for the National Sharecroppers Fund and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

ALABAMA - TENNESSEE

ALBERT F. NEWALL, Field Representative, is a graduate of The University of Tennessee with a B.S. in Business Administration. As a member of a family corporation which has operated in several states, he is familiar with all phases of business management, especially manpower development and training.

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

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RAP

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

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KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37917
Telephone 615-524-3451

How the Credit Union Operates

Regular Saving

Members are encouraged to save regularly. (Savings are called "shares" in the credit union.) From this accumulated capital, loans are made to members for practically any good purpose at low interest. After expenses are paid and legal reserves set aside, the credit union's income is returned to the members in the form of dividends on their savings. Dividends are paid to encourage further thrift, and as a reasonable rental for the use of the members' money.

With the credit union's help, thousands of people have learned the habits of thrift and regular saving. People who had never saved before now began to put aside a little each payday. Today, credit union members have accumulated nearly **$7 billion of savings in the United States alone. Much of this money would never have been saved, except for the credit union.**

Life Savings Insurance

Many credit unions provide Life Savings insurance as an added inducement for thrift. This insurance is supplied to savers without extra charge. Under the plan, each eligible dollar a member saves (up to the agreed limit) before age 55 is matched with a dollar of life insurance. A decreasing scale applies to money saved after age 55.

Funds Are Protected

The funds in the credit union are protected in many ways. (1) the credit union operates under law and is supervised by the government. Government examiners inspect it regularly. (2) The supervisory (auditing) committee of members makes a constant check on the credit union's operation. (3) the law requires surety bonding and substantial reserves to protect the money against operational hazards. Throughout their history, credit unions have had an outstanding safety record.

Low Cost Borrowing

Credit union loans are personal loans, made for provident or productive purposes. Common reasons for borrowing include old bills, taxes, medical expenses, autos, vacations, home equipment, funerals, education, weddings, and family emergencies.

In some places, credit unions are permitted to make mortgage loans when surplus funds are available. But the main function of credit unions is to meet their members' needs for consumer credit.

The interest on credit union loans is never more than 1% per month on the unpaid balance. There are no extra charges. Credit unions' lower interest rates save money for members, and make more money available for other uses. Each year, many credit unions are able to refund to borrowers a portion of the interest they paid on loans.

Character Is Security

The character of the borrower is always the basic security for a credit union loan. Laws vary as to how much a credit union may lend to any one member, but it is common for a credit union to lend as much as $500 on the borrower's signature — and much more with additional security, such as a co-signer or chattel mortgage.

Loan Protection Insurance

Most credit unions provide Loan Protection insurance without extra charge for eligible borrowers. Under this plan, the borrower's loan balance is life-insured. The loan is automatically paid up in case the member dies or is disabled, so that his heirs do not inherit his debt to the credit union.

Credit Unions Around The World

The credit union idea is spreading rapidly throughout the free world. Credit unions now operate in more than 70 countries, and more are added each year. Through CUNA International, Inc., your credit union assists in the development of new credit unions in other parts of the world.

In many places, credit unions have dramatically improved living conditions. Until the credit union showed the way, it was seldom realized that people of extremely limited means could save, and by lending to each other at low interest, could provide their own capital for small-scale enterprise. Where there was only poverty and discouragement, the credit union has brought hope and success. People have been given their first incentive to save money, and the first opportunity in their lives to borrow money at a reasonable rate.

Just as important, they have received experience in practical democracy, which results when people own and operate their own credit unions.

What a Credit Union Is

A credit union is a group of people who agree to save their money together and to make loans to each other at low interest.

A credit union is organized by members of a particular group — for instance, people working for the same employer; people who belong to the same fraternal order, church, or labor union; or people who live in the same closely knit community. Membership is open to all in the group, regardless of race, color, or creed.

Credit unions are democratic. The members elect their own officers and committeemen and set policies for the credit union at the annual meeting.

The History of Credit Unions

beginnings in Europe

The credit union idea began over 100 years ago. Friedrich Raiffeisen, mayor of a small German community, devised a credit society in 1849 to help his townspeople combat poverty and usury. He reasoned that the members could save money together and make loans to each other at a low interest rate. The borrower's character would be the primary security for the loan.

Raiffeisen's idea was a success. Before he died in 1888 he had started more than 425 credit unions. His idea spread to other countries and remains the basic idea of credit unions today. He is considered the father of the credit union movement.

developments in North America

The credit union idea was brought to North America by Alphonse Desjardins (1854-1920), a legislative reporter in Quebec. Deciding that credit unions would be the answer to the usury that plagued his people, he founded his first credit union at Levis, Quebec, in 1900. Six years later, Quebec passed the first credit union law in North America. In 1909, Desjardins started the first U.S. credit union (in New Hampshire), and assisted with passage of the first U.S. credit union law (in Massachusetts).

Edward A. Filene, a famous Boston storekeeper, was responsible for the rapid spread of credit unions in the United States. Filene saw the credit union as a way to put buying power through low-cost credit into the hands of working people. He spent over a million dollars of his personal fortune to support the development of credit unions in America.

◀ *Read how credit unions are serving today*

Credit Union Organizations

Credit unions have been working hand in hand effectively since 1921, when Edward Filene set up the Credit Union National Extension Bureau. This organization began immediately to win public support, to get laws passed, to establish new credit unions, and to enlist volunteers. Today there are credit unions in every state and province of the United States and Canada, and in many other parts of the world, served by their own credit union leagues.

Leagues

A league of credit unions is a voluntary association supported by the credit unions within a given state, province, or other geographical area. The league is governed by its member credit unions and is supported by their dues.

In addition to founding new credit unions, the league offers its credit unions management advice and bookkeeping assistance; legal counsel; representation before legislative bodies and supervisory agencies; training programs for credit union officers; public relations assistance; insurance counseling; and other essential services. In addition, the league acts as chief liaison with the other service organizations credit unions have established.

Chapters

Credit unions of a community or specific geographical area may join to form a chapter. Chapters sponsor educational programs, and may undertake joint promotion and public relations projects.

CUNA International, Inc.

(formerly Credit Union National Association)

CUNA is the international association which serves all credit union leagues. Through their leagues, credit unions receive from CUNA the services and materials best supplied by a central international source to supplement the league program. Even more important, CUNA is the unifying force in the progress of the credit union movement.

Like the leagues, CUNA is a non-profit, dues-supported membership organization. Membership in CUNA is automatic for the members of the affiliated leagues. A portion of each dues dollar paid to the league is forwarded to CUNA to support its part in the service program provided for credit unions. In areas where there is no league, credit unions may affiliate directly with CUNA. CUNA headquarters are located in Filene House, Madison, Wisconsin, **with a Canadian office at Toronto, Ontario.**

Cuna Supply Cooperative

CUNA Supply Cooperative is the central production unit and "mail order house" of the credit union movement. It is a separate non-profit corporation, wholly owned by the member leagues. CUNA Supply serves credit unions through the league supply departments or directly from Madison, Wisconsin, **or Toronto, Ontario.**

Cuna Mutual Insurance Society

The CUNA Mutual Insurance Society is the credit union insurance company. It serves credit unions and their members with an insurance program wholly oriented to the purposes and objectives of the credit union movement, including Loan Protection and Life Savings insurance. CUNA Mutual is a separate corporation, affiliated with CUNA. As a mutual company it returns all income after operating expenses and reserves to its policyowners in the form of dividends.

Why Employers Approve of Credit Unions

Over two-thirds of all credit unions serve employee groups. Management overwhelmingly supports credit unions because of the many benefits derived by company and workers alike. Among these are:

- Garnishments, loan requests, and pay advances drop sharply after a credit union begins operations in a plant. Workers who have financial difficulties are referred to the credit union. This saves management time, money, and headaches.
- Credit unions are good for employee relations. Surveys show that workers rate the credit union above other benefits.
- Financial worries rank high as causes of accidents, absenteeism, poor work, personnel directors report. A credit union helps employees solve their financial problems. They can borrow what they need without loss of dignity or self-respect.
- Serving as volunteer directors in the credit union gives employees first-hand experience and insight into business problems that make them more valuable employees.
- Employees take personal responsibility for their own financial affairs. Management doesn't have to get involved with a man's personal problems when the credit union handles them. Since the credit union is a separate corporation owned and operated entirely by the employees, the company has no legal or financial responsibility for it.

How to Organize a Credit Union

1. Any group of 100 or more people (50 in some cases) may qualify for starting a credit union provided they have some clear tie or relationship that holds the group together. It may be the place where they work, or where they live. It may be the church where they worship, or an organization to which they belong.

2. To get the help and basic information needed, contact your league, or write CUNA at the address below. Free literature will be sent. Also, an experienced league representative will answer your questions and guide you in working out the necessary details of the organization process.

3. Study the literature and discuss it with rank and file people who will give support to forming a credit union. Next get the leadership of the group to agree to the idea. This may be the employer of an industrial group, the priest or minister of a church group.

4. When the way is clear, request a meeting of the potential signers of the charter application. A wide representation from various departments or areas of the membership group is desirable.

5. In two to four weeks, a charter should be issued by the government. An organization meeting is then held to elect a board of directors, who in turn choose the officers. The league representative will assist at this meeting and afterwards will help train the new officers in their duties.

For further information, consult your league. If there is no league in your area, write directly to:

CUNA International, Inc.
(formerly Credit Union National Association)
Post Office Box 431, Madison, Wisconsin 53701

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administration RAP

credit unions

- *What they are*
- *How they operate*
- *How to join*
- *How to start one*

RURAL PROBLEMS

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1965

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
by Fay Bennett, Executive Director

"There still lies ahead the establishment for migrant farm labor of the standards of both decency and efficiency which are characteristic of other employment in this country."

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in Year of Transition: Seasonal Farm Labor, 1965

"I used to wonder how all my white neighbors got such fine cows and fine pastures and fine tractors. I kept snooping around and I found out my white neighbors were getting loans from the government. My [county] agent hadn't told me that!"

Participant in Alabama Conference on Governmental Anti-Poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People, co-sponsored by NSF

"I think I've been on strike all my days 'cause I've been suffering all my days. I don't mind suffering . . . Let me suffer till I get to the good . . . . For God's sake stop grumbling and see the thing right."

Mrs. Adkins of Shaw, Mississippi, in statewide Mississippi Freedom Labor Union Meeting, Sept. 4, 1965

The Year in Brief

1965 was a year of transition and hope for hired farm workers, of dispossession and struggle for marginal farmers. The end of dependence on foreign contract workers and the proof that domestic workers were available if jobs met minimum standards characterized the transition. Strike action and union organization marked a new militancy among farm workers. Continued mechanization made thousands of sharecroppers "expendable" and day laborers idle, as economic change was brutally speeded by evictions following voter registration and other civil rights activities. The war on poverty moved into southern rural areas but its pace lagged far behind the national effort.

Fewer and Richer Farms; Fewer and Poorer People

Between 1939 and 1964, 2.4 million farms disappeared; 95 per cent of them were small farms with less than $2,500 in annual gross sales, and about a fourth of them were worked by sharecroppers. Only about 1.5 million small farms are left now. In the same period, the number of farms with gross sales of $10,000 and more rose two and one-half times. In the South, three million people have left the land since 1940. Most of those forced off southern farms have been Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have migrated to northern and western ghetto communities. (At one point they were flocking to the Watts area in Los Angeles at the rate of 1,000 a month.)

The displacement of people from southern farms may be accounted for by many factors. Chief among these is continued mechanization. Mechanical cotton pickers and grain harvesters are eliminating sharecropping in the deep South, leaving only half a million day laborers. In the Delta area, 95 per cent of the cotton will be machine-picked in 1966--in contrast with 69 per cent in 1965--and 20,000 more farm laborers will be made idle. The coming mechanization of tobacco will have a similar effect in states just to the north of the cotton belt. Across the continent in California, about a third of the 1965 tomato crop--116,000 acres--was reaped by 262 machines; in 1966, a major portion of the tomatoes will be planted for machine harvesting.

Hundreds of farmers are being dispossessed in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for participating in civil rights activities. The dispossession of others will be speeded by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965; in the Mississippi Delta alone, one-third of the 925,000 cotton acres will be taken out of production.

Productivity continues to rise. The labor of one farm worker supplied the farm product needs of 11 people in 1940, 15 in 1950, 26 in 1960, and 33 in 1964.

Hired Farm Workers

There are about 2.5 million households with one or more members who do some hired farm work during the year. More than half of these live below the poverty level (defined as less than $3,000 income from all sources); in this group are more than 80 per cent of the non-white families, and more than 70 per cent of the families headed by a migrant.

In 1964, the last year for which full figures are available, there were approximately 664,000 full-time farm workers in the United States and about 2.5 million seasonal workers. Of these, about 386,000 were migratory workers and 272,000 of them did 25 or more days' work during the year. In 1964, migrants worked an average of 131 days at farm and nonfarm work and earned an average of $1,240. Nearly half (44 per cent) of them did both farm and nonfarm work with average earnings of $585 at farm work and $1,049 at nonfarm work. Those who did only farm work averaged $935 in annual earnings. A special wage survey made by the Department of Labor in May, 1965, covered 1.5 million farm wage workers. Seventy per cent of them were paid less than $1.25 an hour. More than one-third (in the South, 54 per cent) were paid less than 75 cents an hour.

Safety. The National Safety Council has again branded agriculture as one of the most hazardous of all industries. In 1965, agriculture ranked below only the mining and construction industries in death rate. It had the largest total number of deaths, 3,200, and 270,000 disabling injuries.

Children. More than one-fourth of the entire hired farm working force are young people less than 17 years of age. (In 1962, farm wage worker households with less than $3,000 income included 3 million members not yet 18, about 27 per cent of all children and youth in the poverty sector.) There is as yet no national legislation to prevent child labor in agriculture outside of school hours, as there is in other industries. "Crop vacations" are common from Maine to Louisiana, nullifying the school-hour protection. In the year ending June 30, 1965, Department of Labor inspectors found 2,300 farms violating child labor laws and a total of 7,076 children under 16 working during school hours. More than half of these were in the 10-13 age bracket.

Housing and Health. Despite the existence of new government programs providing financial aid for farm labor housing, too many farm worker families still live in miserable conditions. Investigation into an alleged labor shortage in Florida last spring uncovered these conditions:

> ". . . There are no camps in Dade County with indoor plumbing for each cabin. The electrical outlet provides a bare bulb for light. . . . Sometimes burlap is the only privacy between rooms. The floors and walls are generally bare, unpainted planks. Families with 10 and 12 children can live in one two-room shack for $8 to $10 a week. . . .'A new camp would have to live up to the letter of the law,' says [one] Sanitation Inspector. . . .'That's why there are so few new camps.' "

Small wonder that migrant families are more prone to illness than others; that diarrhea is chronic among children; parasitic and fungal diseases common; neglect of teeth, eye, and ear ailments prevalent.

Foreign Workers. 1965 was the year of transition for farm labor, domestic and foreign. Mexican braceros, always the bulk of foreign contract workers, were no longer available under Public Law 78, which had expired. The challenge of attracting a sufficient number of domestic workers to replace them had to be met and, for the most part, was met. Use of foreign labor was reduced 83 per cent, from 634,000 man-months (equivalent to 52,800 full-time jobs) in 1964, to 110,000 man-months (9,200 jobs) in 1965; Mexican labor was reduced 95 per cent. In 1964, there had been

178,000 Mexican contract workers in 17 states; in 1965, there were 20,300, all in California. The use of British West Indians did not decrease proportionately. In 1964, there were 14,000; in 1965, although there were 14,100 in Florida alone, man-months dropped from 81,000 to 64,000; but there were also 1,340 BWI's working in apples and 800 in tobacco. The number of Canadians imported to New England states dropped from 8,000 in 1964 to 4,484 in 1965--3,627 in potatoes and 857 in apples. Of the 1,080 Japanese and 110 Filipinos in the United States at the end of 1964, 200 Japanese remained by the end of 1965. All of the temporary workers imported in 1965 came in under P. L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Average hourly wages for farm workers rose from $1.08 to $1.14, the largest one-year increase since the Korean War. Crop values were up even in the three crops--asparagus, strawberries, and pickle cucumbers--where crop losses may have been attributable in part to labor shortages. The price of fresh fruits and vegetables went down in 1965 (by 4.5 per cent, comparing November, 1964, to November, 1965), while the Consumer Price Index rose 1.7 per cent.

Farm Worker Organization

Large-scale militant union activity among farm workers developed in 1965 in widely separated parts of the country.

Cotton choppers and pickers, paid $2.50 or $3.00 for a 10-hour day, formed 90 per cent of the membership of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union; but they were joined by tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part-time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers, and renters. The MFLU demands were for a $1.25 an hour minimum wage, an 8½-hour day with time-and-a-half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance, and equal employment practices. Evicted strikers and croppers set up a tent city. If MFLU cannot bring the huge plantation owners to the bargaining table, it may at least focus national attention on the need for alternatives for the poor people of the cotton country.

The grape strike broke out after Filipino workers returned from Coachella Valley, California, where they had received $1.40 an hour plus an incentive piece rate, to Delano where wages were $1.25 and the incentive smaller. They called for help from the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. When employers refused to discuss wages, working conditions, and a union contract, between six and eight hundred workers struck. Within two weeks, 1,200 Mexican-Americans, organized in the National Farm Workers Association, joined them. Harrassment and arrests by employers and local authorities were constant. The strike continued from the picking season into pruning, the beginning of the next crop year. (In 1966, Schenley Industries has recognized the union and the Di Giorgio Corporation has suggested an election.)

Other areas were affected. At Lantana, on the East Coast of Florida, 14 farm workers struck, demanding a wage increase, but lost; just south of Lantana a strike was averted when demands were met. A wage increase was secured in the Pompano Beach area by a strike threat coupled with a labor shortage. A five-day strike of 800 British West Indian cane cutters at the Okeelanta Sugar Refinery was lost. The Steelworkers union organized Cypress Gardens Citrus Products, Inc., of Eloise, Florida's largest multi-purpose citrus plant, as the beginning of an organizing drive. In Louisiana, the Fish, Seafood, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 secured for Gulf Coast pogy boatmen their first over-all pay increase in 25 years. Local 300, affiliated with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, includes dairy, sugar, and rice workers in addition to the fishermen.

Legislation

Congress moved slowly in 1965 on bills which proposed coverage for farm workers under minimum wage requirements, child labor regulations, collective bargaining guarantees, and unemployment compensation. Although both Senate and House worked on separate, similar bills, only one piece of legislation --a House proposal to include

farm laborers under minimum wage coverage--was reported favorably out of Committee, but it did not come up for a vote before the session ended. (In March, 1966, a new minimum wage bill was reported favorably out of Committee.) In September, 1965, a proposal to transfer the authority to import foreign workers in times of domestic labor shortage from the Labor Secretary to the Agriculture Secretary was narrowly defeated.

More action was seen in state legislatures than in some years. Five states strengthened regulations governing housing and sanitary conditions. California enacted the first law requiring employers to provide sanitary facilities in the fields. Texas now requires a tuberculosis examination for persons seeking migratory work. Florida and Michigan set safety standards for motor vehicles used to transport migratory workers, and California improved its vehicle code. North Dakota deleted the exemption for agricultural workers from its minimum wage law, but Michigan suspended coverage of certain agricultural operations. New Jersey broadened its wage payment and collection law to include agricultural workers. Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Oregon amended workmen's compensation laws to provide some coverage for agricultural workers.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. In 1965 FHA loaned more than $798 million to help 12,186 farm families buy, enlarge, or develop farms; gave short-term operating credit to 118,000; assisted more than 12,000 with antipoverty loans; loaned $13 million which provided new or improved housing for more than 5,500 rural persons aged 62 and older; and gave credit assistance to 388 rural communities to construct water systems. Unfortunately, however, generations of discrimination have produced such inequalities that many Negro farmers cannot now meet qualifications for loans. In several Southern states, little change is yet visible. The number of farmers who have applied but not received loans is not known, and others have not even applied either because they do not know how or because they are sure they will be rejected.

ASCS. According to Department of Agriculture reports as of December 30, 1965, in the 1965 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections 12,471 Negroes were on the ballot for various offices in 14 southern states. None was elected either member or first alternate to a County Committee but five were elected second alternates. On the Community Committees, 85 were elected regular members, 131 first alternates, and 303 second alternates. Without members on County Committees, Negro farmers still lack the effective representation needed to change traditional discriminatory policies. Reports from Deep South states indicate that in some areas elected Negro members are not being notified of Community Committee meetings or allowed to participate in their activities.

Office of Economic Opportunity. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 made possible, under Title III-B, programs for farm workers in education, sanitation, day care, and self-help housing. In 1965, OEO granted some $26 million in Title III-B funds to 65 public and private nonprofit organizations in 20 states. Around 350 VISTA volunteers are working with migrants. Under EOA's rural loan programs, nearly 25,000 rural families received $36.5 million in 13 months (including January, 1966), and in southern states, nearly 40 per cent of the family loans have been made to Negro borrowers. OEO has financed small machinery cooperatives, and more than half of these are made up partly or entirely of Negro farmers. EOA made possible additional projects under Community Action Program auspices, but the most impoverished communities--mainly in the rural South--have received the least antipoverty funds, because they lack the organization and technical help needed to initiate projects.

Training Programs. Since 1962, more than 20,000 persons have been trained in agricultural skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Act. Training is also given in basic literacy skills and for nonfarm occupations in areas where workers are needed. Hundreds of thousands are in need of such training as their old agricultural occupations are disappearing.

A Program for Rural America

The crises of American cities and farms, so different on the surface, are inextricably bound together. Dramatic evidence is the annual migration of a million people from rural to urban areas.

Remedial programs are needed to raise the living standards of rural people: inclusion of farm workers in all the protections of social legislation that benefit industrial workers; increased programs of loans and technical assistance to enable small farmers to remain on the land and to raise their income levels.

But beyond that, a program is needed large enough to meet the human needs of the rural areas:

* A million new rural homes are needed in the next ten years, and two and one-half million homes need major repairs.
* Rural medical, hospital, nursing, and dental services must be brought up to urban standards.
* Educational facilities must be increased at least to urban levels, requiring a 40 per cent greater investment in education, including construction of approximately 50,000 new classrooms.
* 30,000 rural town water and sewage systems are needed.

Vocational training and remedial education are needed to equip people for employment in these construction and development projects. The training of professionals to staff increased facilities will call for a steadily expanding number of educators and educational institutions. Following the basic medical and educational services should come a host of other social, cultural, and recreational facilities and personnel.

From a quarter to a half million new jobs could be created to meet the basic and expanding needs of the rural areas. On the basis of the new job-created incomes, the disappearing small towns of stagnating rural economies will become thriving small cities with new needs, new construction, new business, in a spiraling cycle of activity.

National Sharecroppers Fund

*has field representatives in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, helping poverty-stricken people to help themselves, bringing knowledge of federal assistance programs available, and working to end discrimination in their implementation. (Four representatives work under the Rural Advancement Project, NSF's cooperative program with the Southern Regional Council and the State Councils on Human Relations.)

*set up the Southern Rural Training Project under contract with the Department of Labor to stimulate and develop training programs for the hard-core rural poor.

*carried on a crash five-month Farm Labor Counseling Program to advise unemployed rural poor about criteria farm jobs, training opportunities, and other means of increasing their employability and income.

*works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy, and to protect them from the unfair competition of foreign contract labor.

*supports the efforts of farm workers in organizing unions and low-income farmers in organizing cooperatives.

*works with government and other private agencies to help low-income rural people secure a better life.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND -- 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

Rural Problems

April 8, 1966

Memorandum on Policy and Program to End Poverty in Rural America

NOTE: The Board of Directors of the National Sharecroppers Fund at its February, 1966, meeting heard a presentation of the needs and potentialities of rural areas by a government agricultural expert. After discussion by Board members about the relative public and private investment required; how to avoid poverty-scale living; how areas could be developed without the entrance of industry; and problems of uneconomic farming; the following statement of problems and policies was evolved.

In twentieth century America, rural and urban society are rapidly becoming one in people, economy, and development.

In rural America, with a population of 55.4 million, 600,000 young people annually are seeking work both on and off the farms. But at present no new job opportunities are being created in the rural areas. Adding to these young people the others who are displaced by continuing advances in agricultural technology, the result is a forced migration of about a million people annually out of the rural areas.

The current Mississippi crisis, with evicted families sleeping-in in government facilities in Mississippi and camping-in in Washington to dramatize their plea for aid, is only one indication of a continuing dilemma. For every 1,000 acres of cotton that is mechanized and weeded with chemicals, a "surplus" of 50 rural families is created. Cotton in the southeastern states is presently 60 per cent modernized and may reach 90 per cent this year. Furthermore, the old South is expected to lose one-third of its cotton acreage base because of market conditions and competition from Arizona, Texas and California. Within 10 years, the by-product will be more than 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 Southern states. When the whole rural economy is considered, this process will send 45 million displaced "surplus" people to the cities in the next few decades. An additional three million families may be forced out of farming and other rural employment because of the deterioration of the rural economy over the same period.

Most of the migrating people are poor. In fact, almost half of the nation's people who live below the poverty level are in rural areas, yet they are receiving less assistance from the anti-poverty program than other parts of the country; only about 10 per cent of OEO funds are thus far spent in rural areas. Thus, without help to climb out of poverty where they are, the rural poor move to the cities and, unskilled and ill-educated, swell the ranks of the urban poor. They move into already crowded ghettos, increasing existing tension, raising social and financial costs, and bringing civil disorder nearer.

Urban poverty cannot be ended until poverty is ended at its source, the blighted countryside.

This is not essentially a race problem. More than two-thirds of the displaced families will be white, the rest Negro. But the Negroes are usually forced out first because centuries of deprivation and discrimination have made their hold on land, jobs and homes so marginal.

Meanwhile, the over-all national population increase in the next 35 years will be about 150 million people. Our 210 cities cannot hold them. An expansion of the rural economy to support rural population increase, plus a merging of the urban society into the rural sector, is necessary for accommodation of the expected new millions. There is at present no evidence of adequate long- or short-range planning for the social and economic adjustments necessitated by this population expansion and migration.

The rural problem, most crucially evident in the destitution of rural people, is actually a problem of all American society because an inability to revitalize the rural economy will paralyze necessary expansion of the entire economy. A policy of drift that assumes, for instance, a doubling of New York's population from 10 to 20 million without any plans for meeting the situation is incompatible with American social and political objectives and aspirations and, indeed, with the survival of democracy itself.

An important political aspect of the population shift is an expected attrition of farm voting base to only one per cent in 1980. It has already dropped from 18 per cent in 1945 to six per cent in 1966. This means a comparable shift of political and legislative responsibility to urban people who must now understand and write both farm and rural legislation. Considering the potential saving of excessive welfare costs, urban redevelopment costs, and tax losses from people with no income, urban people have a vital interest in developing an expanding economic base for people in rural areas.

The search for realistic public policies to meet the crisis depends first on rejection of the ideas that (a) drifting will solve the problem; (b) the problem cannot be solved; or (c) that 1930-65 policies and public programs may suffice. Whoever offers programs adequate for expansion of the total economy, rural and urban, and to serve the basic needs of the people, should win the elections from 1968 to 2000. The effective political force behind these ideas must be city-based, but supplemented by creative rural leadership and the dynamics of the civil rights movement in America.

Significant components of such a program for American rural development should include:

1. Construction of one million new rural houses and the major repair of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million dilapidated ones during the next ten years. This should create 250,000 new jobs annually, plus employment of vocational and craft teachers who will be needed to help create a skilled labor force.

2. Creation of medical, hospital, nursing and dental services for rural people up to the urban standard. This should create another 10,000 new jobs a year. Training and scholarships for education in medical and dental service fields are needed.

3. Improvement of the rural education service by building 50,000 new class-rooms and investing 40 per cent more in rural education. This should create 10,000 additional new jobs a year. The new occupational capacity, with new employment, will create a new tax base to recover the costs.

4. Planning, engineering and construction of 30,000 rural town water and sewer systems. This should create 18,000 new jobs annually. It will fulfill the nation's commitment to raise the rural living environment up to the existing urban level.

5. The vocational training and remedial education services needed to prepare people for work on these construction and development projects will employ about 20,000 skilled personnel annually.

The entire project is financially solvent, since new incomes will create both a loan repayment base and an adequate new tax base to recover public costs. A tax-paying man will exist for every $50,000 of new trade, and ample new trade is in sight. The public investment needed is $6 billion a year, all recoverable, with Congress and the Treasury Department acting as the banker.

Private investment of $10 billion directed to rural areas, out of $80 billion invested annually in total national capital expansion, will be needed to expand the rural economy sufficiently, including construction of about 200 new medium-sized rural cities to accommodate population increases.

A re-direction of 2½ per cent of urban-consumer spending toward purchase of rural commodities, instead of city-manufactured commodities, will be required to restore American agriculture to a solvent basis. This investment will be recovered in national tax income and avoidance of excessive welfare, crime, delinquency, and urban service costs.

The alternative to such a program is a growing rate of institutional poverty whose total social cost would be about $40,000 per dependent family in a large city.

New rural city development without an industrial base is a creative possibility in this program. The existing policy of rural-city development around transplanted industries or so-called "industrial nodes" requires re-examination. Work force needs are declining in basic manufacturing, and the national employment expansion is in the field of occupations in which people serve each other. This phenomenon makes it possible to locate a planned rural city any where with a sound economy based on service occupations, such as trade, recreation, property maintenance, medical service, education, baby sitting, construction to serve expanding population, transport, and cultural activities.

If an industry is needed and feasible, mobile power units can be available to locate the industry anywhere that it is desired. For example, if a new rural city is desired in Southern Alabama, technological trade and employment resources make this possible. Relatives may visit relatives in any 100-mile radius. Jobs may exist nearby the residences of working people who will commute to their jobs.

Only such a development program can lay the basis for eliminating poverty permanently in the United States. The minimum annual saving will be the $2 billion which poverty is estimated to cost the nation.

The fear that an adequate program for rural development cannot be financed due to competition for funds for military purposes is unjustified. The war in Viet Nam, costing $18 billion annually, is still only a subordinate expenditure in a $700 billion national economy. The financing of such a war should not impair the steady development of the American economy or the rendering of ever-greater services to an expanding population. The only really wrong policy would be to stop expansion and curtail services. A vigorous America requires healthy, well-educated, and usefully-employed citizens.

National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York 10003

RURAL PROBLEMS

Half of Nation's Poor Are Down on the Farm

EDITOR'S NOTE — City slums are spectacular, but half the nation's poor are down on the farm. The fight on rural poverty has just begun, and already it is plain—the problems are immense, and progress will be slow. But the fight goes on—against bad schooling, big families, racial antipathy and the flight to the slums.

By ARTHUR EDSON

FRIENDSHIP, Tenn., May 7 (AP)—She dropped out of school during the fifth grade, and at 14 married a sturdy young man of 20 who had reckoned that six years of education were plenty.

Now, nine years later, Mr. and Mrs. Ray Sharp still live in these rolling hills of Crockett county in Western Tennessee. Sharp gets his house rent free and $6 a day as a farm worker — on days when farm work is wanted.

Yet their future looks moderately promising because they and the federal government are allies in a small but enthusiastic war on poverty. Their poverty.

"I've cut 'taters' till I look like one," Olene Sharp said cheerfully after helping slice 400 pounds of seed potatoes.

Under the poverty program, the Sharps got a $1,940 loan so they could buy a second-hand truck, a small tractor, a chain saw.

WHEN OTHER work isn't available, Sharp can tend his own cabbage, sweet corn and potatoes. And, by cutting posts and doing hauling jobs, he made $700 during the winter. Not spectacular, maybe, but manna to the Sharps whose income previously had been $700 for an entire year.

No longer is Sharp alarmed when no job is available.

"On my own, I'll make right smart more," he said. "Before that loan, I couldn't move, so I just sit."

The chances appear good that the Sharps will repay the $1,490 they owe the nation's taxpayers, plus the 4⅛ per cent interest.

In her modest but tidy home, chatting with her sister-in-law, Patsy Jean Warren, from Frog Jump, Tenn., Mrs. Sharp looked confidently ahead.

SHE SAID she hopes her 2-year-old daughter will stay in school longer than she did

Associated Press Photos

GOVERNMENT LOAN GAVE RAY SHARP HOPE
Winter Earnings Made a Big Difference

Farmers Home Administrator, described what happens:

"The average out-migrant finds himself only qualified for the unskilled labor market. He has a lack of culture needed for city living, and he goes into the slum areas and on to the welfare rolls."

Because violent disagreements rage over even simple definitions, any discussion of the poor runs into dismaying problems.

AT WHAT precise point do you become poor? The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) says a family of four needs an annual income of $3,140 if it's in a city or $2,190 if it's in a rural area.

Do the impoverished want work? Or do they prefer welfare?

Is President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty designed to raise incomes of the poor or is it, as some Republicans claim, neatly arranged to help the politicians in an

ly in the rural South. So a visitor, familiar with the stories of violence and hatreds, is understandably surprised at evidences of inter-racial cooperation.

Take Clarksdale, Miss., Coahoma county seat in the fertile Mississippi river delta.

As the richest cities maintain the vilest slums, so the richest farm lands are surrounded by some of the most forlorn poor. An Agriculture Department map, with a dot for each 500 poor rural families, shows poverty in all 50 states, but along the lower Mississippi the dots are so thick they become solid black.

KING COTTON is blamed. Once this nation planted 40 million acres of cotton. Because of new fertilizers and technology, plus competition from synthetics, cotton acreage has been whacked to 10.5 million acres, this year's cuts alone will affect another 1,000 workers in Coahoma county.

standing vacant, but now it rattled with the excitement of 101 pre-school youngsters, all from families of the very poor.

SAMPLE COMMENTS from teachers on its integrated faculty:

"One little boy had never seen a toy before. He didn't do anything the first day but stand around and look."

"That girl gets hysterical whenever a man approaches. I don't know what terrible experience she has had."

"I was surprised at what these children couldn't do. One couldn't ride a tricycle, and one couldn't eat with a spoon."

"Those two little boys don't have shoes" — the morning was chilly — "but the bus driver said the mother didn't have shoes either."

SUNFLOWER SCHOOL is in a poor white community, but during its first week not one white child enrolled.

The hope is that white mothers, noting the two free meals a day and the free medical examinations, will be lured into sending their children, too.

Coahoma Opportunities also provides legal aid, a credit union, a job development program and adult education for seasonal workers.

It is far too soon to judge if it is accomplishing anything, but it is not too soon to realize how immense are the difficulties.

Bennie Gooden, who became assistant executive director of the Clarksdale Project after a stint as teacher in a Negro junior college, lists these reasons for the slow start in the South:

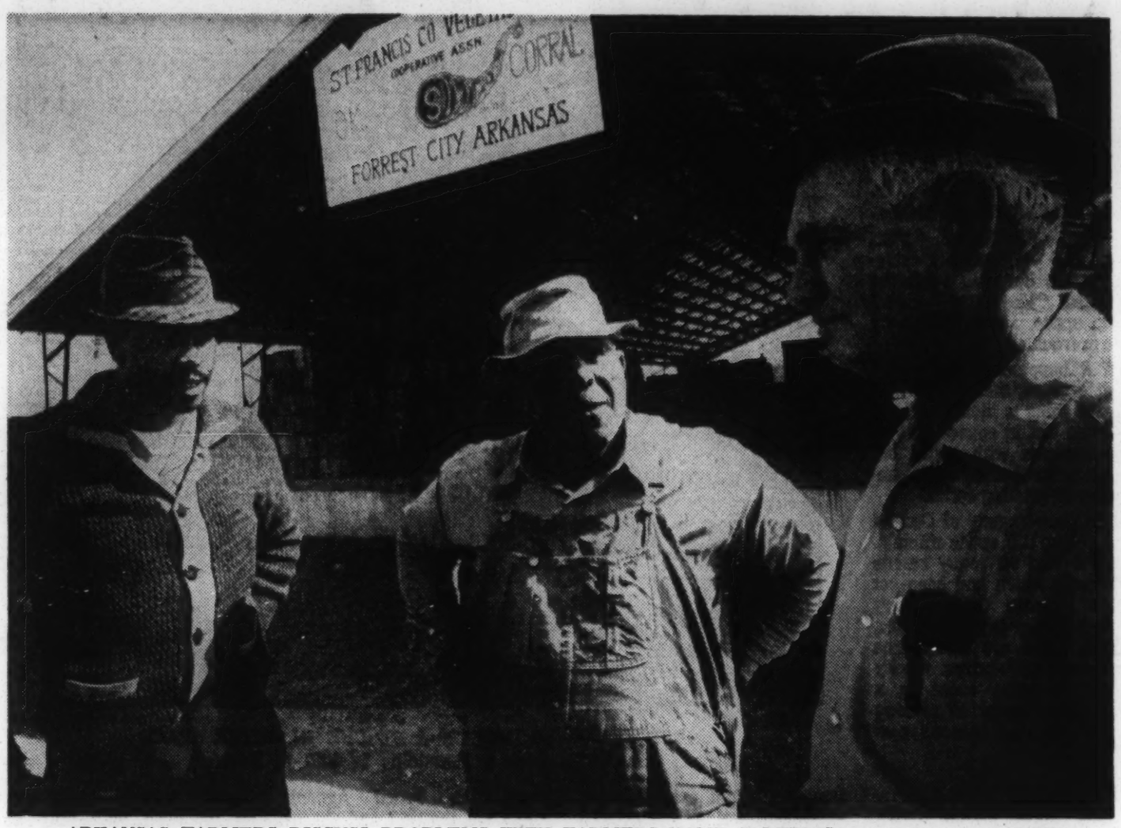
—Racial antipathies remain strong in the country. "A lot of communities aren't ready to comply with civil rights requirements."

—Many of the more competent Negroes, who might have given leadership, have fled the South.

—Apathy abounds.

—Practically, there are few places to meet in rural areas. Country churches usually are the rallying point, but many don't have basements and there's a reluctance to use the sanctuary itself.

ABOVE all, Gooden claims, the administration anti-poverty plan has a glaring flaw



ARKANSAS FARMERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS WITH FARMERS HOME SUPERVISOR JOHN KNOX, RIGHT
Rufus and Oliver Banks Are Members of the St. Francis County Vegetable Growers' Assn.

bert Gillespie. He took in $500 last year, his farm expenses came to $1,000 and he has a family of eight.

Farm mechanization has perhaps made least headway with fresh produce. This gives the poor a chance to provide the required hand labor, but presents an additional problem: Perishables must be sold quickly.

Again, cooperatives supply an answer, with government loans available to build the huge sheds where participating farmers can peddle their wares to wholesalers.

John F. Knox, the Farmers Home supervisor in Forrest City, Ark., says of the poor in his area: "They're not stupid, but they're not too well educated. You didn't need much education to deal with a mule."

HERE, as in other rural counties all over the nation, the population has been steadily eroding. "You don't realize it until you have a funeral," Knox said. "Half the survivors are from California and the other half are from Illinois."

How do you stop this constant draining away of the rural population? (Last year, as usual, another 100,000 family farms quietly disappeared.)

Curiously, one problem that vexes many large cities also bothers hamlets. Both may have inadequate water supplies.

The residents of Pulaski, Ill., are using a $116,000 government loan to dig two wells and install a filtering system. This Southern Illinois town once had 700 to 800 population; now it's dwindled to around 400.

ROY CRAIG, the Farmers Home supervisor from Anna, Ill., was saying: "The trouble with your wells is that they are shallow and polluted."

The town clerk, Bill Heilig, agreed. "That's the billy goat from tail to the horns," he said.

Mayor James L. Curry, who runs the general store, says any small industry hunting a plant site begins by asking, how is your water supply?

So until it gets water the town not only will lack industry, but also every time there is a fire the truck will roar up and pour on water for exactly four minutes. That's how long it takes to exhaust the water in the truck's tank.

BUT IT'S the poor, as individuals, who keep coming to mind.

M. L. Graham, a Negro farmer near Pulaski . . . This father of 11 was feeling so poorly last year that his wife handled the cotton crop. On the day he was to have a prostate operation his house burned to the ground. His cotton was sold for around $300, and here came M. L. Graham to pay the government the $150 he owed it.

"I never hated to take a man's money so much in my life," Roy Craig said.

"IF YOU PROMISE a person a thing, you got to stick to your word," Graham said.

Julius J. Berry of Mound City, Ill. — Reversing the trend, Berry moved his wife and four children from the Negro slums of Chicago. "I knew where we lived," Julius said, "that when the kids got big enough they'd be on dope before they were 10 years old."

Berry got a $1,020 loan for a truck and welding torch so that he could cut up junk and sell it.

He and his wife both believe in hustle. She made $171 in a sewing factory and with this, set up Doris' cafe, where one of the specialties of the house, so the sign says, is "chittilings." They also have gone into the grocery business.

MRS. BERRY is indignant because wholesalers are reluctant to do business with her. "I gave one man a $25 order and paid him cash, but he never came back."

truck, a small tractor, a chain saw.

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SHE SAID she hopes her 2-year-old daughter will stay in school longer than she did and thus be better equipped to face a world which no longer has any use for the unlettered and the unskilled.

With 35 million poor around, the Sharps don't mean much statistically, but they do illustrate two important points:

—Increasingly, those who work directly with the poor seem to be concluding that there will be no spectacular breakthroughs, that if progress is made it will be by small, personal gains like the Sharps (balanced, of course, by disheartening losses).

—The belief prevails, at least in some areas, that while city slums attract nearly all the attention, and, so far, most of the money, the key to poverty remains in rural America. Even though this has become an urban nation, half of its poor live in the country.

THE CITY'S woes can never be solved, so this theory goes, so long as the country poor surge in like lemmings from farm and hamlet, maybe looking for better jobs, maybe counting on bigger relief checks.

In folklore the bumpkin was a joke; in reality he's a disaster.

In a recent Washington interview, Howard Bertsch, the

Winter Earnings Made a Big Difference

Farmers Home Administrator, described what happens:

"The average out-migrant finds himself only qualified for the unskilled labor market. He has a lack of culture needed for city living, and he goes into the slum areas and on to the welfare rolls."

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AT WHAT precise point do you become poor? The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) says a family of four needs an annual income of $3,140 if it's in a city or $2,190 if it's in a rural area.

Do the impoverished want work? Or do they prefer welfare?

Is President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty designed to raise incomes of the poor or is it, as some Republicans claim, neatly arranged to help the politicians in an election year?

Has this nation drifted too near the welfare state? Or is it — as some of the poor protest by booing anti-poverty boss Sargent Shriver and by camping out across from the White House — too late with too little?

IN THIS swirling controversy it's easy to forget the main point: that human beings are involved — the poor and those trying to help them — and that human beings rarely fit pat theories.

Already one theory — that the poor are poor credit risks — is taking a beating.

The Farmers Home Administration can make what are called economic opportunity loans of up to $2,500 to individuals so poor no bank could afford the risk. Their repayments have been surprisingly prompt.

William R. McIntosh, the Farmers Home Supervisor responsible for the loan to the Sharps, says only six of his 35 loans of this type may be in arrears.

In one vital respect, the Sharps are lucky.

THEY ARE white, in a strongly segregationist county.

Poverty and civil rights are closely intertwined, especially in the rural South. So a visitor, familiar with the stories of violence and hatreds, is understandably surprised at evidences of inter-racial cooperation.

Take Clarksdale, Miss., Coahoma county seat in the fertile Mississippi river delta.

As the richest cities maintain the vilest slums, so the richest farm lands are surrounded by some of the most forlorn poor. An Agriculture Department map, with a dot for each 500 poor rural families, shows poverty in all 50 states, but along the lower Mississippi the dots are so thick they become solid black.

KING COTTON is blamed. Once this nation planted 40 million acres of cotton. Because of new fertilizers and technology, plus competition from synthetics, cotton acreage has been whacked to 10.5 million acres, this year's cuts alone will affect another 1,000 workers in Coahoma county.

A private corporation, Coahoma Opportunities, Inc., using mostly federal funds, has been set up to struggle with these problems.

Under federal law, the corporation must be integrated, a haunting problem in a county where the color line has been resolutely drawn and where the blacks outnumber the whites, 68 per cent to 32.

The corporate board now has 13 whites and 13 Negroes, but life hasn't been simple.

At one point 11 white board members quit simultaneously, and it may not be merely a coincidence that Gus Roessler, its white executive director and a cheerleader for this section's future, is a native of Pennsylvania.

YET ON A trip to inspect a school project, Andrew Carr, who owns a 2,500 acre plantation, piled matter of factly into the rear seat next to Aaron Henry, president of Mississippi's national Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Carr is president of Coahoma Opportunities; Henry is a board member and one of its organizers.

"All my life," Carr said, "I have been interested in upgrading people."

Sunflower School had been

JULIUS BERRY AND WIFE, DORIS, LEFT CHICAGO'S SLUMS
Loan, Hard Work Gave Them a New Start in Mound City, Ill.

It is far too soon to judge if it is accomplishing anything, but it is not too soon to realize how immense are the difficulties.

Bennie Gooden, who became assistant executive director of the Clarksdale Project after a stint as teacher in a Negro junior college, lists these reasons for the slow start in the South:

—Racial antipathies remain strong in the country. "A lot of communities aren't ready to comply with civil rights requirements."

—Many of the more competent Negroes, who might have given leadership, have fled the South.

—Apathy abounds.

—Practically, there are few places to meet in rural areas. Country churches usually are the rallying point, but many don't have basements and there's a reluctance to use the sanctuary itself.

ABOVE all, Gooden claims, the administration anti-poverty plan has a glaring flaw that may account for the poor's unrest or even rebellion.

A man whose job has suddenly disappeared, Gooden says, can't whip up much enthusiasm for long range planning.

"He needs a job and he needs it now," Gooden said. "Maybe we should have some sort of WPA, like we had in New Deal days."

Farming is big business, requiring complicated and expensive machinery. No poor man could ever hope to own a mechanical cotton picker, which can cost from $10,000 to $15,000.

BY FORMING cooperatives, poor farmers can get government loans to buy equipment that they can share, through such as the Hamilton-Stovall Cotton Picking Assn. near Aberdeen, Miss. Its membership is integrated and Willie J. Morgan, a Negro, is its president.

Although farmers are notoriously independent, last year's cotton was harvested amicably, with weekly meetings to decide whose turn was next.

"Maybe you would think these people don't have the ability to lead," Roy F. Robison, Farmers Home supervisor in Aberdeen, said. "Well, it's amazing how they can get together and conduct their meetings. They all organize in churches, and no matter how big a hurry they're in they always start with a prayer."

THE MINUTES of the Athens, Miss., Cotton Picker Assn., a cooperative made up of 25 Negro farmers, prove this.

William E. Walker, its secretary, reported on March 9:

"The board of directors met at home of Willie T. Bumpass, the majority of board members present. Eddie Carlisle led in singing, 'This Little Light of Mine,' and offered prayer."

The association borrowed $56,900 to buy three cotton pickers, some wagons and a shed. Their individual yearly incomes show the magnitude of their investment: After paying farm expenses, Bumpass had $900 left for his family of three, Carlisle had $1,100 for two and Walker $900 for four.

AT THAT, they did far better than another member, Al-

last year, his farm expenses came to $1,000 and he has a family of eight.

Farm mechanization has perhaps made least headway with fresh produce. This gives the poor a chance to provide the required hand labor, but presents an additional problem: Perishables must be sold quickly.

Again, cooperatives supply an answer, with government loans available to build the huge sheds where participating farmers can peddle their wares to wholesalers.

John F. Knox, the Farmers Home supervisor in Forrest City, Ark., says of the poor in his area: "They're not stupid, but they're not too well educated. You didn't need much education to deal with a mule."

HERE, as in other rural counties all over the nation, the population has been steadily eroding. "You don't realize it until you have a funeral," Knox said. "Half the survivors

How do you stop this constant draining away of the rural population? (Last year, as usual, another 100,000 family farms quietly disappeared.)

Curiously, one problem that vexes many large cities also bothers hamlets. Both may have inadequate water supplies.

The residents of Pulaski, Ill., are using a $116,000 government loan to dig two wells and install a filtering system. This Southern Illinois town once had 700 to 800 population; now it's dwindled to around 400.

ROY CRAIG, the Farmers Home supervisor from Anna, Ill., was saying: "The trouble with your wells is that they are shallow and polluted."

The town clerk, Bill Heilig, agreed. "That's the billy goat from tail to the horns," he said.

Mayor James L. Curry, who runs the general store, says how is your water supply?

So until it gets water the town not only will lack industry, but also every time there is a fire the truck will roar up and pour on water for exactly four minutes. That's how long it takes to exhaust the water in the truck's tank.

BUT IT'S the poor, as individuals, who keep coming to mind.

M. L. Graham, a Negro farmer near Pulaski . . . This father of 11 was feeling so poorly last year that his wife handled the cotton crop. On the day he was to have a prostate operation his house burned to the ground. His cotton was sold for around $300, and here came M. L. Graham to pay the government the $150 he owed it.

"I never hated to take a man's money so much in my life," Roy Craig said.

"IF YOU PROMISE a per-

Julius J. Berry of Mound City, Ill. — Reversing the trend, Berry moved his wife and four children from the Negro slums of Chicago. "I knew where we lived," Julius said, "that when the kids got big enough they'd be on dope before they were 10 years old."

Berry got a $1,020 loan for a truck and welding torch so that he could cut up junk and sell it.

He and his wife both believe in hustle. She made $171 in a sewing factory and with this, set up Doris' cafe, where one of the specialties of the house, so the sign says, is "chittilings." They also have gone into the grocery business.

MRS. BERRY is indignant because wholesalers are reluctant to do business with her. "I gave one man a $25 order and paid him cash, but he never came back."

National Urban League

78 Marietta Street, N.W. SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE Atlanta, Georgia 30303

May 27, 1966

PROBLEMS OF NEGRO MIGRATION FROM

RURAL TO URBAN AREAS IN THE SOUTH

RURAL PROBLEMS

Guideline Questions

A. Rural to Urban Migration
   1. What programs, public or private, now exist for easing the transition of Southern Negroes from rural to urban life?
   2. How, where, and by whom should such programs be instituted if they do not now exist?
   3. Whatis the potential or effectiveness of such proposals or programs in being as literacy and job training programs, relocation grants, relocation centers in both rural and urban areas, county agents, and home demonstration programs in cities for newcomers?
   4. How may Negroes in the following categories who wish to continue living in the rural South most effectively be assisted?
      a. Working age marginal farm operators who might be able to build long-range stability through loans and technical assistance.
      b. Tenant farmers and displaced farm workers who, with technical and financial assistance, might be able to engage in cooperative farming and marketing.
      c. Dependent rural residents who, because of age or disability, are least equipped to make the transition to urban life and who might be maintained at decent living levels in the rural setting with which they are most familiar.

B. The Migrant Worker
   1. What is the present economic, social, and legal status of the migrant worker?
   2. What public and private agencies have or should have programs most closely related to the problems of migrant workers?
   3. What are now the action priorities for migrant workers?

C. Public Education on the Problems
   1. Would it or would it not be useful to have a series of local, state, or regional meetings on rural problems? If so, under what auspices, and who should participate?
   2. In addition to such meetings, would it be useful to have a national meeting on rural problems? If so, under whose auspices, and who should participate?
   3. To what degree is the general public now being educated to the non-headline problems of the rural South, or to the rural to urban migrant?
   4. How might such public information be facilitated?

D. General Questions

1. Where economic development or planning units have been set up in the South at the local, state, or regional levels, to what degree are Negroes:
   a. represented at policy level; staff level; advisory level?
   b. regarded as a "public" whose assistance and understanding is solicited?
   c. regarded as a significant element in the work force?
2. To the degree that Negroes are not involved, how may they become involved?
3. What Federal Agencies are now most active (through their programs) in the South?
4. Which of these programs have the most potential for Negroes in the South?
5. What lines of communication have these Agencies established with Negroes?
6. How might such communication be established where it does not exist, or be made more effective where it does?
7. To what degree are Negroes represented in the Southern program of these Agencies: at the policy level; at the state level; at the advisory level?
8. To what degree do these Agencies regard Negroes as a significant "public"?

REGIONAL PLANNING CONFERENCE ON
PROBLEMS OF NEGRO MIGRATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN CENTERS

Southern Regional Office - National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, N. W. - Suite 417
Atlanta, Georgia
May 27, 1966
2:00 P. M.

* * *

A G E N D A

1. Introductions

2. Purpose

3. Delineation of the Problem

4. Current Programs

5. The Projected Commission's Southern Program and
The White House Conference Proposal on Rural Problems

M. Carl Holman, Deputy Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

6. Ways and Means of Improving Services (Public and Private)
To Rural Citizens in Their Communities and Migrants to
Urban Centers

7. Discussion

8. Recommendations

9. Adjournment

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RURAL PROBLEMS

RURAL Opportunities

Published as an information service in the War on Poverty by the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity

July, 1966
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Washington, D.C. 20506

Editorial

There is the Law...

A tenant farmer receives an eviction notice from land that he has worked for over 20 years. . . .

A rural housewife signs up for what she is told are free samples and finds that what she really did was to obligate herself on a promissory note for $520. . . .

A farm owner seeks an F.H.A. loan on the dilapidated home that has served his family for three generations. He is refused because he cannot produce a clear title to the property. . . .

Multiply these problems a thousand-fold to get some indication of the legal needs of the rural poor of this country. These people daily face situations involving legal conflicts—a dispute with the creditor seeking to collect on a usurious loan, a challenge to the welfare worker who wrongfully cuts off benefits, an argument with the landlord over obligations under a lease.

Now, at last, the Federal Government is providing resources to meet the legal needs of the rural poor through the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Under this program, OEO finances local groups who provide free legal services for low-income residents. In urban areas, these services are generally provided by neighborhood law offices located in the heart of target areas. In sparsely populated areas, new and different methods must be utilized, such as circuit-riding lawyers, who travel from town to town on a fixed schedule, or a portable law office outfitted into a van that travels the rural areas in the same manner as roving X-ray and other public health units.

Unfortunately, the number of rural programs lags behind programs in urban areas. Substantial grants, however, have been made for programs to aid farm workers in California and Florida. Rural residents of Montana will be serviced by a program sponsored by the State bar; low-income residents of the sparse country of Michigan's Upper Peninsula will receive free legal services from an OEO-funded program. Other rural programs are being processed and hopefully will be funded shortly.

Equal justice under law must be a reality for the poor as well as the more economically fortunate. It must be a reality no matter where a person lives. That is the primary objective of the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

E. CLINTON BAMBERGER, JR.
Director, Legal Services Program

RURAL CALIFORNIA GETS $1.3 MILLION FOR LEGAL SERVICES

The first legal services program to operate specifically and solely for the needs of the rural poor has been funded by an OEO grant of $1,276,138 to the California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. The CRLA will establish 10 law offices to provide legal services for low-income persons in the rural areas of California.

A private, nonprofit corporation, the CRLA is directed by a representative board, including farm laborers, bar associations, law schools and representatives of the business community and ethnic groups. It is jointly sponsored by the Neumeyer Foundation and the American Friends Service Committee.

The major goal of the corporation is the best possible overall legal services program which will teach the poor about their legal rights, show them how legal processes can assist them, provide them with legal advice, as well as represent them in court.

In addition to a central office in Los Angeles for administrative and research staff, ten offices will be located in the counties and will serve as regional offices. Each office will be staffed by two attorneys, four to five investigators and nonprofessional assistants, clerical staff, and two law students during the summer months. Eventually, part-time offices will be set up in other parts of the counties, with the staff in the regional offices scheduling regular office hours in each.

A LOOK AT NORTHWEST NEW JERSEY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM (NNJCAP)

"An area like ours has been a veritable graveyard of social effort to help the poor. We don't want to beat the drums and then find we don't have the answer. So, we are using a low-key approach . . . we expect to go slowly and show results in a couple of years and those will be to stay," stated Jack Chapman, Executive Director of the Northwest New Jersey Community Action Program.

Despite this conservative estimate, NNJCAP is being judged by many in the region as a "leader" in running a good rural-based poverty program, with a set of sound achievements to its credit in the first eight months of its existence.

Rururban

This tricounty CAP—Hunterdon, Warren and Sussex counties—covers no fewer than 1,325 square miles of beautiful rolling country, bordered by New York State on the north and Pennsylvania on the west. Once dotted with farms, it is fast becoming hemmed in on all sides by industry which displaces old economic and social patterns and community values.

NNJCAP coined the word "rururban" to describe their situation of a rural area whose economy is no longer dependent upon agriculture but rather upon manufacturing and service industries. The consequence of such a change is that there is need for fewer farmers and more demand for people with vocational skills.

Distances are a Challenge

Presently 44,000 families live in the tricounty area, 15 percent of them in the below-$3,000 income bracket. Most of the latter are scattered throughout the three counties and, as single families, live great distances from each other.

Delivering a wide spectrum of much needed services is the primary function of the NNJCAP, which employs one County Manager and four Area Representatives to reach poor persons in each of the counties.

Theirs is not an easy task. Twenty to twenty-five percent of their time is spent on the road driving from one trouble spot to the next, surveying the needs, gathering information, answering questions, filling out applications and clearing the way for the active involvement of the poor in helping themselves. So far, 1,613 families have been visited—about half of the needy families in the three counties.

Area Representatives

William Trent, a 28-year-old native of Lambertville, Hunterdon County, is one of the 12 Area Representatives in NNJCAP. Coming from a disadvantaged background himself, he understands the need for young people from limited income families to gain useful work experiences that will prepare them for the future. Trent is a tall, slim, soft-spoken Negro with two years of college behind him and he hopes some day to get a bachelor's degree. In the meantime, he is guiding the antipoverty program in his area with a sure hand, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps project for 150 young people this summer is just one step in his dream of getting the community going for a youth center in Lambertville.

Area Representatives operate out of the 15 Area Service Centers in the three counties. These centers are the focal point of activity—the "meet, think and do" centers—where surveys of needs are made with the help of the local people, where many a project has been initiated, implemented and evaluated, where persons living in the vicinity can feel at ease.

Area Representatives and Area Centers are NNJCAP's answer to the challenge of distances, to the goal of reaching into poverty problems in depth.

Staff Development

Training is a significant activity in NNJCAP. The Area Representatives (most come from low-income backgrounds) and the County Managers are qualified people to start with, but by the time they get through their formal 40-hour intensive training program, biweekly training sessions and on-the-job training, they have achieved a rating of "excellent."

In addition, the Area Representatives have become familiar with local and county services and facilities available in their neighborhood. And, along the way in their training, they have developed self-confidence and organizational skills.

The training experience of NNJCAP has culminated in an overall 20-day training course called RATE (Rururban Action Training and Experience), which has been approved by the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute. NNJCAP is scheduling its first 20-day training cycle to take place next spring. Other CAAs in New Jersey plan to send their workers to NNJCAP for training.

Some Programs

The Executive staff agree that the establishment of NNJCAP has already brought about a better coordination and cooperation among the existing social service agencies. Considering that there are more than 40 welfare departments in the three counties, this is no small achievement. The benefits of this cooperation were passed on to poor persons during the successful campaign to enroll older persons in the Medicare program.

The most complicated and time-consuming endeavor so far undertaken by NNJCAP has been the processing of applications under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. There are no fewer than 74 school districts in the three counties—all independent and

with different needs and interests. Processing ESEA Title I projects required 40 percent of the professional NNJCAP staff time for two months.

Summarizing the Past 8 Months

Under operating and completed projects, NNJCAP lists Program Development, Area Centers, Operation Medicare Alert, Tri-County NYC and the Riegel Child Development Center, a delegated project which operates the full-time, year-round center for 30 disadvantaged preschool children. A total of 43 persons, of whom 37 were nonprofessionals, were used in these projects.

Projects that have been approved but are not yet in operation include six Head Start follow-through programs, one summer Tri-County NYC program which provides paid work experience for 150 in-school youth and an Upward Bound project which will permit 20 high school juniors and seniors with college potential to spend the summer at Fairleigh Dickinson University for intensive academic work. Direct recipients of these combined programs number 330 persons and 58 employees will be used, including 37 nonprofessionals.

NNJCAP has 18 projects pending OEO approval. Eleven are Head Start projects. Another is *SCOPE* (Senior Citizens' Opportunities for Personal Enrichment), a project which would seek out and interview every person over 65 years of age, checking out their needs, planning action and provide referral services to social agencies nearby. Another project, *Health Careers,* would give special attention and counseling services to needy youth, steering them toward opportunities in the health professions. *RATE* (Rururban Action Training and Experience) would provide training for 16 Community Action workers. A one-year project, the *Phillipsburg Senior Center,* would provide meals, recreation and social service to senior citizens. *COPE* (Campership Outdoor Program of Education), a delegated project, will set up three cycles of a summer camp program for 150 boys and girls, 12 to 15 years of age. *SWAT* (Summer Work Advantages for Teens), would give constructive work experiences to 12 to 15-year-old youths for eight weeks. Finally, *SCOTCH* (Summer Cultural Opportunities for Teens and Children) would promote the musical talents of 25 disadvantaged youths, age 8 to 18 for a five-week period.

In all, the programs would employ 214 people, including 144 nonprofessionals. To date, Federal funds approved for 31 projects over the past 8 months amount to $783,965.

Chapman is proud of the program and his staff, but points out that there is still much to be done. "In an area that doesn't care too much for Federal programs, we seemed to have gotten over the first hurdles without too much resentment," comments Chapman.

Perhaps one of the reasons has been the fact that NNJCAP has drawn from the ranks of the poor to fill much of the staff needs. At the central office, located in Phillipsburg, there are four professionals and four nonprofessionals. Here is the nerve center of the entire tricounty program. The staff from all three counties assembles there every other Friday for "give and take" sessions, educational programs and discussions on CAP problems.

Hunterdon County, New Jersey. *The house stands off alone on one of the backroads. The people in it are alone too. Great distances separate them from the next dwelling or village. Social service resources don't quite reach them. The outlook is dismal.*

NINE-COUNTY TENNESSEE ACTION AGENCY PLANS MASTER CENTER PROGRAM

The Tennessee Elk River Development Agency was originally concerned with the development of natural resources in its area. Now, another dimension has been added to its concern, human resources. This has been brought about through the use of OEO programs.

TERDA represents 200,000 people in nine southern Tennessee counties: Bedford, Coffee, Franklin, Giles, Grundy, Lawrence, Lincoln, Marshall and Moore. Within its 41,000 square miles, there are approximately 22,000 low-income families, 46 percent of whom are well below the $3,000 poverty level.

When TERDA was chartered in 1959 to improve natural resources, its leaders recognized that the low-income families there needed help, but they had little to offer in the way of assistance. With the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, TERDA found the means whereby programs of help could be developed for this segment of its population.

Funded last June to develop a Community Action Program, the agency is now establishing a vast system of multipurpose centers close to the needy groups. The present headquarters at Fayetteville in Lincoln County

serves as the master center with smaller centers to be placed in each county and subcenters in small towns and communities. Ultimately this center complex will serve as a channel through which many programs and services will flow.

All the country courts and city councils in the area are supporting the TERDA effort. For instance, local governments are providing old schools and other suitable structures for center sites. These centers and sites will furnish much of the local in-kind contributions necessary to finance the total program. Staffed with both professional and community workers, they will offer the kind of assistance and services requested by the people.

In addition to the master center and the county units, there will be 128 of the subcenters located among the people to be served. The local advisory committees drawn from the largest audience are helping to determine the kinds of programs which will be offered at the centers. Among those suggested to date are day-care and pre-school centers for the very young, education, training, and employment for adults, medicare and other assistance for the aging.

The multipurpose center complex, under the Community Action program, will serve as an overall structure through which other programs will be initiated and operated. Agency leaders foresee the creation of several small enterprises as a means toward increasing incomes of individuals and groups, enterprises that will support the establishment of cooperatives and credit unions. Resources are adequate for the development of many small businesses, such as pulpwood and fence posts factories, honey and syrup production, and tourist attractions of fishing and hunting.

Four agency staff members, James Lemons, Robert Marshall, Ralph Mitchell and Mark Whitaker, have visited Washington seeking more information and assistance toward further enterprise and program development. They are determined to have the program succeed and have met with many officials from various agencies.

Washington, D. C. *It was a gay half hour at the OEO offices when Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, became the recipient of several pints of fresh strawberries.*

The fruit was raised by members of the Neuse-Trent Diversified Marketing Association, a rural cooperative that is part of the multi-faceted Community Action Program in Craven County, North Carolina.

Presenting the strawberries are, from left to right, Robert R. Monte, Executive Director of Craven Operation Progress; Venice Knight, grower; Mr. Shriver; Archie Wood, grower; Edward J. Simpson, county extension agent, and Sidney H. Woolner, Acting Director of the Mid-Atlantic Region, OEO.

Craven Operation Progress, Inc., which received its first grant in November, 1964, is one of the first Community Action Programs funded by OEO.

UPWARD BOUND GETS GOING

This summer, selected rural youngsters will get a new lease on learning by participating in the OEO pre-college program, Upward Bound, at 74 colleges, junior colleges and high schools with residential facilities.

In all, more than 20,000 boys and girls from cities, towns and rural areas will be taking part in the 8-week program, which will be conducted by 223 colleges, universities and secondary schools. OEO has allocated $25 million for the full 12-month program.

Community Action Agencies, including 109 in rural areas, have helped to refer students to Upward Bound.

In addition to a morning schedule of academic subjects, students will go on field trips to museums, historical sites, parks, business and government offices, visit theaters and concerts, study foreign languages, and have workshops on art, drama, and journalism.

Graduate and undergraduate college students, as well as professional teachers, will serve as tutors and counselors. Volunteers are still needed in many programs and should apply to the participating colleges.

According to OEO Director Sargent Shriver, America's greatest waste of talent is "the loss of skill and excep-

tional minds of those young people who are capable of going to college but cannot do so because of the psychological, social and physical conditions of poverty." The aim of Upward Bound is to encourage these young people so that, in spite of a deprived background, they can succeed if they really try. Upward Bound, through individualized and unconventional methods of teaching, aims to help them make the most of their abilities.

When Upward Bound students return to school next fall, they will continue to keep in touch with their summer teachers through special classes, and also through visits to the campus. Out of 2,061 students in demonstration Upward Bound programs last summer, 1,994 are now headed for or enrolled in college.

A SHACK TODAY; A HOME TOMORROW, IN TULARE COUNTY, CALIF.

"We are still living in an old three-room house. There are eight children and my mother, which makes a total of eleven. Finding room to sleep is a problem . . . when it rains, it is difficult to find any place in the house that is dry enough to sleep. Living in a house like this is depressing, but at least I can look out of the window and see our new home being built."

So runs the testimony of Mrs. Salvador Gutierrez given in Visalia, California, before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor in March, when Self-Help Enterprises was explained. After the hearings, Senators Robert Kennedy, Harrison Williams and George Murphy toured the Goshen, Tulare County, Self-Help Housing project.

Self-Help Housing is a program for the cooperative construction of homes for low-income farm worker families.

A forerunner of this program was begun in 1962-63 by the American Friends Service Committee, which helped Tulare County low-income families construct 24 houses. The first government financing for Self-Help Enterprises came from the Economic Opportunity Act through a grant to the Tulare County CAA. Approved in April, 1965, the grant provided technical assistance for the construction of 40 homes.

Building loans were secured through the Farmers Home Administration, while OEO funds pay for a staff of construction supervisors, community development aides and various other technical assistance personnel.

The interested families form neighborhood groups. It takes time for them to develop a relationship of mutual trust and to learn to work together using self-help methods. But they meet frequently and discuss construction procedures and building plans, and establish agreements for labor exchange (each participating family pledges 1,200 hours of labor). The whole process normally takes from 18 to 20 months.

To date, this is what has happened:

24 houses were completed under sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee, 1962-63.

26 houses are currently under construction.

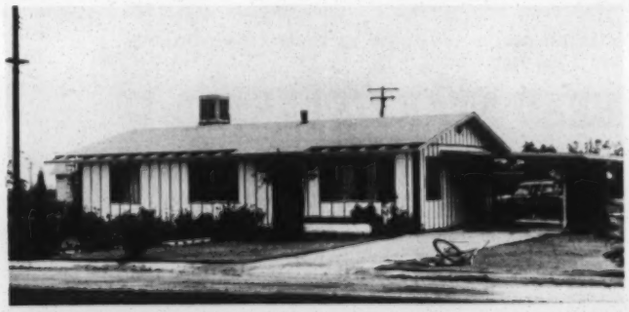
43 additional families have formed groups and have applied for FHA loans; pending approval, building will begin in the fall.

53 families have expressed interest in participating in the program and have developed informal community groups.

OEO, through Title III-B, recently funded an expansion of the earlier programs which will spread self-help housing assistance to 464 poor farm worker families throughout 6 counties of the San Joaquin Valley.

The construction of new homes is only a fraction of the net effort of the program. The participants learn the meaning of group effort, develop a sense of community and emerge from the program with a commitment to active social and political participation.

In the words of Mrs. Gutierrez' testimony: "I believe that with faith in God, and by the people working together hand in hand, we can accomplish whatever we want."



Goshen, Tulare County, Calif.: *The "before" and "after" home of Mr. and Mrs. Gomez and their six children. As members of Self-Help Enterprises, they moved from a 3-room shack to a home with 4 bedrooms and adequate living space.*

WAY OUT THERE AND BIG

Recently funded Southeast Montana Opportunity Center lays claim to being the largest community action agency in the nation. Its nine counties cover 26,597 square miles, an area larger than the combined states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and Maryland. The nine counties, Garfield, Prairie, Wibaux, Fallon, Custer, Carter, Powder River, Dawson and Rosebud, have an average population density of 1.7 persons per square mile.

Southeast Montana Opportunity Center is directed by Calvin Rice, a Montanan who participated in the OEO training course for rural community action technicians at the University of Wisconsin last year. The staff is now developing components for Head Start, mental health service, recreational facilities and an agricultural program.

BERTSCH PUSHES HOUSING ACTIVITIES

Farmers Home Administrator Howard Bertsch recently urged each State FHA director to review rural housing in his State and take action to make FHA housing programs more effective.

FHA, under Section 504 for rural housing, makes loans for minor building repairs and improvements essential to health and safety, and under Section 502 makes loans for families to participate in mutual self-help housing. FHA also assists elderly rural residents build, buy or improve their homes.

Mr. Bertsch made another point which is of interest to community action workers as well as FHA officials.

"In some states," he points out in his memo, "welfare agencies have increased housing allowances to families for the specific purpose of making payments on Section 504 loans. If this will result in the family's having sufficient income to meet its living expenses and also repay the loan, a Section 504 loan can be made. In case welfare agencies are not doing this in your state, we suggest you discuss this possibility with state welfare officials."

Local CAA's should follow up with local FHA supervisors to see whether this kind of assistance exists or can be made available in their communities.

HEAD START STARTED IT...

They liked what happened when they pulled together for Head Start. So, after their Office of Economic Opportunity Head Start classes ended, the citizens of "Little Hollywood" in Graham County, Arizona, mobilized for a community self-help program.

First, there was a community dinner to earn a down payment for a building site for a community center which will include a reading room and library, kitchen, classroom and meeting room.

Then, with the help of their county extension agents, they started a "people to people" informal education program to help the low-income families stretch their budgets. This has been followed by a community beautification drive, the rehabilitation of living quarters of two needy families and a half dozen other do-it-yourself community improvement projects.

MEDICARE ALERT—RURAL STATUS

Of the 4.5 million older persons contacted by CAA's for Medicare Alert, a project to enroll the elderly poor for benefits under the new Medicare Act which provides medical insurance covering most of the doctors' bills for persons over 65, an estimated 900,000 or 20 percent of the total, reside in rural areas.

Reports came in from 194 rural communities. It was found that no fewer than 11,000 of the rural Medicare Alert workers were 55 years and over and, of that number 8,750 were volunteers. The remaining 2,250, drawn from the low-income group, earned needed funds through employment in Operation Medicare Alert to supplement their incomes.

MISSOURI TERRITORY SERVED BY VISTA

In the Ozark country of southern Missouri, a 22-year-old VISTA Volunteer has been one of the key organizers and coordinators of community action programs in the area. He is Richard Klarberg of Fresh Meadows, Long Island, who along with three other VISTA Volunteers works in the seven-county Community Action Program known as the South Central Missouri Economic Opportunity Corporation. Klarberg serves as project coordinator.

The seven-county project is just beginning to come into its own. Each county started out alone a little over a year ago. Then they formed themselves into a tricounty operation. Now, finally, they have combined to make a seven-county group, consisting of Carter, Ripley, Dent, Shannon, Wayne, Butler and Reynolds counties. The CAP program serves a population of 80,000, of which 56 percent live below the poverty line.

When VISTA Volunteers first moved into the area, they conducted door-to-door surveys of the people's needs, enlisted leaders and volunteers to organize the community, set up an office as a starting point for a future neighborhood service center and helped in the drafting of proposals for the various antipoverty programs.

Klarberg, who lives alone in a cabin similar to the dwellings of the people he is attempting to help, said recently: "In this territory, up stream and down dirt roads, there are so many people whom we can't physically reach. This is our biggest problem."

Despite this handicap, the VISTA Volunteers have

made progress. In cooperation with local school boards, they have started remedial reading and tutorial programs, and have helped schools set up their own libraries. Klarberg has done a particularly good job with high school dropouts in the vocational training and recreational programs organized for the youth.

Klarberg said: "We have had wonderful support from both the county officials and the community as a whole."

NEW OEO PUBLICATIONS, RURAL

Food Distribution in Rural Community Action tells briefly how a CAA can help correct substandard food habits, improve health and increase productivity with a Food Distribution component.

Home Food Production in Rural Community Action is geared for persons or families living in a rural setting, where a CAP component can supplement their food budgets by helping them raise fruits and vegetables in their gardens.

Agricultural Program in Rural Community Action tells how marginal farmers can increase their income with an Agricultural Program component.

Get your copies at your OEO Regional Office or write to: Public Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506.

Stinking Creek, Kentucky. *Parked near Messer Center, this is the first day out for the Mobile Health Unit, built especially for the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council. Shown beside it is the Health Education Department staff of the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council.*

The Mobile Health Unit will make the rounds of the 12 community centers in Knox County so that those families who live in out-of-the-way areas can come to them and benefit from the service. Operated in cooperation with the Knox County Health Department, the new unit will be used mostly for screening, examinations and for health education. It carries its own water supply, has its own generator and refrigerator and is completely air-conditioned.

In a population of 25,000 people—where there is only one doctor for every 5,000 persons, one dentist for every 8,000 and where 80 percent of the children in the county suffer from worms—the Mobile Health Unit is looked forward to as a much needed blessing.

HUMAN AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FACT SHEETS

Rural CAA's will find much useful information in a recent publication of the Federal Extension Service. *Federal-State Programs for Developing Human and Community Resources* is the title of a packet containing 49 fact sheets, each describing specific assistance available through a Government department or agency. Each fact sheet briefly states the purpose of the program, financial assistance available, how finances may be used, agency or department administering the program, where to apply and sources for further information.

The packet was prepared by Dr. Bryan Phifer, Division of Resource Development and Public Affairs, Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20205.

Single copies are available by request to Dr. Phifer at the above address.

MISSOURI TRAINING SESSIONS UNDER WAY

The OEO-CAP sponsored training sessions for rural community action personnel at the University of Missouri are now under way. The first session which began June 5, 1966, will be completed on June 18. The next session starts July 10, and succeeding sessions will begin every second Sunday through the summer and early fall.

The curriculum has been developed in cooperation with an Advisory Committee, which includes a representative from each of the OEO Regional Offices. It includes a combination of program principles and procedures, along with a heavy emphasis on operational techniques and suggested programs for rural community action agencies.

D. Richard Wenner, Acting Director of the Rural Task Force, outlined the goals of the project in his address at the opening session: "These two-week training sessions are going to provide rural community action personnel with a great number of answers which will enable them to do a better job in serving their people. In addition, the sessions are bound to stimulate a great deal of thinking on the part of CAA personnel and are going to impart a new philosophy and a new commitment to rural community action."

The early sessions will be reserved for program directors, but there will be later sessions for other personnel. Applications for participation in the program should be made to the member of the Advisory Committee in your Regional Office: Frank Ferro, Northeast Region; Lawrence Parachini, Mid-Atlantic Region; Leo Fishman, Southeast Region; Donald Benson, Great Lakes Region; Miss Carol King, North Central Region; Christobal Aldrete, Southwest Region; Zane Meckler, Western Region.

McDowell County, West Virginia. *"Never too old to* begin *to learn" is the phrase often used by Mrs. Frances Wildens, aged 69, and 64-year-old Mrs. Cornelia Wallington, members of the Adult Basic Education class at Rolfe center. Neither woman could read or write when classes started and now they are half way through their primers.*

Rolfe Community Center is one of eight centers in McDowell County administered by the Council of Southern Mountains. The eight centers have a total of 190 persons enrolled in the Adult Basic Education classes this first year.

Information Exchange

If your CAA issues a bulletin, newsletter or magazine, sharing it with us will provide material of interest to others for future issues of this newsletter. One copy each should be sent to the Rural Task Force and to Public Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20506.

We welcome letters on your ideas and projects that you have tried, with a report as to their success or failure.

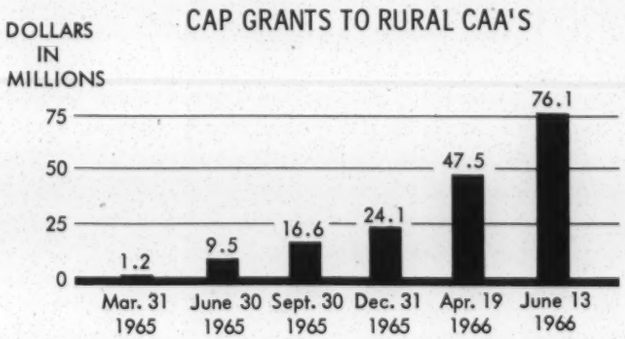
Do you want the rural newsletter sent directly to you? to your organization? to your school? to your church?

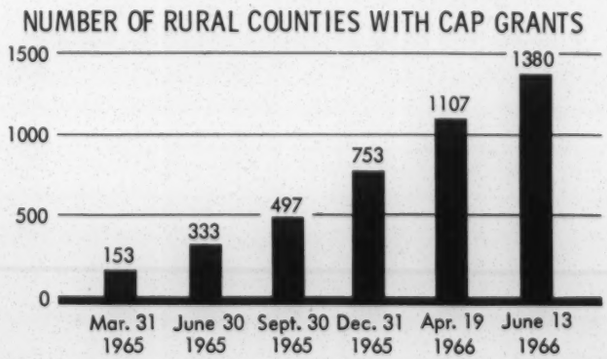
All you have to do is send name, address and zip code to: Rural Newsletter, Public Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 Nineteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20506.

NEWS BRIEFS FROM RURAL CAA's

From an editorial in the newsletter of the **Leach Lake Reservation CAA, Cass Lake, Minn.:** "Community Action is simply a way of helping people to organize, to express themselves and to make their influence felt. . . . The poor people should find a new political awareness and a commitment to involve themselves totally in the workings of their committees. When the people speak and act, and when their voices and actions have impact at home and elsewhere, that is Community Action." . . .

As a result of the Rural Opportunities story on the Family Counseling program in **Washington County, Va.,** the director, Ruth D. Kolling, received nine requests to share the know-how of her program. Staff members of CAA's from Hercatus CAA, Ohio, Tazewell County, Va., and Giles County, Va., made trips to Washington County to observe the program operation. . . . **LBJ & C Development Corporation, Monterey, Tenn.,** recently passed a resolution calling for "a legitimate and local allocation of [poverty] funds to rural areas" and asking "that funds thus allocated be reserved until rural centers or areas can design and perfect programs which can be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and not reallocated to large metropolitan centers." They also recommended "that analysts reviewing programs submitted by rural sections be instructed to give special consideration and assistance . . . instead of placing these in suspension where they die and are never resurrected." . . . **Charles Mix County Community Program, Lake Andes, South Dakota** has received a grant of $115,000 for a Nelson Amendment community improvement and beautification project. This is the first CAA in South Dakota to move beyond the program development stage. . . . Behind the announcement of the formation of the **Indiana County Community Action Program** (Pennsylvania), is the story of how the mayor, school officials, Fire Dept. employees, civic leaders, and clergy from the four townships went out and "talked" community action. Ninety people came to the first meeting. Out of a population of 3,000, of which 25 percent are low-income persons, this was a meeting that didn't "just happen." A 19-member membership committee, each member to bring at least four other persons, assured maximum attendance at the second and third CAP meetings.





CATALOGS BY PHONE
r night, phone 873-2311.
L BE READY FOR PICK-UP,
S 22 CONVENIENT LOCATIONS

~~Ed Hanfield~~
RURAL PROBLEMS

Poverty On Farms Examined

U.S. Board Told Of Racial Bias

The President's Commission on Food and Fiber took a hard look at rural poverty at a hearing in Atlanta Wednesday and heard recurring themes—racial discrimination, national gearing to surpluses that are rapidly disappearing, discrimination against the South and labor supply problems.

Several witnesses testified that federal programs were administered from the beginning to benefit white farmers, often at the expense of Negro farmers.

George Esser Jr., executive director of that North Carolina Fund, a non-profit corporation created to combat poverty in North Carolina in response to a request by Gov. Terry Sanford and other leaders, asked the commission to look at rural problems in terms of rural life as a whole, rather than just farm problems.

Only one rural resident in four lives on a farm, he said, and an overall look at the gearing of training not only to farm needs, but to shifts to non-farm jobs, requires that consideration be given to whether the trainees need to be helped to move elsewhere for work. In addition, many times tenancy agreements leave trainees homeless when they enroll in classes.

He said that, while whites generally find other jobs to compensate for the dramatic decline in agricultural employement, the total number of jobs available for non-whites in the past 10 years has declined.

UNFAIRNESS ALLEGED

Billie Fleming, South Carolina NAACP official, said Negro farmers often have to sell commodities through white neighbors to get equal prices, and that all-white county committees have cut Negro allotments to give tobacco acreage allotments to whites. He said that often, when Negroes are added to local committees, they are

need to be helped to move elsewhere for work. In addition, many times tenancy agreements leave trainees homeless when they enroll in classes.

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Leonidas S. James, field representative for the Rural Advancement Project of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, told the commission that Negro farmers need more assistance in diversifying. They are too dependent on crops, which are subject to more restrictions and fewer federal benefits, and are the least profitable, he said.

James said that, in one South Carolina county, Negroes can not buy land at all, and that difficulties in other areas make it hard for Negro farmers to acquire enough acreage for profitable farming.

CHARGES ADVANTAGE

F. H. Heidelberg, executive vice president of the Uplands Cotton Growers Association, charged that federal land reclamation programs provide a subsidy for Western farmers to put large areas into production of cotton, which already is in surplus supply.

He contended that this aid, which originally was limited to persons with not more than 160 acres, is extended to large corporations which own 37,000 acres or more, giving them a competitive advantage over southern rain-grown crops.

Heidelberg also asserted that, within a few months, new strains of cotton will be introduced widely by Southern state universities and experiment station, these can compete in quality with western varieties, he said.

FAMILY FARMS

Carroll Lamb, chief of the market promotion - expansion section of the Florida Department of Agriculture, said family farms are already "a thing of the past." He appealed for greater understanding of Florida's need for foreign seasonal labor.

One commissioner asked him why grower groups had not supported legislation to provide national pools of voluntary seasonal labor, with "decent wages and housing," drawing particularly on other Southern states which have high unemployment in rural areas during off-seasons.

Several witnesses Wednesday urged depth study of the "real" needs in agriculture as population catches up and exceeds surpluses.

Proof Required Of Driver's Age

SALEM, Ore. (UPI) — Oregon now requires that motorists seeking their first driver's licenses in Oregon show proof of their age and name.

Many under-21 drivers have been trying to obtain drivers licenses proving them older than they are.

COOPERATIVES

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

IN A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
MEMBERS OF A COOPERATIVE
HAVE AN EQUAL VOICE
WORK TOGETHER
IMPROVE FAMILY INCOME

CAP

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

COOPERATIVES

A cooperative can help the Community Action Program reach two useful goals:

1. Members work together to serve their communities.
2. Members increase family income by learning how to provide a new service and process or market a product. Money can be saved by group purchasing.

OEO AND COOPERATIVES

The cooperative principle is a vital tool in the Community Action Program. The Office of Economic Opportunity can fund certain costs of cooperatives for a group of people with inadequate income.

For an organizational period, a grant can be made through the local Community Action Agency to cover such costs as: legal costs of organizing the cooperative, office operation, managerial and clerical staff.

The Economic Opportunity Act and the Amendments of 1965 give the OEO Director authority to "make loans to local cooperative associations furnishing essential processing, purchasing or marketing services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families."

A WORK PROGRAM FOR A COOPERATIVE CAP

In applying for a CAP grant, the work program (describing the activities to be conducted under the grant), should be complete and specific. It should convey a full understanding of the proposal, and serve as a guide for subsequent work. It must also justify the budget.

Some specific questions the work program should answer are:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Why is the cooperative being organized?

What is the community problem it will attack?

Who are the people to be served by the cooperative? How many?

Why was the cooperative format chosen?

For what purposes will the grant funds be used? How do they relate to the general program of the cooperative?

What will be the timetable of the cooperative? Indicate stages of development. When will it become self-sustaining?

How will the Community Action Agency Board and Staff be involved in the program? How will they continue to be involved?

How will the cooperative relate to and be coordinated with other components of the CAP?

How will participating individuals and families be recruited, organized? How will they be involved in policy-making?

How will the program employ low-income people?

How will the program be evaluated?

Applications for funds should be made through your local Community Action Agency.

A CAP-FUNDED COOPERATIVE

In a Southeastern county, where tobacco has been the only crop, a group of farmers, recruited through the CAP program, formed a strawberry marketing cooperative. The participating farmers obtained loans from the Office of Economic Opportunity's delegated Agency, the Farmers Home Administration, to buy equipment, fertilizer and plants, and to join the coop. The manager, a CAP employee, taught the members how to grow and market strawberries in order to increase family income.

The cooperative has applied for a loan to build and equip a processing plant.

Total CAP budget is $26,800 of which $17,600 is an OEO grant and $9200 from other sources.

A breakdown of the 10-month budget shows:

Manager	$6830
Secretary-Bookkeeper	2020
Part-time Bookkeeper	840
Social Security, etc.	995
Consultant engineer	4500
Travel (includes market development)	3240
Equipment & supplies (including packaging)	4420
Space rental	950
Other costs (including rental of demonstration plots)	3000

WHERE TO GET HELP:

Your Community Action Agency.

Your OEO Regional Office.

Rural Task Force, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506.

The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1012—14th St., N.W. Washington, D. C. (area code 202, 628-8765). The League has been funded by OEO to assist local communities in organizing cooperatives.

Farmers Home Administration county or state office and/or the FHA, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

State Land Grant University. Your County Agricultural Extension Agent may be able to give you the name of a cooperative specialist at the University.

Farmer Cooperative Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20525.

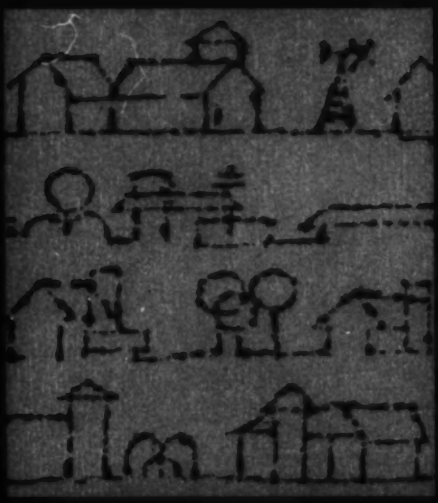
This is one in a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

LABLE

OLDER PEOPLE

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS CAN SERVE HARD-TO-REACH OLDER PEOPLE



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OLDER PEOPLE IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

The rural Community Action Program can help the hard-to-reach older persons with low incomes. There is often uncommon need in this group, because of isolation and a scarcity of community services. An elderly couple, a widow or a widower, with inadequate income, may be living alone—far from neighbors. They may be so handicapped by age or disease that they are unable to take care of their household chores.

Some are homebound by illness or lack of transportation and cannot get out to buy food, clothes, and medicine. Their health is impaired because of difficulty in cooking good, nutritious, well-balanced meals. They very rarely, if ever, have callers and never go visiting. To them life holds forth no promise as it does to youth.

VISITING HOMEMAKER SERVICE

A program to send a Visiting Homemaker to older low-income persons can be developed as part of a Community Action Program. Through the services of low-income women trained as homemakers, the lives of older persons can be enriched and their health improved.

The Visiting Homemaker goes into the homes of older persons on a periodic schedule, usually three times each week. She cleans the home, does the laundry, and prepares two or three days' meals. She also buys food, drugs, and other necessities. She refers to appropriate agencies, such as the Health Department, any problems affecting the well-being of the persons she visits. She is the older person's link with the outside world.

A supervising home economist, employed by the Community Action Agency or its delegate agency, trains the Visiting Homemaker in the skills necessary to perform the service, and also supervises and schedules the visits.

Wherever feasible, older persons should be employed for the Visiting Homemaker jobs. In many cases persons over 65 are physically able to do this kind of work, and can be employed on a part-time basis. The 55-65 age group will probably furnish many good Visiting Homemakers and should have preference over younger workers.

PLANNING THE PROJECT

In planning a Visiting Homemaker Service project, a community survey should be conducted to identify eligible persons who can serve and those to be served. County Health and Welfare offices can supply some of the information. In cases where the CAA has inadequate staff to conduct the survey, low-income older persons may be employed. Where budget limitations do not permit additional employment costs, a Program Development supplementary grant may be requested from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The survey should be designed to provide the following information:

1. Names and addresses of persons to be served.
2. Road conditions, directions, and other information pertinent to reaching the homes.
3. Whether the older person is homebound, and if so, for what reason?
4. The nature of the disability and the needs arising from it.
5. Whether the older person has transportation, and if so, what kind?
6. The condition, ownership status, sanitation, and water supply of the home of the older person.
7. Does the older person live on a farm? If so, does he own or rent? How large is the farm, and who operates it?
8. The name, sex, relationship, and birthdate of the household members.

APPLYING FOR AN OEO GRANT

An application for a grant to conduct a Visiting Homemaker Service must include a work

program describing in detail the need for the program; budget justification; the number of older persons to be served and the number to be employed; program activities; number of positions and job descriptions; transportation arrangements and health examinations for Visiting Homemakers (these costs may be in cash or in kind).

In planning personnel requirements, a professional home economist can usually train 25 non-professionals and can adequately supervise 10 Visiting Homemakers. If more than 10 Homemakers are required, it may be necessary to employ an assistant supervisor.

For general budget instruction, refer to the CAP GUIDE, Vol. 1, pages 50-52.

WHERE TO GET HELP

Your local Community Action Agency

Your OEO Regional Office

Rural Task Force, CAP
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C. 20506

County Welfare Department

County Health Department

County Agricultural Extension Service

Governor's Committee on Aging
(your County may have a representative)

Senior Citizens Council

Golden Age Clubs

Council of Social Agencies

Ministerial Association

State Office, Administration on Aging

If your Community Action Agency is interested in developing a program for Home Health Aides to provide employment for older persons with low incomes, contact Home Health Aide Program, CAP, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506. The Home Health Aides will provide health services to older persons under Medicare.

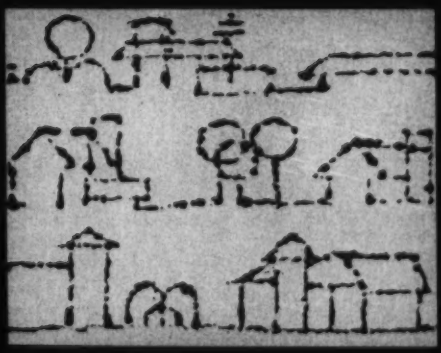
This is one in a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

A FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM CAN HELP TO

- CORRECT SUBSTANDARD FOOD HABITS
- IMPROVE HEALTH
- RESTORE VITALITY
- INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY



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OEO AND FOOD DISTRIBUTION

Designed to help low-income people combat problems of inadequate nutrition, the Food Distribution Program can be a Community Action component.

Food is made available without charge through the United States Department of Agriculture's Needy Family Food Distribution Program. The counties are responsible for all costs of:

Certification for eligible participants;
local transportation;
distribution;
storage.

Where the counties cannot meet all or part of the above expenditures, OEO may fund the county's share through a Community Action Agency.

Note: If a food program is to be expanded under CAP, the existing level of community contribution must be maintained.

In addition, under the Food Distribution component, employees of the CAA or delegate agency are required to teach the eligible participants improved methods of nutrition, sound consumer practices, and balanced meal planning.

The Economic Opportunity Act and the Amendments of 1965 in Title II, Section 205, give the OEO Director authority to fund "such component programs as shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall provide expanded and improved services, assistance and other activities, and facilities necessary in connection therewith."

A WORK PROGRAM FOR FOOD DISTRIBUTION

In applying for a CAP grant, the work program should spell out specifically and in exact detail the activities to be funded. This description should convey a full understanding of the program, serve as a guide for program operation, and justify the budget.

Some specific questions the work program should answer:

What is the need for this program?

What community problems will it answer?

How many people will benefit from it?

Why is the county unable to support the program?

Is any part of need being met through an existing program? If so, will it be continued?

Will the County Welfare Department participate in an OEO-assisted program?

Will food be distributed without reference to race, creed, color, or national origin?

What is the timetable of program operation?

How will this program relate to other CAP components?

How will the component employ low-income people?

How will nutrition education be conducted?

How will caseworkers, nutrition aides, general employees be trained?

If a food program is presently operating, are storage and distribution space adequate for an extended CAP program?

Can county contribute space as part of non-Federal share?

Can space economies be made through staggering of distribution days? through decentralizing distribution? through use of a mobile unit for distribution?

ESSENTIAL BUDGETING FACTORS

Budgeting needs will depend, of course, on the number of people to be served. A typical program staff would include a county commodity supervisor, caseworkers and nutrition aides, a clerk-stenographer, a general employee to supervise warehouse and transport work and part-time laborers to load and distribute commodities. Other budget items will include travel, truck hire, office and warehouse rental, and supplies and equipment.

WHERE TO GET HELP:

Your County Welfare Office

Your State Agency for food distribution (the Welfare Office will know which agency this is)

Your OEO Regional Office

Rural Task Force, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506

For Nutrition Education:

Your high school and adult education home economics teachers

Your County Extension home economist

The home economist for Farmers Home Administration

The County Public Health Department

The utility company or REA home economist

For an extensive, multi-county program: State Extension Service Nutritionist

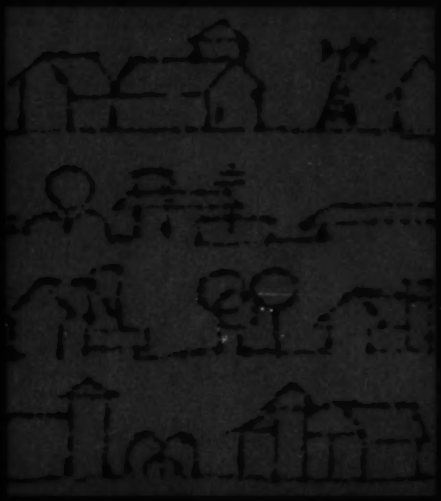
This is one in a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

CREDIT UNIONS

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

CREDIT UNIONS CAN HELP MEMBERS

- MEET CREDIT NEEDS
- LEARN GROUP ACTION
- OBTAIN FINANCIAL COUNSELING
- ACQUIRE THE HABIT OF SAVING



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CREDIT SITUATIONS IN RURAL AREAS

Many persons in this country still pay excessive interest rates on money they borrow. There are many who cannot find credit at all and many who do not have the opportunity or habit of saving. In some parts of the nation, "loan sharks" take advantage of persons who cannot, or do not know how to, get loans from banks or other legitimate credit agencies. These are reasons that persons of "common bond" have organized and operate credit unions.

A credit union is often the best means for persons in certain locations to pool their money through savings plans—25 cents or 25 dollars, monthly or weekly.

In addition to meeting credit needs, credit unions can help low-income people learn group action. It can provide them with financial counseling and debt adjustment services.

Credit unions are chartered and supervised by both the states and the Federal Government.

Basic requirements are that the group of persons shall be of common bond—living in the same community, members of the same church, fraternal order, school system, labor union, or that they are taking part in a local anti-poverty program—and that they agree to save their money to make loans to members at low interest rates.

CAA'S CAN TAKE ACTION

The Community Action Agency (CAA) can make a credit union a CAP component. Several communities have already built credit unions into their local anti-poverty programs.

First, the CAA should determine the need through discussions with low-income people, analysis of credit problems in the area and determination of the scope and potential.

Literature should be secured (see back page) so that

the CAA can arrange for early, thorough discussions with low-income people and others in the community.

OEO will not provide capital for lending but can finance staff salaries, legal expenses of incorporating, and other administrative costs, which will help the credit union through the early days as it builds volume to a self-supporting level.

ACCOMPLISHING THE JOB

Like anything else worth doing, establishing and operating a credit union requires a lot of work, patience and time.

Qualification for a charter requires identifying areas and groups, and determining their potentials for efficient operation. Finding capable persons to staff and guide the credit union is another responsibility. Staff training is essential, as is an education program for members and potential members. State Credit Union Leagues, the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, and existing credit unions are all sources from which a CAA can find assistance in organizing a credit union. In addition, the Office of Economic Opportunity can provide consultants to assist in the planning and operation of credit union components.

These are some questions to be answered in planning:

1. What are the scope and potentials of the group to be served?
2. How widely dispersed is the target group?
3. What are the qualifications among the membership for conducting a credit union?
4. What sources of personnel are available to assist in appraising, training and evaluating effectiveness?
5. Is there adequate office space and equipment?
6. Will the board and committees have adequate representation of all target groups?
7. Will service be guaranteed for all members of the target group?
8. Is there a plan for frequent review and evaluation?

9. Has a relationship been established with the Credit Union National Association International, Inc. (CUNA) and the State Credit Union League?
10. Is there a plan for continuous training sessions with the State Credit Union League or others?

ESSENTIAL BUDGETING FACTORS

Budgeting needs depend on the possible size of membership. Staff will account for the major budget item. A full-time manager, an assistant loan counselor, and a clerk-bookkeeper will probably be necessary. Other budget items will include travel, office space, materials and supplies, equipment, etc. In some localities, certain items might be donated.

SOURCES OF HELP

OEO Regional Office or Rural Task Force, OEO, Washington, D.C. 20506.

Credit Union Leagues in most States can provide assistance. Educational institutions may have credit unions whose staff members might be available to assist in developing CAP credit unions.
Other sources of help are:

Credit Union National Association International, Inc., P. O. Box 431, Madison, Wisconsin 53701;

The Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, Federal Security Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20201;

Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

This is one in a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

RURAL PROBLEMS

FAMILY COUNSELING

ES

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

A FAMILY COUNSELING PROGRAM CAN ASSIST LOW-INCOME FAMILIES TO

- STRENGTHEN HOME LIFE
- KNOW SOURCES OF HELP
- SOLVE PROBLEMS

CAP

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

FAMILY COUNSELING attacks the problems of social and geographic isolation of poor rural families. It seeks to strengthen the initiative of the family in solving its own problems and brings together the family and the resources needed for that purpose.

Family Counseling works in a way that will add to the self-respect and self-direction of the participants and will improve relations within the family and with the community. A Family Counseling program can be a rural CAP component.

JOB OF THE COUNSELOR

The Family Counselor is the link between the CAA and the individuals or families in need of assistance. The Counselor, who is a nonprofessional employed by the CAA:

- Establishes communication with the family
- Helps them identify their problems
- Develops individual incentive
- Brings together the family and sources of help
- Follows family progress toward solution of its problems

As the family identifies its problems, the Family Counselor refers it to those agencies—local, State or Federal—which can help to meet the need for:

- Referral for job training and employment
- Health services
- Food and clothing management
- Home improvement
- Financial management
- Education
- Housing
- Legal aid
- Consumer education
- Family relations
- Community improvement
- Neighborhood cooperation

OEO AND FAMILY COUNSELING

Reaching into the remote and secluded areas where rural low-income families reside is a vital part of the Community Action Program and the Family Counseling com-

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ponent can be the practical means of achieving it.

The Economic Opportunity Act and the Amendments of 1965 in Title II, Section 205, provide that "Such component programs shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall provide expanded and improved services, assistance and other activities, and facilities necessary in connection therewith."

STAFFING THE PROGRAM

A professional social worker should be in charge of the Family Counseling CAP component. He will plan and conduct the program, and select, train, and supervise the staff.

In choosing Family Counselors from the low-income applicants, he should consider their personal qualities, leadership ability, adaptability, and commitment to the purposes of the program. In addition, they should be persons who will continue to identify with the low-income families after being employed by the CAA.

Counselor orientation and training, possibly a two-week session, should include:

The philosophy of Economic Opportunity Programs and how it applies to rural areas.

The resources, both public and private, available to help solve family problems.

The techniques of counseling, interviewing, record-keeping, conducting meetings, identifying problems, developing interest and incentive in family members.

A Family Counselor can be expected to work effectively with approximately 30 to 40 families, depending on geographic factors. Counselors should have periodic or continuing in-service training.

WRITING THE WORK PROGRAM

As part of an application for a Family Counseling component, the work program must describe in detail the scope and activities planned, and should justify each budget item. It should be complete enough to serve as a guide for the operation of the program.

Some specific questions the work program should answer:

How will this program improve the conditions of low-income families?

How many families might require such services?

How will families be located and their needs identified?

How will the program employ low-income people?

What criteria will be used in selecting employees?

What training program has been planned?

What are the qualifications and functions of supervisors?

What will be the timetable of the program?

How will the program be coordinated with other CAP components such as Homemaking?

How will other community agencies be utilized as resources in this program?

How will the component be evaluated?

WHERE TO GET HELP

Your State OEO Technical Assistance Office

Your Regional OEO Office

Officials of county agencies for health, welfare, employment, education, Social Security, Extension Service, and Farmers Home Administration.

Home economists of Extension Service, REA co-operative, local power company

Rural Task Force, Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C. 20506

Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement available from your OEO Regional Office or from the Information Center, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 20506

This is one in a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

RURAL PROBLEMS

REMEDIAL READING

IN RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

ES

A REMEDIAL READING PROGRAM FOR THE RURAL CHILD CAN BE A VITAL FORCE IN EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT

CAP

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

REMEDIAL READING

A remedial reading program is often a serious need in rural areas where teaching facilities and skills lag behind those in the cities. The average rural citizen has 1.4 years less education than his city cousin. Poor reading ability among youth is a major factor in the dropout problem and unemployment. A Remedial Reading component in the Community Action Program can help young people overcome reading handicaps.

OEO AND REMEDIAL READING

The Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Office of Education make funds available for remedial reading programs.

In order to budget wisely and conduct an effective program, it is important that your Community Action Agency work closely with the private and public schools in your area.

In a remedial reading program:

- establish a close relationship between classroom teachers and remedial reading specialists;
- provide for teacher education and training;
- consider means to coordinate testing and diagnosis, identify deficiencies;
- set up health, guidance and counseling services to identify physical or psychological handicaps for referral;
- utilize the technical assistance of available college or university remedial reading specialists.

CLASS CRITERIA

Remedial reading class time and place will depend on your school system. Classes may be held during spare time in the regular school day, or after school hours, or on Saturdays.

Note: Methods should not conflict with those of the normal reading program though the use of similar material is preferable.

While class size should normally range from 10 to 15 students, as few as five can justify a class.

STAFF REQUIREMENTS

A good balance in teacher qualifications is important. The normal requirement for a remedial reading instructor is a Bachelor's degree in education with courses in teaching reading, plus one year's teaching experience. However, lower qualifications can be offset somewhat by frequent staff meetings (once or twice per week) in which problems of techniques are discussed and analyzed. The project director, who must have a degree in education, will coordinate these staff sessions.

Nonprofessionals used as teacher assistants must have thorough preparation, including pre-service, in-service, and other related training courses. For secondary teaching level, methods of tutoring and techniques of motivation, diagnosis, and individual instruction are required.

THE PROGRAM

The focus of the remedial reading program should be on the particular grade level in the schools where the incidence of reading retardation begins. Early identification of reading retardation is essential for effective rehabilitation. Serious retardation should have priority of attention.

The program should be motivational as well as remedial, with the instructor stimulating interest so that the students consider reading a tool for thought and enjoyment as well as a means to employment. Parents' involvement is helpful and home visits can contribute toward greater parent participation. This can be done by the trained nonprofessional.

Some Basic Guidelines

1. Remedial reading instruction should be given only after a thorough diagnostic testing. Standardized tests are the best available means of determining reading ability and the type of problems involved.
2. Testing is never final. It should be continuous and subject to revision.
3. The whole child must be considered. Therefore, the diagnostic program should include a review of all the causative factors.
4. Adequate classroom space and facilities should be mandatory.

5. Qualified personnel are necessary for a good program. A good remedial reading teacher must have been, first, a good classroom teacher of reading.
6. A school reading clinic should be held to provide practical training for teachers in the school.

A CAP-FUNDED PROGRAM

In a West Virginia county where more than 90 percent of the population is disadvantaged, 600 students in grades 1 through 3 are participating in a Remedial Reading program at selected schools in the local county school system. All 600 were tested to determine their grade levels and performance capabilities. At regular intervals, they are retested to show the degree of progress.

The program employs 10 specialized Remedial Reading teachers, each of whom has had training at West Virginia University.

The students have shown marked progress in reading, pronunciation, vocabulary, and discipline. The use of special typewriters, phonic and reading workbooks, and an interest-stimulating method keeps the attention of even the first graders.

BUDGETING

Typical program expense will range between $100 and $200 per pupil per school year. In addition to salaries for personnel, the budget should include the services of a consultant, expenditures for classroom space where necessary, travel, and miscellaneous items.

WHERE TO GET HELP

Your local school system

Regional Office OEO

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Your State Department of Education

Rural Task Force, Community Action Program
OEO, Washington, D.C. 20506

Education: An Answer to Poverty, 76-page publication available from Community Action Program, OEO, Washington, D.C. 20506

This is one of a series of action programs for rural Community Action Agencies.

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RURAL PROBLEMS

What you should know about

FARMER COOPERATIVES

A cooperative is a business owned and operated by the people who use the goods and services it supplies. It is one way that people can pool cash and some of their other resources to work together for a better life for each of them.

Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives. They may get their electricity through their local rural electric cooperatives, and their seed, fertilizer, feed, and other supplies through purchasing co-ops; sell the products they grow through marketing co-ops; and borrow the money they need to carry on their operations through cooperative Land Banks, production credit associations, and credit unions. Even the smallest farmer -- and the farm worker, too -- may find that cooperatives can help him save money in his farming and in supplying his family's needs.

An Example of a Need - Credit Unions

One of the easiest ways to save money is not to borrow it from the landlord, the supply merchant, the ginner, the loan shark. Yet almost all farmers and sharecroppers must borrow during the growing season, and farmworkers often must borrow during the off season. A study showed that Negro small farmers in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, were really paying their landlords 11.7% and their supply merchants 14.8% interest (even though it was reported at a lower rate). Those who could borrow from a production credit association or from a bank paid 6% to 6.8% interest (with no extra hidden charges). Most of the loans were from $50 up to $500.

A credit union is one kind of cooperative. It could have lent this money cheaper and might have worked out a better schedule for repayment. It might have been able to help those that the production credit association and the banks would not help, including farmworkers and non-farmers.

How a cooperative operates

A cooperative is organized to save money for its member-users and to bring them needed services, not to make a profit for stockholders. All cooperatives operate on this basic principle.

1. Open membership. Anyone can join a cooperative who can use and pay for its services, and pay the membership fee. (You have to be a farmer to belong to a farmer co-op. The membership fee depends upon the kind of business, usually ranging from $5.00 to $100.00.)

2. Democratic control. The cooperative is controlled by the members and every member in good standing can vote. Each member usually has one vote no matter how much stock he owns.

3. Limited interest on capital invested. Members buy shares in the cooperative so that it will have enough money to operate, but it is set up to serve its members, not to make a profit, so the members limit the amount of interest they pay themselves on their invested capital.

4. Service at as near to cost as possible. After cooperatives have paid their operating expenses, they may pay dividends to members on their invested capital. The net savings left over is allocated and paid to the patrons as patronage refunds. This means that it is divided up on the basis of goods bought or services used during the year. The more you use your co-op the larger refund you will get.

Types of cooperatives

There are almost as many kinds of cooperatives as there are needs for goods and services. Here are a few that have been most useful for rural people:

Purchasing co-ops - to buy at wholesale and to sell to their members such products as seed, fertilizers, machinery, gasoline, home appliances, and groceries.

Marketing co-ops - to gin, pack or prepare their members' products for market; and to sell them locally or ship them to market.

Credit unions - to encourage thrift and savings and to lend money to their members at reasonable rates. Usually, all members must belong to the same organization, such as a church or civic group.

Other Service co-ops - to own and operate expensive machinery; to develop water, forestry, and conservation districts; to build and operate housing for older persons, and health clinics; to reduce insurance and funeral costs.

How to use a cooperative -- or start a new one

First, visit the cooperative nearest you. Get its literature on how it operates and how to join. If it can meet some of your needs, join it, take part in its meetings, vote in its elections, and use its services. If there is no co-op nearby, try to get the one that best meets your needs to open a branch in your area.

Many co-ops have failed. Before starting one, learn if a cooperative will meet your local needs and if you have the resources to make it successful. Experts on cooperatives can help you determine if a proposed cooperative is practicable and has a chance for success.

Some of the causes of co-op failure have been: (1) Not enough persons in the area had enough need for it; (2) The members did not understand how cooperatives really operate; (3) There was no convenient source of supply for a purchasing co-op or a reasonable market for the products of a marketing one; (4) The manager was not qualified to run the business; (5) The members could not raise enough capital (although loans may have been available if the plans were really feasible).

No matter how big some cooperatives now are, most of them started with just a few persons sitting down and planning together how to get the things and services they need cheaper and better. But expert help is needed; get it from the start.

How to get help

Private organizations, state colleges, state departments of agriculture, banks for cooperatives, and the federal government are ready to help you learn about cooperatives and to form one if a feasibility study shows you can use one successfully. For further information on cooperatives and the nearest cooperative association that may help you, write to: The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

For information and help on credit unions, write to: Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D.C.; or to: Credit Union National Association, 1617 Sherman Avenue, P.O. Box 431, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

The Farmer Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250, is set up to advise and help farmers organize and operate cooperatives successfully. Write to it for Bulletin Reprint 6, What is a Co-op, and Circular 18, Organizing a Farmer Cooperative, and for other information. Ask Farmer Cooperative Service for help as you go along.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

What you should know about

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOANS

If you are a farmer and need additional funds at reasonable terms and rates to consolidate debts, for operating expenses, to improve your crop, stock, house, or buildings, or to buy a farm or equipment, Farmers Home Administration may be able to help you. You may have been turned down for an FHA loan in the past--or have been told that it is useless for you to apply. But if your farm experience makes you believe that with enough credit you can manage a farm successfully as either an owner or a tenant, you should apply again. Be sure to apply in writing, as only written applications can be considered.

Floyd F. Higbee, FHA Deputy Administrator, instructed all FHA offices:

"We must concentrate on helping farmers improve their conditions... rather than to use their problems and shortcomings as a basis for rejecting their applications for assistance....The best efforts of this agency are now directed specifically to assisting family farmers through loans and guidance to the end that no deserving family farmer will have to give up the struggle of remaining on the farm because of factors that have come about through reasons beyond his control." (FHA Bulletin No. 691, February 15, 1961.)

Kinds of loans available

If you think any of the FHA loans listed here might help you, ask your FHA county office for the special leaflets that will tell you much more about them.

Operating loans: To help make your farm and home operations successful. Loans for livestock, feed, fertilizer, and farm equipment; for food, clothing, medical care, and other household expenses; to refinance debts; to produce trees, and to do other things to make your farm more productive. Terms: Loans up to seven years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry operations.

Farm Ownership loans: To buy, enlarge, and improve family farms. Loans for farm homes and buildings, to drill wells, to develop and improve forest or recreational enterprises. They are for larger, longer-range projects than operating loans. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry.

Rural Housing loans: To build or improve farm homes or buildings, or non-farm homes in rural areas or communities of less than 2500. Loans to install heating or water, or to modernize; or to buy a house or homesite for persons over 62 years. Terms: Loans up to 33 years at 4% interest. Owners unable to repay a loan may be able to get a grant of up to $1000 for minor safety or health improvements.

Water Development and Soil Conservation loans: To improve your water supply and your land; for wells, farmstead water, irrigation and drainage, grading, fertilizing and seeding; to develop permanent pastures and improve forestry practices; to join a water district; and to pay for engineering plans and legal fees. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% for forestry.

Emergency loans: To help farmers who need special credit to carry on their normal operations because of widespread losses caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters. They are usually made only in areas specially designated by the Secretary of Agriculture but sometimes can be made when only one or a few farmers are affected. Terms: Loans up to 7 years for livestock and equipment, up to 20 years for buildings and land improvement, at 3% interest.

Loans to groups: These are available for watershed improvement, water systems, irrigation, soil conservation, the development of grasslands, and forestry and recreational enterprises, and for the building of housing for older persons. Ask the FHA county office for information about these programs.

Who is eligible for FHA loans

The special requirements for the different types of loans are given in the FHA leaflets. All of the loans (except for rural housing) require the following:

1. that you are unable to get credit for the loan you need at reasonable rates and terms from private or cooperative lending agencies;

2. that you have a farm background and the farm experience or training necessary to be successful in carrying out the planned farm operation;

3. that you work out a plan with the FHA county supervisor that will make it possible to carry through the operation and pay off the loan;

4. that after the loan is made you actually will be managing or operating a farm either as owner, or tenant under a written lease, and that you be of legal age (and, in some cases, a U.S. citizen);

5. that you have the character, industry, and ability to carry out the farming operation for which you obtain the loan.

How to apply -- Who determines whether or not you are eligible

Consider your own farm operation very carefully. If you think that with a loan you can increase your cash income enough to both live better and pay off the loan, ask the FHA county supervisor to help you plan your operations and help you prepare your application. Your application will be reviewed by the FHA county committee which will decide whether or not you get the loan. The FHA committee is made up of three local farmers appointed by the FHA state director. The committee may ask you and your family to meet with it. Try to have other farmers who know you tell the committee about your background and ability. The local committee should decide in about two weeks. Appeals may be taken to the state director. Even if you don't qualify for an FHA loan at this time, the FHA office can help you plan for farm improvements.

What to do if you think you are not being treated fairly on an FHA loan

You have the right to have the FHA county office help you review your farm operations and plan your improvements. You are entitled to be treated with courtesy at the FHA county office and to receive help in preparing your loan application. If other debts are keeping you from qualifying, the FHA office may be able to help you try to work out new arrangements with your other creditors. The FHA county committee must consider your application fairly regardless of your color, the smallness of your farm, or any bad credit or operating experiences in the past.

Keep a careful written record of all your contacts with the FHA office and a copy of your applications. Keep every letter or notice that is sent to you, and keep the envelope it came in. If you think that you are not being treated fairly, write a letter telling everything that happened to: The Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS

(Direct distribution, Food Stamp, and School Lunch Programs)

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local public welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it (sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program--or continue in it--if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part or continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials or the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. The Food Stamp Program. This program permits low-income families and families on welfare to spend their food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If your community has need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that your community be included in the Food Stamp Program.

3. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent-teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groups in helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

4. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

5. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

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If you find that any federally assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

What you should know about

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT PROGRAMS
(for cotton, peanuts, and rice)

This fact sheet furnishes general information on farm acreage allotments and marketing quotas for cotton, peanuts, and rice. If you have any questions about these acreage allotments and marketing quota programs, you should discuss them with the local County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Office.

Marketing Quota Referendums and Acreage Allotments

Marketing quota referendums for cotton and peanuts are held by county ASC committees each year in which the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota for these crops. The referendums are held not later than December 15 and must be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. Any farm owner, tenant, or sharecropper who "engaged in the production" of these crops in the year the referendum is held can vote.

With respect to rice, a referendum must be held within 30 days after the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota. When conditions require it the national marketing quota for rice must be proclaimed by the Secretary between July 1 and December 1. Rice quotas must also be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. To be eligible to vote a farmer must have "engaged in the production" of rice during the year in which the referendum is held. Notices of acreage allotments are issued in advance of referendums in order that farmers will know the effect of the program on their farms.

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to your county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past crop history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (Abnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the ASC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are usually entitled to some allotment for the crop. Ask the ASC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you. A producer growing an allotment crop without an allotment is subject to marketing quota penalties and does not qualify for an allotment for subsequent years. Therefore, before a farmer without an allotment grows one of these crops he should discuss his chances for a "new farm" allotment with his county ASC committee.

ASCS County Elections

Once each year local farmers elect community committees whose chairmen elect the county ASC committee. Generally any farmer who is eligible to participate in one of the ASCS price support programs, has an acreage allotment established for his farm or participates in the Agricultural Conservation, Conservation Reserve, or Feed Grain Program, is eligible to vote in ASCS committee elections. These elections are well publicized locally. Any farmer who has any questions as to eligibility to vote should contact the local county ASCS office prior to the date of the election.

What to do if you don't get your notice of acreage allotment or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum, inquire at once at your local ASC office and write a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C., telling him what happened.

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you don't understand it, ask your local ASCS office to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied that the allotment is right for your farm, file a written application for review with your local ASCS office within fifteen days from the date of the postmark on your notice. Keep your copy of your notice of allotment. If you need help in filing an application for review of your allotment, the ASCS office will help you with it.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the allotted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your land is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

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If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segregates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, INC.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, N. Y. 10038

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

GENERAL INFORMATION

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. established its Eleanor Roosevelt scholarship program in 1962 to aid deserving students without financial means to obtain a college education.

Students of all races and from all parts of the country are eligible to apply. Preference is given to students who have been actively involved in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and discrimination and to secure legal rights for persons of all races. Special consideration is given to those who have made significant contributions and sacrifices in their work for human rights.

PURPOSE AND AMOUNT OF GRANTS

1. Scholarships awarded to students who have been admitted to a college accredited by a regional accrediting body.

2. Grants are made to cover tuition and/or living expenses.

3. Depending on need, scholarships are granted in any amount up to $1,500 for one academic year. In exceptional cases, a supplementary grant of up to $500 may be made.

4. Scholarships may be renewed for subsequent years upon application. CORE SEDF will endeavor to continue support of students selected for grants, but cannot guarantee to do so.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

1. Evidence of financial need.

2. Record of activity in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and segregation and to obtain legal rights for all citizens.

3. Evidence of good character and leadership potential.

4. Evidence of academic ability sufficient to benefit from higher education.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

1. To apply, students must submit:

   a- Completed application form (obtainable from CORE SEDF).

   b- References from at least two persons of known leadership or staff position in the civil rights field.

   c- Copy of high school or college transcript.

2. Deadlines

   a- Applications for FALL semester must be filed by May 1st.

   b- Applications for SPRING semester must be filed by November 1st.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Administration file - new folder

ISTSP

The Independent Schools Talent Search Program

The United States
& Japan

PURPOSE

The Independent Schools Talent Search Program seeks promising students from disadvantaged circumstances and places them in independent boarding schools under major scholarship grants for the final two to four years of their high school education. The aim of the Program is to prepare these students for eventual entrance into college.

BACKGROUND

On February 23, 1963 representatives of twenty-one independent schools convened to consider ways and means of helping promising students who, because of a lack of resources and educational and cultural advantages, are unable to realize their apparent ability. It was felt that at least two years at an independent school could assist materially in preparing these students for successful college entrance. As a result of this meeting, the Independent Schools Talent Search Program was founded.

In the summer of 1964, Dartmouth College held the first ABC (A Better Chance) Project - an eight week summer residential experience to prepare some of the boys accepted through ISTSP for the difficult curriculum and for the different way of life at boarding school. In the summer of 1965, Dartmouth's program was complemented by a similar ABC Project for girls at Mount Holyoke College. In the summer of 1966, three new ABC Programs - at Carleton College, Williams College and Duke University - were established to provide space for 370 summer scholars.

The initial group of twenty ISTSP member independent schools has grown steadily and now numbers over one hundred.

THE SCHOOLS

It would be unfortunate to explain the member schools of ISTSP as one group. There is a healthy diversity of character, method and goal among them.

The opportunities available to the student at an independent school are almost unlimited. Substantial operating funds make possible a small pupil-teacher ratio, give the student the opportunity of close attention from instructors, provide him with excellent classrooms, library and laboratory facilities, and place him with classmates who will stimulate and challenge his abilities. Most of the schools have a broad program of physical education and extracurricular activities, complementing his work in the classroom. This cultivation of academic ability, extracurricular interest and character is a fine preparation for college and for life.

MEMBER SCHOOLS

Abbot Academy
Andover, Massachusetts

Avon Old Farms
Avon, Connecticut

Baldwin School, The
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Barlow School, The
Amenia, New York

Beaver Country Day School
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

Berkshire School, The
Sheffeld, Massachuestts

Birch Wathen School
New York City, New York

Brooks School, The
North Andover, Massachusetts

Cambridge School of Weston, The
Weston Massachusetts

Cate School
Carpenteria, California

Cheshire Academy
Cheshire, Connecticut

Choate School, The
Wallingford, Connecticut

Collegiate School
New York, New York

Colorado Academy
Englewood, Colorado

Colorado Rocky Mountain School
Carbondale, Colorado

Commonwealth School
Boston, Massachusetts

Concord, Academy
Concord, Massachusetts

Cranbrook School
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Cranwell School
Lenox, Massachusetts

Culver Military Academy
Culver, Indiana

Cushing Academy
Ashburnham, Massachusetts

Dana Hall School
Wellesley, Massachusetts

Darrow School
New Lebanon, New York

Deerfield Academy
Deerfield, Massachusetts

DeVeaux School
Niagara Falls, New York

Emma Willard School
Troy, New York

George School
Bucks Country, Pennsylvania

Governor Dummer Academy
South Byfield, Massachusetts

Groton School
Groton, Massachusetts

Gunnery, The
Washington, Connecticut

Hackley School
Tarrytown, New York

Hall's School, Miss
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Hebron Academy
Hebron, Maine

Hill School, The
Pottstown, Pennsylvania

Hinckley School, The
Hinckley, Maine

Holderness School
Plymouth, New Hampshire

Hotchkiss School, The
Lakeville, Connecticut

Hun School of Princeton, The
Princeton, New Jersey

Kent School for Boys
Kent, Connecticut

Kent School for Girls
Kent, Connecticut

Kimball Union Academy
Meriden, New Hampshire

Kiskiminetas Springs School
Saltsburg, Pennsylvania

Lake Forest Academy
Lake Forest, Illinois

Lawrenceville School, The
Lawrenceville, New Jersey

Lenox School
Lenox, Massachusetts

Loomis School, The
Windsor, Connecticut

MacDuffie School for Girls
Springfield, Massachusetts

Masters School, The
Dobbs Ferry, New York

Maumee Valley Country Day School
Maumee, Ohio

Mercersburg Academy
Mercersburg, Pennsylvania

Middlesex School
Concord, Massachusetts

Millbrook School
Millbrook, New York

Milton Academy for Boys
Milton, Massachusetts

Milton Academy for Girls
Milton, Massachusetts

Mountain School, The
Vershire Center, Vermont

Mount Hermon School
Mount Hermon, Massachusetts

New Hampton School, The
New Hampton, New Hampshire

Noble & Greenough School
Dedham, Massachusetts

Northampton School for Girls
Northampton, Massachusetts

Northfield School
East Northfield, Massachusetts

Oakwood School
Poughkeepsie, New York

Peddie School, The
Hightstown, New Jersey

Phillips Academy
Andover, Massachusetts

Phillips Exeter Academy
Exeter, New Hampshire

Pomfret School
Pomfret, Connecticut

Portsmouth Priory School
Portsmouth, Rhode Island

Putney School
Putney, Vermont

Riverdale Country School
Bronx, New York

St. Andrews School
Middletown, Delware

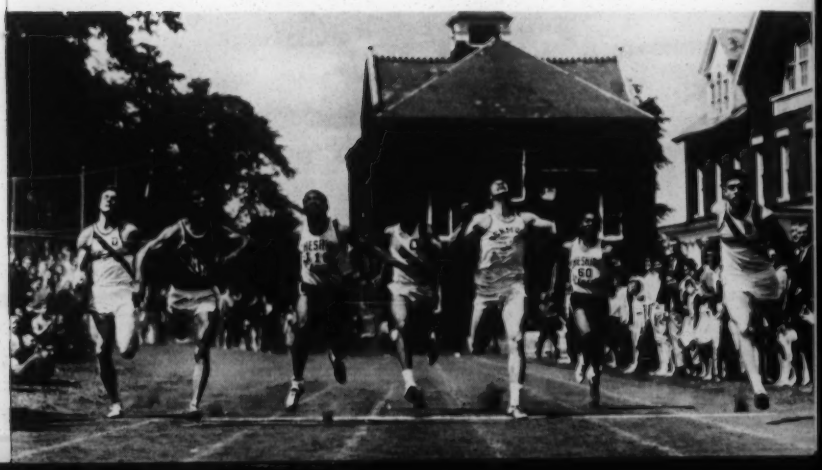
St. George's School
Newport, Rhode Island

St. Mark's School
Southborough, Massachusetts

St. Mary's-in-the-Mountains
Littleton, New Hampshire

St. Mary's School
Peekskill, New York

St. Paul's School
Concord, New Hampshire



Salisbury School
Salisbury, Connecticut

Shattuck School
Faribault, Minnesota

Shipley School, The
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Solebury School
New Hope , Pennsylvania

South Kent School
South Kent, Connecticut

Sterling School
Craftsbury Common, Vermont

Robert Louis Stevenson School
Pebble Beach, California

Storm King School
Cornwall-On-Hudson, New York

Suffield Academy
Suffield, Connecticut

Tabor Academy
Marion, Massachusetts

Taft School, The
Watertown, Connecticut

Tilton School
Tilton, New Hampshire

Verde Valley School
Sedona, Arizona

Vermont Academy
Saxtons River, Vermont

Walnut Hill School
Natick, Massachusetts

Waynflete School, The
Portland, Maine

Western Reserve Academy
Hudson, Ohio

Westminster School
Simsbury, Connecticut

Westover School
Middlebury, Connecticut

Westtown School
Westtown, Pennsylvania

Whiteman School
Steamboat Springs, Colorado

Wilbraham Academy
Wilbraham, Massachusetts

Windsor Mountain School
Lenox, Massachusetts

Woodstock Country School
South Woodstock, Vermont

Wooster School
Danbury, Connecticut

Worcester Academy
Worcester, Massachusetts

Wyoming Seminary
Kingston, Pennsylvania

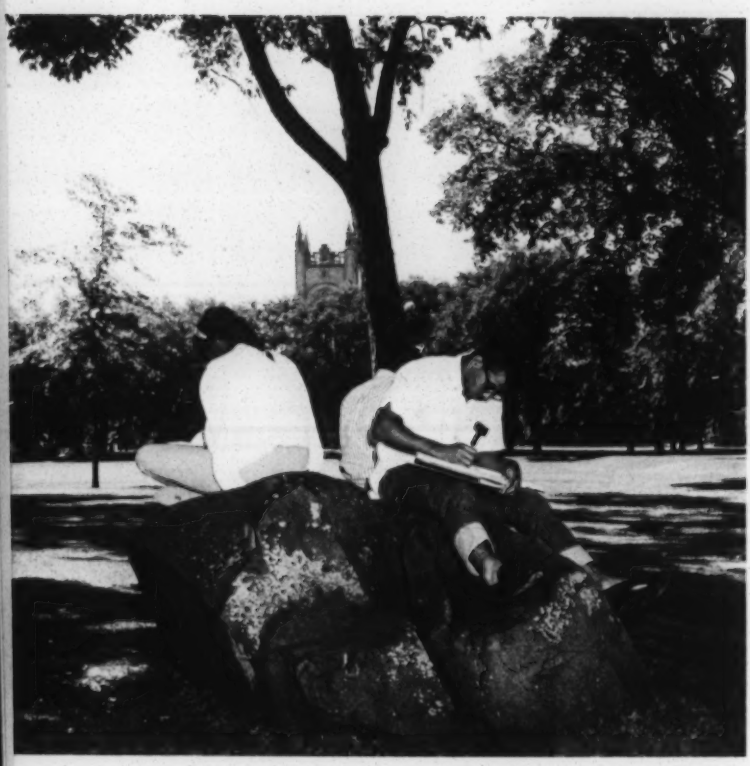
THE STUDENTS

It is often difficult to identify the kind of students ISTSP is seeking because students from disadvantaged circumstances encounter frustrating obstacles in their advance toward a college education.

A "typical" ISTSP applicant is achieving at least adequately in his present school. He generally has a strong concept of himself and a desire to improve his situation. However, there is a lack of awareness of the opportunities now available to all students regardless of background and financial resources and a natural hesitancy to take advantage of the opportunities that do exist. Often the damaging effects of poverty have already begun to make the possibilities for higher education seem distressingly remote. Despite their high level of motivation it will be difficult if not impossible for many of our students to complete high school.

An ISTSP student needs special personal qualities as well as strong academic promise. He should possess an inner "toughness", a resiliency and resourcefulness, which will enable him to make the difficult transition to preparatory school.

Colleges and universities have long recognized the special strengths of this kind of student and have done much to identify these young people and offer the necessary financial aid to make it possible for them to enroll. Indeed, scholarship funds from private sources, together with federal resources recently made available through the Higher Education Act improves the chances of a college education for all who qualify academically. The difficulty is to find students whose secondary school preparation will enable them to compete successfully in college. With a few years of preparation in an independent school, a student will find that the door to college lies truly open.



ASSOCIATED ABC PROJECTS

The schools which founded ISTSP recognized that many of the students who could gain admission to an independent school might, in spite of their ability and motivation, be totally unprepared for the greater demands of life at boarding school. The ABC Project attempts to help the students in their transition to boarding school and to determine which students, if any, are not ready to go on to independent school.

The ABC curriculum consists of intensive work in English and mathematics - how to read, write and speak more effectively, and how to master basic concepts in arithmetic and algebra. The Program also stresses reading and study skills, experience in writing examinations and the use of the library. Students work with faculty and undergraduate

resident-tutors in small classes and tutorials. College athletic facilities, cultural activities and field trips are provided to enrich the summer experience.

Each ABC staff includes experienced public and private secondary schools teachers and carefully selected undergraduate resident-tutors from the ABC College. Students live in college dormitories - in small groups, each group with a resident-tutor. Meals are served in college dining halls.

Students cannot apply to the ABC Project only. Admission to a Summer Program is granted only to students who have been accepted into a member school of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program. Appropiate forms may be obtained directly from ISTSP, not from the ABC Colleges.

THE ISTSP APPLICATION

Application should be made by students who will enter the ninth and tenth grades in the fall of 1967. Students applying for the eighth and eleventh grades will be at a disadvantage because ISTSP schools have few places in these grades. Because there are many more boys' schools than girls' schools there are more places for boys than for girls. Many students applying to ISTSP take an "extra year". A student, for instance, who would normally be entering the eleventh grade in public school may be asked to enter independent school at the tenth grade level, taking extra work in the subject areas in which he is weakest and going ahead in areas in which he has special strengths or ability.

The application for ISTSP has five parts: the Parents Report, the School Record, the Student's Statement and two Letters of Recommendation. These forms can be obtained by writing the Independent Schools Talent Search Program, 376 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachussetts.

In addition, all candidates are expected to take Secondary Schools Admissions Tests (SSAT). An information booklet and application to take the test will be included with each ISTSP application. The test is given at examination centers throughout the country and is given three times a year - in December, February and April. Applicants taking the December test will have a definite advantage. Some ISTSP students will be selected from among those taking the February test. Candidates *should not* plan to take the April test.

When candidates take the SSAT examination they will be asked to indicate the code number of the schools to which the results should be sent. Instead of indicating schools, ISTSP applicants should write in "573-ISTSP". Failure to specify "573-ISTSP" will result in a delay which will in turn affect the applicant's chances of acceptance.

Applications to ISTSP should be completed by January 1, 1967.

THE COST

The normal annual cost of room, board and tuition in the participating independent schools is approximately $2,500, not including expenditures for travel, clothes, laundry, recreation, and so on. The schools have agreed to give the students whom they accept full financial aid for room, board and tuition and to assist with the other costs when this is necessary. On the Parent's Report form of the application, the student's family is asked to state how much financial support can reasonably be provided. It is assumed that the family will want to contribute something, since this would be evidence of the family's desire to support the student in his effort to attend an independent school.

The fee for Secondary School Admissions Test is $7.

If a student is accepted into the Program there is a $15. fee to attend the ABC Program.

The lack of financial resources should not discourage any student from making application to ISTSP.

A CALENDAR FOR APPLICATION

SEPTEMBER THROUGH NOVEMBER: Secure application forms, fill them out completely and return them to the ISTSP office. Make sure the applicant's school returns the School Report to ISTSP within a reasonable period of time.

Before the November deadline, apply for admission to one of the Educational Testing Service examination centers to take the December Secondary Schools Admissions Test. Fill out the post card which was included with your ISTSP application forms stating the examination center number and the date you expect to take the examination and return it to ISTSP.

DECEMBER: After you have made application to take the Secondary Schools Admissions Test you will receive a ticket of admission to the test center to which you have been assigned. Take the December Secondary Schools Admissions Test at your assigned examination center. Be sure to put down the "573-ISTSP" code at the time you take the test. Failure to do this will mean a delay in the report of test results to ISTSP and may affect an applicant's chances of being accepted into the Program. Do not indicate any of the individual schools, since ISTSP will send the results to the schools to which applications are referred.

JANUARY: Each completed application will be read by members of the ISTSP staff who will select a number of schools which seem suitable to the applicant's interests and abilities.

FEBRUARY THROUGH APRIL: Applications will be referred by ISTSP to member independent schools for their consideration. If a school decides to accept a candidate, the school will write directly to the candidate's family. A student's acceptance will become final after he successfully completes the summer ABC Program. An application may be considered by as many as six or seven schools during the referral period.

MAY: When all the available places have been filled, ISTSP will assign those students who have been granted contingent acceptances by an ISTSP member school to ABC Summer Programs. Applicants for whom ISTSP has been unable to find places will also be notified.

For the ISTSP Application Forms and further information about the Secondary School Admission Tests, please write to:

Mr. James E. Simmons, Director
Independent Schools Talent Search Program
376 *Boylston Street*
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Dupir + info SCHOOL DESEG

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State or locality where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State or local officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State or locality rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of Titles II, III, IV, V, VI and VII. Title I retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

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- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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Guidelines for School Desegregation

A Summary Explanation
of the
Revised Statement of Policies
For School Desegregation Plans
Under Title VI of the
Civil Rights Act of 1964

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

The 1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation

The 1966 Guidelines require:

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans,
2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff,
3. Progress in closing of small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups,
4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

Assurance

To be eligible for Federal funds, each school system must assure the Commissioner that it will abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The type of assurance varies with the nature of the school system:

Desegregated Systems

A school district that never had or has already eliminated a segregated system submits an assurance of full compliance by HEW Form 441.

Dual School Systems

School systems that are working toward desegregation submit either a Federal court order for desegregation or a voluntary desegregation plan. School systems with voluntary plans file Form 441–B, which provides that a school system's voluntary desegregation plan will be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the 1966 Guidelines.

Performance

Any compliance assurance or plan is essentially a statement of intent, and is not a substitute for performance. The Commissioner may require additional assurance or evidence of performance if he has cause to believe that a school system is not living up to its original assurance.

Types of Plan

No single type of desegregation plan fits all school systems. Each school system is responsible for selecting the plan best suited to accomplish desegregation as quickly as possible. However, if the Commissioner has cause to believe a plan will not work in a particular district or has evidence that a previously accepted plan is failing, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

A. *General Requirements*

The school system—not the State or Federal Government—is responsible for making its plan work. The system must inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

The Guidelines require periodic reports to help the Commissioner determine a system's progress under its plan. These reports include data on student and faculty assignment by race and school; notification of any changes the system seeks to make in its plan; and descriptions of special circumstances hampering the progress of desegregation.

B. *Attendance Zone Plans*

Under this type of plan, students are assigned to schools within a school system according to their area of residence. The school system must establish a single set of attendance zones, and then assign students to schools serving their zone regardless of race, color, or national origin.

Students with special educational needs—handicapped children, for example—can be assigned to a school outside their normal attendance zone.

C. *Free Choice Plans*

These plans require students to choose their own school, regardless of where they live. The expectation is that students of each race will choose the same school and thus break down the dual school pattern.

Every student and his parent *must* choose a school *each* year . . . in most cases 4 or 5 months before the school year begins. The school system must ensure that this choice is free, and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal.

School systems must make significant progress in eliminating the dual school pattern under free choice plans. Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years and will be judged in accordance with the Federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their schools.

Desegregation of Faculty

The 1965 Guidelines required at least a first step toward faculty desegregation through integrated staff meetings in the first year. The1966 Guidelines require actual desegregation in the school staff.

In general, school systems with separate white and Negro faculties must either assign staff in such a way as to produce some faculty integration in every school, or use some other pattern of staff assignment which will make comparable progress in bringing about staff desegregation successfully.

The 1966 Guidelines also include safeguards against discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion, and extension of tenure. They do not violate a system's right to administer its staff according to professional criteria, but they do require that such practices not result in discrimination by race, color, or national origin.

Desegregation of Facilities

Any facility or activity—including athletics, transportation, parent-teacher or student assemblies, extracurricular programs, special educational opportunities—identifiable as being school-related must be open to all appropriate persons without discrimination.

Summary

The basic concept behind the design of the 1966 Guidelines is substantial progress in each district beyond what it achieved under the 1965 Guidelines.

The basic criterion for the Commissioner's interpretation of these Guidelines is measurable evidence of progress and good faith effort to eliminate the dual school system as quickly as possible.

March 1, 1966

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966—O-210-101

TEXT FOR CHOICE OF SCHOOL FORM

(Required by § 181.46 of the Statement of Policies)

(IF SEPARATE SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED FOR OTHER THAN NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS, TEXT IS TO BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY)

(School System Name and Office Address)

(Date sent)

CHOICE OF SCHOOL FORM

This form is provided for you to choose the school your child will attend for the coming school year. It does not matter which school the child has been attending, and it does not matter whether the school you choose was formerly a white or a Negro school. No student can be enrolled without making a choice of school. This form must either be brought to any school or mailed to the Superintendent's office at the address above by _____. If the student is 15 years old by the date of choice, or will be entering the ninth or a higher grade, either the student or his parent may make the choice.

1. Name of Child _____
   Last First Middle
2. Age _____
3. School and grade currently or last attended _____ Grade _____
4. School Chosen (Mark X beside school chosen)

Name of School	*Grades*	*Location*
[Here list by name, grades offered, and location each school available. For example:]		
☐ George Washington High School	8–12	Adams St., Jefferson
☐ James Madison Elementary School	1– 7	Monroe St., Jackson

This form is signed by (mark proper box):

Parent ☐

Other adult person acting as parent ☐

Student ☐

Signature _____

Address _____

Date _____

This block is to be filled in by the Superintendent's office, not by person signing.
Is student assigned to school chosen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, explain: _____

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O—210-100

TEXT FOR ANNUAL LETTER TO PARENTS

For Use During 30-Day Spring Choice Period

(Required by §181.46 of the Statement of Policies)

(IF SEPARATE SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED FOR OTHER THAN NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS, TEXT IS TO BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY)

(School System Name and Office Address)

Dear Parent: (Date sent)

Our community has adopted a school desegregation plan. We will no longer have separate schools for children of different races. The desegregation plan has been accepted by the U.S. Office of Education under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The plan requires *every* student or his parent to choose the school the student will attend in the coming school year. It does not matter which school the student is attending this year, and it does not matter whether that school was formerly a white or a Negro school. You and your child may select any school you wish.

A choice of school is required for each student. A student cannot be enrolled at any school next school year unless a choice of schools is made. This spring there will be a 30-day choice period, beginning ----------, 1966, and ending ----------, 1966.

A choice form listing the available schools and grades is enclosed. This form must be filled out and returned. You may mail it in the enclosed envelope, or deliver it by hand to any school or to the address above any time during the 30-day choice period. No one may require you to file your choice form before the end of the choice period. No preference will be given for choosing early during the choice period.

No principal, teacher or other school official is permitted to influence anyone in making a choice. No one is permitted to favor or penalize any student or other person because of a choice made. Once a choice is made, it cannot be changed except for serious hardship.

Also enclosed is an explanatory notice giving full details about the desegregation plan. It tells you how to exercise your rights under the plan, and tells you how teachers, school buses, sports and other activities are being desegregated.

Your School Board and the school staff will do everything we can to see to it that the rights of all students are protected and that our desegregation plan is carried out successfully.

Sincerely yours,

Superintendent.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O—210-098

TEXT FOR NOTICE TO BE PUBLISHED IN NEWSPAPERS, DISTRIBUTED WITH LETTERS TO PARENTS, AND OTHERWISE MADE FREELY AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC

(Required by § 181.46 and 181.53 of the Statement of Policies)

(School System Name and Office Address)

NOTICE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

THIS NOTICE IS MADE AVAILABLE TO INFORM YOU ABOUT THE DESEGREGATION OF OUR SCHOOLS. KEEP A COPY OF THIS NOTICE. IT WILL ANSWER MANY QUESTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

1. *Desegration Plan in Effect*

The _____ public school system is being desegregated under a plan adopted in
(Name of school system)
accordance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The purpose of the desegregation plan is to eliminate from our school system the racial segregation of students and all other forms of discrimination based on race, color, or national origin.

2. *Thirty-Day Spring Choice Period*

Each student or his parent, or other adult person acting as parent, is required to choose the school the student will attend next school year. The choice period will begin on _____ and close _____, 1966.

3. *Explanatory Letters and School Choice Forms*

On the first day of the choice period, an explanatory letter and this notice will be sent by first-class mail to the parent, or other adult person acting as parent, of each student then in the schools who is expected to attend school the following school year. A school choice form will be sent with each letter, together with a return envelope addressed to the Superintendent. Additional copies of the letter, this notice and the choice form are freely available to the public at any school and at the Superintendent's office.

4. *Returning the Choice Forms*

Parents and students, at their option, may return the completed choice forms by hand to any school or by mail to the Superintendent's office, at any time during the 30-day choice period. No preference will be given for choosing early during the choice period. A choice is required for each student. No assignment to a school can be made unless a choice is made first.

5. *Choice Form Information*

The school choice form lists the names, locations and grades offered for each school. The reasons for any choice made are not to be stated. The form asks for the name, address and age of the student, the school and grade currently or last attended, the school chosen for the following year, the appropriate signature, and whether the form has been signed by the student or his parent. [*If choice form asks for the student's race, color, or national origin, insert the following sentences*: "The race, color, or national origin of the student is requested for purposes of recordkeeping required by the U.S. Office of Education. The information will not be used in any way to discriminate against the student."] Any letter or other written communication which identifies the student and the school he wishes to attend will be deemed just as valid as if submitted on the choice form supplied by the school system. The names of students and the schools they choose or are assigned to under the plan will not be made public by school officials.

6. *Course and Program Information*

To guide students and parents in making a choice of school, listed below, by schools, are the courses and programs which are not given at every school in this school system.

> [*Here list, by schools, each course and program, such as special education, foreign languages, vocational education, science, commercial courses, and college preparatory courses offered at a particular school which is not offered at the same grade level at every other school in the system. It must include courses and programs offered in grades not yet generally reached by the desegregation plan.*]

7. *Signing the Choice Form*

A choice form may be signed by a parent or other adult person acting as parent. A student who has reached the age of 15 at the time of choice, or will next enter the ninth or any higher grade, may sign his own choice form. The student's choice shall be controlling unless a different choice is exercised by his parent before the end of the period during which the student exercises his choice.

8. *Processing of Choices*

No choice will be denied for any reason other than overcrowding. In cases where granting all choices for any school would cause overcrowding, the students choosing the school who live closest to it will be assigned to that school. Whenever a choice is to be denied, overcrowding will be determined by a uniform standard applicable to all schools in the system.

9. *Notice of Assignment, Second Choice*

All students and their parents will be promptly notified in writing of their school assignments. Should any student be denied his choice because of overcrowding he will be promptly notified and given a choice among all other schools in the system where space is available.

10. *Students Moving Into the Community*

A choice of school for any student who will be new to the school system may be made during the spring 30-day choice period or at any other time before he enrolls in school. An explanatory letter, this notice and the school choice form will be given out for each new student as soon as the school system knows about the student. At least seven days will be allowed for the return of the choice form when a choice is made after the spring 30-day choice period. A choice must be made for each student. No assignment to any school can be made unless a choice is made first.

11. *Students Entering First Grade*

The parent, or other adult person acting as parent, of every child entering the first grade, or kindergarten [*delete* "or kindergarten" *if not offered*], is required to choose the school his child will attend. Choices will be made under the same free choice process used for students new to the school system in other grades, as provided in paragraph 10.

12. *Priority of Late Choices*

No choice made after the end of the spring 30-day choice period may be denied for any reason other than overcrowding. In the event of overcrowding, choices made during the 30-day choice period will have first priority. Overcrowding will be determined by the standard provided for in paragraph 8. Any parent or student whose first choice is denied because of overcrowding will be given a second choice in the manner provided for in paragraph 9.

13. *Tests, Health Records and Other Entrance Requirements*

Any academic tests or other procedures used in assigning students to schools, grades, classrooms, sections, courses of study, or for any other purpose, will be applied uniformly to all students without regard to race, color or national origin. No choice of school will be denied because of failure at the time of choice to provide any health record, birth certificate, or other document. The student will be tentatively assigned in accordance with the plan and the choice made, and given ample time to obtain any required document. Curriculum, credit, and promotion procedures will not be applied in such a way as to hamper freedom of choice of any student.

14. *Choices Once Made Cannot be Altered*

Once a choice has been submitted, it may not be changed, even though the choice period has not ended. The choice is binding for the entire school year to which it applies, except in the case of (1) compelling hardship, (2) change of residence to a place where another school is closer, (3) the availability of a school designed to fit the special needs of a physically handicapped student, (4) the availability at another school of a course of study required by the student, which is not available at the school chosen.

15. *All Other Aspects of Schools Desegregated*

All school-connected services, facilities, athletics, activities and programs are open to all on a desegregated basis. A student attending school for the first time on a desegregated basis may not be subject to any disqualification or waiting period for participation in activities and programs, including athletics, which might otherwise apply because he is a transfer student. All transportation furnished by the school system will also operate on a desegregated basis. Faculties will be desegregated, and no staff member will lose his position because of race, color or national origin. This includes any case where less staff is needed because schools are closed or enrollment is reduced.

16. *Attendance Across School System Lines*

No arrangement will be made, or permission granted, by this school system for any students living in the community it serves to attend school in another school system, where this would tend to limit

desegregation, or where the opportunity is not available to all students without regard to race, color or national origin. No arrangement will be made, or permission granted, by this school system for any students living in another school system to attend school in this system, where this would tend to limit desegregation, or where the opportunity is not available to all students without regard to race, color or national origin.

17. *Violations To Be Reported*

It is a violation of our desegregation plan for any school official or teacher to influence or coerce any person in the making of a choice or to threaten any person with penalties or promise favors for any choice made. It is also a violation of Federal regulations for any person to intimidate, threaten, coerce, retaliate or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with the free making of a choice of school. Any person having any knowledge of any violation of these prohibitions should report the facts immediately by mail or phone to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202 (telephone 202-962-0333). The name of any person reporting any violation will not be disclosed without his consent. Any other violation of the desegregation plan or other discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in the school system is also a violation of Federal requirements, and should likewise be reported. Anyone with a complaint to report should first bring it to the attention of local school officials, unless he feels it would not be helpful to do so. If local officials do not correct the violation promptly, any person familiar with the facts of the violation should report them immediately to the U.S. Office of Education at the above address or phone number.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O—210-096

FEDERAL RIGHTS UNDER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LAW

STAFF PAPER PREPARED FOR THE

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

March 1966

Free choice plans for desegregating schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 tend to place the burden of desegregation on Negro students and their parents.[1/]

The vast majority of plans submitted by school authorities in Deep South States have been "Free Choice" plans. Out of the 97 plans accepted by the Office of Education from South Carolina, 92 employ the "Free Choice" method. Six school districts are operating under court orders. According to estimates made by the Southern Education Reporting Service in December 1965, the number of Negroes attending school with white students in South Carolina was 3,864 or less than two per cent of the State's Negro school population.

At the request of the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Commission staff prepared this paper to assist Negro pupils and their parents in understanding their rights under current Federal school desegregation law.

1/ U.S. Office of Education (Dept. H.E.W.) Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, March 1966.

1. DESEGREGATION PLANS

Q. HOW CAN I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIVES FEDERAL MONEY?

A. Most school districts receive Federal assistance. You can find out about your school district by writing to the U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. IF IT DOES RECEIVE FEDERAL MONEY WHAT REQUIREMENTS MUST IT MEET?

A. If a school district is not under court order to desegregate, it must either be desegregated or follow a plan for desegregation of students, teachers, facilities, transportation, services, etc. If it is under court order, it must obey the court order. If it does not meet any of these three requirements, the Office of Education may refuse to give Federal money to that district. In addition, a suit can be brought by a parent or organization.

Q. WHAT KINDS OF DESEGREGATION PLANS ARE ACCEPTABLE?

A. There are several kinds of desegregation plans acceptable to the Federal government. Most of the communities in the South use a "Freedom of Choice" plan. Others divide the community into attendance areas and assign each child to the school for his area. Some districts close small Negro schools and assign the Negro children and teachers to white schools. Still others put only a few grades in each school and assign children by grade regardless of race.

Q. HOW LONG WILL THE PLANS TAKE TO ACHIEVE DESEGREGATION OF ALL GRADES?

A. Most of the plans called for desegregation of all 12 grades for the 1965-66 school year. All plans must provide for desegregating 12 grades by 1967-68.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD'S GRADE IS NOT YET COVERED BY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN?

A. The child can transfer to a white school under any of the following conditions: (1) his present school does not offer the course of study he desires, (2) he wants to attend a desegregated school already attended by a brother, sister or any relative living in his household, (3) he meets all the requirements for transfer under ordinary circumstances, (4) he would otherwise have to attend school outside of the school district.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS ENTERING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GRADE THAT IS NOT COVERED BY THE CURRENT "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. He may attend the school of his choice.

Q. HOW WILL I KNOW IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. Most school districts in the South use "Freedom of Choice" plans. If the district is under this plan, each pupil and his parents will receive a letter in the spring explaining their rights under the plan along with a Choice of School Form and a notice explaining the plan.

Q. WHAT WILL THE "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" LETTER SAY?

A. The letter will come from your school superintendent in the spring. It will ask parents and pupils to choose a school within 30 days. The choice form will list all schools that you may choose from (both white and Negro) and their grades and locations. The notice will explain the plan in detail.

Q. WILL STUDENTS WHO RETURN THEIR FORMS EARLY HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF GETTING INTO THE SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE?

A. No. All letters must be mailed to parents on the first day of the choice period. There can be no preference given to those who return their forms early in the 30-day period.

Q. CAN THE CHILD CHOOSE HIS OWN SCHOOL?

A. Yes, if he is fifteen years old or will enter grade 9, 10, 11 or 12 next year.

Q. WHAT IF I DON'T RETURN THE CHOICE FORM DURING THE 30-DAY CHOICE PERIOD?

A. You may return it at any time before the child begins school next year. If the form is not filled out by the end of the first week of school, the child will be assigned to the school nearest his home where space is available, without regard to race.

Q. CAN A TEACHER OR PRINCIPAL TELL ME WHICH SCHOOL TO CHOOSE?

A. No. You and your child decide which school he will choose. Teachers, principals and other school officials may not tell you which school to choose or to influence your choice in any way.

Q. CAN MY CHILD'S NAME BE PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPER OR PUBLICIZED IF I CHOOSE A WHITE SCHOOL?

A. No. It is a violation of Federal regulations to publicize information about choices made by individual students or about the schools to which they are assigned.

Q. WHAT IF ONLY A FEW NEGRO CHILDREN ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS IN MY SCHOOL DISTRICT UNDER A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. If your school district has a sizable percentage of Negro children and most of them are still in Negro schools, the Federal government can require the school district to take additional actions to desegregate, such as holding a new choice period, increasing teacher desegregation, or putting into effect some other kind of plan.

2. COURT ORDERS

Q. WHAT IS A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION COURT ORDER?

A. A School Desegregation Court Order is the instruction given by the court after a school district has been sued and found to have been maintaining segregated schools. It tells the school district what it must do to achieve desegregation.

Q. WHAT IF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT DECIDES TO DO WITHOUT FEDERAL MONEY - AND CONTINUES TO HAVE SEGREGATED SCHOOLS?

A. The law requires a school district to desegregate whether or not it receives Federal money. If a school district has been sued and ordered to desegregate it must obey the court's order. If it has not been sued, one or more parents or an organization can sue a school district to force it to desegregate. If a parent can't afford to sue, cannot get a lawyer, or is otherwise unable to sue, he can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and ask the Federal government to sue.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT IS UNDER COURT ORDER?

A. To find out about your district, write to the Office of Education, Washington, D.C. or the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT WHAT MY SCHOOL DISTRICT MUST DO UNDER THE COURT ORDER?

A. Since court orders are often hard to understand, you might ask a lawyer to explain it to you. He, or you, can get a copy from the Clerk of the Federal Court for a fee.

Q. HOW CAN A COURT ORDER BE CHANGED TO BRING ABOUT FASTER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION?

A. One or more parents or an organization can sue a school district for a better method of school desegregation. Parents can also make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. asking the Federal government to sue.

3. VIOLATIONS AND COMPLAINTS

Q. WHAT CAN I DO IF LOCAL OFFICIALS DO NOT OBEY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN OR COURT ORDER?

A. You can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice and to the Equal Education Opportunities Program, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I KNOW WHETHER TO SEND MY COMPLAINT TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION OR THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE?

A. To be sure it gets to the right one, send the same information to both.

Q. WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD BE IN THE COMPLAINT?

A. The complaint can be a letter. It should contain the facts you are complaining about, including the name and address of the schools involved, names of people, dates of incidents, and any other details that you are able to give.

Q. DO I HAVE TO SIGN THE COMPLAINT?

A. You must sign all complaints to the Dept. of Justice, but it is not necessary to sign complaints to the Office of Education. However, it makes it easier for them to investigate if they know who complained. If you do not wish to give your name, just write out what happened and mail it without signing it.

Q. CAN I COMPLAIN TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION BY TELEPHONE?

A. Yes. The number in Washington, D. C. is (202) 962-0333. Ask for the Equal Educational Opportunities Office and tell them you have a complaint.

Q. WHERE ELSE MAY I SEND A COPY OF MY COMPLAINT?

A. You may send a copy of your complaint to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. You should also keep a copy for yourself.

Q. AFTER MAKING A COMPLAINT, WHAT KIND OF RESPONSE SHOULD I EXPECT?

A. You should expect a letter acknowledging that your complaint has been received. In some cases a Federal representative may come to discuss it with you. He will have identification to show that he is a Federal official. In other cases he may telephone you.

Q. WHAT IF I RECEIVE NO ANSWER?

A. If you do not receive an answer within a reasonable period of time, you should write or call Washington again to see if your complaint has been received, and what is being done about it.

4. PROTECTION

Q. WHAT KIND OF PROTECTION SHOULD I EXPECT FOR MY FAMILY IF I AM ONE OF THE FIRST TO SEND MY CHILD TO A WHITE SCHOOL?

A. The school authorities are responsible for seeing that no student or staff member interferes with persons exercising rights under the plan or affected by it. Such protection must be given both on and off the school grounds. If they can't provide necessary protection they must seek assistance from other officials.

Q. WHAT IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE PROTECTION FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES?

A. Notify the nearest FBI office. Also, make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

5. NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Q. WHAT ABOUT TRANSPORTATION TO SCHOOL?

A. Whatever transportation is provided for white children must also be provided for Negro children.

Q. WHAT SHOULD I EXPECT IN THE WHITE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF DESEGREGATION OF FACILITIES, SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES?

A. The law says that there can be no discrimination in school facilities, services and activities. This includes sports participation, social and educational activities, drinking fountains, washrooms, lunchrooms, classroom seating, auditoriums, locker rooms, use of materials, buses, etc. Also, Negro parents can attend PTA meetings, commencement exercies and all other school events.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS TREATED BADLY AND INSULTED IN A NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOL BY TEACHERS AND OTHER STUDENTS?

A. It is the responsibility of school officials to see that these things don't happen. You can make a complaint to the local school officials or to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. and Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C. or to all of these.

Q. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO NEGRO TEACHERS AS SCHOOLS ARE DESEGREGATED?

A. It is a violation of Federal regulations for a school system to dismiss, demote or pass over teachers for retention, promotion or rehiring because of race. If a teacher must be displaced because of desegregation, no teacher from outside the system can be brought in unless the displaced teacher is not qualified to fill the vacancy. If the district is going to have fewer teachers because of desegregation it must retain those who are best qualified regardless of race. Where teachers need to upgrade their skills the Federal government finances programs to train them to be better teachers.

Q. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHER DESEGREGATION?

A. The superintendent and school boards have the responsibility for hiring and assigning teachers. They are required to desegregate teaching staffs. A Negro teacher who wishes to be assigned to a white school can so advise the proper school officials in the district.

Q. WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT DIFFERENT SALARIES FOR WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS?

A. It is a violation of the Constitution for school authorities to pay different salaries to teachers based on race. A teacher or a group of teachers or a teachers organization can sue the school officials to force them to equalize pay. The Attorney General can join in the suit.

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ADDRESS FURTHER QUESTIONS TO:

Equal Educational Opportunity Program
Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

On The Record

New Commissioner Of Education

Columbia Record 2/11/66

By JOHN A. MONTGOMERY

Brash Francis Keppel used to tell audiences when he was U. S. Commissioner of Education that if there was a question between integration and education, integration would always come first.

He attempted to withhold $30 million in federal aid from Chicago schools because of racial segregation. He told Sigma Chi fraternity that unless it integrated, his agency would withhold aid from colleges that had chapters. His arrogance created chaos in American education.

Keppel was moved out and up to a job created for him as assistant secretary of the Health, Education and Welfare Department. Recently he has been looking into educational development in South Viet Nam, which has much greater problems than segregation.

MONTGOMERY

The man who succeeded him is an aggressive, imaginative, dedicated educator, Harold Howe II. If Howe's philosophy prevails, the education system in the United States will rise to new heights of service not only to all races, but also to all intellectual levels.

"Doc" Howe is a unique educator. He gets his nickname from the fact that he has not earned a doctorate. His only degrees are A. B. and M. A., but he enjoys the respect and admiration of the most titled professors and school administrators.

Teaches Himself

Twice in his teaching career he was required to take certain post-graduate courses in education in order to qualify for positions to which he had been promoted. In both cases the local colleges did not offer the courses, but employed Howe to teach them.

The new commissioner will have to deal with tough problems of integration under federal laws and great pressure by civil rights organizations, but the nature of the man will not allow him to subordinate education to social reform. His primary concern is the quality of education and doing what is good for education.

Rather than the tyrannical approach of Keppel, he has adopted a policy of reasoning, partnership and commonsense application of the laws. The laws are directed against de jure segregation in the South, but Howe is fully aware of de facto segregation in the North. His teaching career was in the North until two years ago when he acepted a challenge as director of North Carolina's Learning Institute, a pioneer program in training children of poor families.

He believes in a broad-based public education program. Instead of continuing the three high school tracks bound to college, business and technical employment, he would widen the corridors so that no graduate would be limited to a single vocational area. Most individuals change their vocations three times in a lifetime.

Harold Howe II

He favors revised and improved curriculums and teaching methods. The schools were teaching 18th century physics and mathematics until Sputnik spurred the educators into modernization. He would like to see similar dramatic change in the teaching of other subjects.

Feeling that often it is the schools and not the students that fail, he would adjust the schools to the children, not to the teachers and administrators. He favors the full development of the "C" student as well as the brilliant scholar. He thinks there is too much emphasis on the how-to-do-it phase of education and not enough on citizenship preparation.

Teaching, to "Doc" Howe, is like playing tennis or golf; the only way to learn it is to do it. He thinks most education courses should be on the postgraduate level.

Three Billion Dollars

He favors an open policy for community colleges, which he says serve a tremendous need. They are valuable to the adult who wants literacy help, the high school graduate who wants to develop a skill, and the student who wants a college degree at low expense. Comprehensive service and quality should not be sacrificed to admission standards that bar the ambitious citizen who wants to better himself.

Howe is one of the most powerful men in the national government. He is in charge of the expenditure of three billion dollars in federal funds this year. Next to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, he heads the fastest growing agency in Washington, one that doubles in personnel every year.

He gives the impression of a man ideally suited for the job.

U.S. Backs Pupil Choice of Schools

2/16/66 ED-FED-GEN

By JOHN HERBERTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 — The controversial freedom-of-choice plan for desegregation of schools will be permitted under new guidelines to be announced soon by the Office of Education.

But the guidelines will contain stiff new requirements intended to prevent school boards from using free choice as a means of avoiding integration. Civil rights groups have asked abolishment of the free-choice plan, under which pupils choose the school they wish to attend.

The guidelines are expected to be similar to recommendations submitted to the Office of Education today by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, following a study of desegregation of schools in the South and Border States under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI bans racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

A stringent new court plan for the desegregation of schools in Lowndes County, Alabama, announced last week, is said to fall within the general framework of the new executive requirements under Title VI.

Under a consent decree in United States District Court in Montgomery, Ala., Lowndes County is required to desegregate all but four grades next fall and the four remaining ones by the fall of 1967. Facilities must be integrated.

Students in all grades will be required to indicate the school of their choice, but any student who has not indicated his choice within a week after school opens will be assigned to the school nearest his home in which space is available.

Assignment is to be made without regard to race or color. Prior attendance at a school will not give a student priority.

Lowndes County, which has a high Negro population and a low per capita income, is said to have agreed to the new Federal requirements and to agree to receive funds under the new Secondary Education Act rather than make a court fight.

The Civil Rights Commission agreed with private civil rights groups that freedom-of-choice plans permitted last year had been used to perpetuate a dual system in many counties.

"The slow pace of integration in the Southern and Border States is in large measure attributable to the manner in which free-choice plans — the principal method of desegregation adopted by school districts in the South — have operated," the report said.

Most school boards in the South submitted freedom-of-choice plans in the belief that they would result in less integration than geographical zoning on a nonracial basis.

The Office of Education, the commission said, should reject freedom-of-choice plans when the following conditions exist:

¶Negroes have been intimidated and coerced to remain in their own schools and the school authorities do nothing to stop the practice.

¶The white child enrolled in an overcrowded school is given priority over a Negro child who lives closer to the school.

¶Students failing to make a choice of school are assigned on a racial basis.

¶School authorities fail to discipline students who harass Negro students because they have integrated the school.

The commission, an independent research agency, said that despite a large increase in the number of school districts beginning desegregation last year "not more than one Negro child out of every 13 in the Deep South actually attends school with white children."

In a statement one of the commission members, the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, said freedom of choice could never work perfectly until the "formerly all-Negro, presumably inferior schools" are brought up to standard.

"At this precise time of transition, why not institute along with the whole process of desegregation in the South a positive program of upgrading all teachers in the present systems," he wrote. "In fact, the best teachers of either race, worthy of their profession, should be put in the schools, needing the most help to improve."

"If this positive action could be moved along quickly," he said, "then we could eliminate the present cat-and-mouse game which is going on between the Federal Office of Education and the local Southern school districts."

The new guidelines are to contain provisions for faculty desegregation.

Another commissioner, Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, said in another concurring statement that Southern school districts had made a meaningful beginning.

"Even though Negro enrollment in the first year [of the Civil Rights Act] was predictably slow," ht said, "it indicates to me that most communities of the South have caviled but that they have met their test well, made their basic decision to comply with the law, and passed their most difficult time, so that good faith and fairness toward all of the South's school children need not any longer be an issue."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Whites Paid More, Negro Teachers Say

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 2/23/66

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP)—Negro schoolteachers in at least three Southern states have protested that white teachers are receiving higher pay for the same type of work.

The protests, from Negro teacher organizations in Arkansas, Georgia and South Carolina, came as the movement to combine traditionally white and Negro teacher organizations continued.

The developments were reported Tuesday by the Southern Education Reporting Service and other sources.

The service said the protests over alleged unequal pay for white and Negro teachers took these forms:

In Arkansas, the Arkansas Teachers Association, a Negro group, asked the U.S. Office of Education to "consider withholding all federal funds" from school districts in the state which maintain separate salary schedules for Negro and white teachers. The ATA reported, for example, that the Brickeys School District paid white teachers an average annual salary of $3,600, while Negroe's averaged $3,387. Supt. W. E. Osborn responded that all teachers in his district now are on the same schedule.

In Georgia, the Negroes' Georgia Teachers Education Association said the "vast majority" of Georgia school systems are guilty of some form of racial discrimination in teacher salaries. Dr. Horace Tate, executive secretary of the group, said it, too, would seek a request for a halt to federal funds if salaries were not equalized.

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Court Pushes Integration In 3 Georgia Counties

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 2/24/66

AUGUSTA, Ga. (AP)—A three-judge federal court Wednesday refused to relieve the State Department of Education of its receivership duties with the Taliaferro County school system and ordered state school Supt. Jack Nix to investigate charges of discrimination of Negro pupils in Wilkes and Greene counties.

U.S. Circuit Judge Griffin B. Bell, spokesman for the panel, ordered Nix to file an interim report on his findings within two weeks.

Nix was ordered to investigate claims by Negro pupils transferred from Taliaferro that segregated seating arrangements existed in the Washington-Wilkes County High School and Warren County High and that complete cafeteria privileges were not afforded Negroes at Wilkes.

Following testimony at a hearing, Bell also ordered the education department to determine why a court order allowing Negro pupils from Taliaferro County to attend schools of their choice was apparently circumvented.

He also told Mrs. Lola Williams, superintendent of Taliaferro County's school system, to prepare a desegregated school program for the coming year.

The hearing came on a motion by the Justice department charging the Taliaferro County Board of Education with failing to operate a school system without racial distinction. It also sought a court order to integrate all facilities of schools in Wilkes, Warren and Greene counties.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Rozzell Says U.S. Fits School Plans To Political Need

From Gazette Press Services

ARKADELPHIA — The federal government is sacrificing chances for real Negro freedom by gearing its education program for political gains, Forrest Rozzell, executive secretary of the Arkansas Education Association, charged Friday.

Rozzell said the government had abandoned thoughtful inquiry and basic realities in pursuit of quick, but only superficial, success.

"They refuse to recognize that the evil consequences of a lifetime of discrimination cannot be overcome by the simple act of desegregating the schools," he said.

He said the racial revolution's effect on education was a complicated problem in a complex society, and the federal government had contributed to the confusion.

"Already at least five departments of the federal government, and heaven only knows how many agencies, are vying with each other in establishing 'educational' policies and programs," Rozzell said. "The public schools are caught in the middle of this."

Rozzell made his remarks in the keynote address before an Institute on Education and Desegregation jointly sponsored by Henderson State Teachers College and the Office of Education.

Five Thorny Problems In Integration Listed

He said there were at least five thorny problems that must be solved if desegregated education is to move ahead to genuine, permanent success.

NEW RACE PREJUDICE: "Negro intellectuals, Black Muslims and many well-intentioned civil rights leaders, are dangerously fanning the same prejudices against whites that Negroes have long suffered in reverse."

ties, professional staff, monetary and moral support."

Rozzell said "no teacher has the right of employment or status by virtue of race — only by virtue of competence."

Lists Plans He Says Should Be Developed

He said that all members of the professional staff of each school district need to be systematically involved in developing and executing plans for:

★ Helping direct the sweeping social changes, which are designed to help the Negroes, along the most just, most hopeful and least destructive paths.

★ Helping to develop a more adequate understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the sub-cultures from which Negroes come.

★ Developing ways to adjust the educational programs to the ways of life of the Negroes they are trying to reach.

★ Learning more about the characteristics and educational needs of the Negroes.

★ Finding ways and means of adapting methods and techniques to fit the characteristics and needs.

★ Learning how not only to do something for the Negroes but also to help the Negores do more for themselves.

★ Increasing the communication between school and community.

★ Developing mutual confidence

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NEW RACE PREJUDICE: "Negro intellectuals, Black Muslims and many well-intentioned civil rights leaders, are dangerously fanning the same prejudices against whites that Negroes have long suffered in reverse."

THE NEGRO FAMILY: "Nearly 25 per cent of Negro marriages are dissolved and 25 per cent of all Negro births illegitimate. One out of four Negro families is headed by a woman as the result of divorce, separation or desertion. The first need is to break the vicious cycle that links the Negro matriarchal society with delinquency, crime and poverty."

He cited a Labor Department report for his statisitcal material and said that "the intolerance of dissent and the political fear to express dissent endangered by civil rights groups has resulted in a practical suppression of this document."

STATE'S RIGHTS: "The confusion is compounded by diverse and conflicting views on federal power, both North and South. Those in the North who most vehemently support federal intervention in civil rights matters in the South are equallly vehement against federal involvement in the economic, sociological and basic educational aspects of the problem."

DISPARITIES IN EDUCATION: "There is no anthropological evidence of racial inferiority or superiority. I am talking about disparities in achievement and competence which are the inevitable consequence of disparities in educational opportunities."

DESEGREGATION AND NEGRO TEACHERS: "The professional security of the Negro teachers of the South has depended upon the protective walls of segregated schools. The end of legal segregation in schools is increasing the vulnerability of Negro teachers to competition from white teachers."

Rozzell called for compensatory education to bring the competence of Negro teachers to a higher level so there will be no need for them to fear this vulnerability.

He urged compensatory education for Negro children who have been handicapped by being limited to an inferior educational system.

"Deterioration in teaching and learning is not an inevitable consequence of desegregation," he said. "What is required to prevent this from happening are school policies, programs, facilities, professional staff, monetary and moral support."

Rozzell said "no teacher has the right of employment or status by virtue of race — only by virtue of competence."

Lists Plans He Says Should Be Developed

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★ Helping direct the sweeping social changes, which are designed to help the Negroes, along the most just, most hopeful and least destructive paths.

★ Helping to develop a more adequate understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the sub-cultures from which Negroes come.

★ Developing ways to adjust the educational programs to the ways of life of the Negroes they are trying to reach.

★ Learning more about the characteristics and educational needs of the Negroes.

★ Finding ways and means of adapting methods and techniques to fit the characteristics and needs.

★ Learning how not only to do something for the Negroes but also to help the Negores do more for themselves.

★ Increasing the communication between school and community.

★ Developing mutual confidence between the school personnel and the parents of the Negroes.

★ Creating an understanding on the part of all concerned that the results are not likely to be quick and miraculous.

Institute Ends Today After Several Talks

Rozzell's speech marked the opening of the Institute, which ends today.

Addresses today include one at 9 a.m. by Dr. Carl Kreisler of the division of secondary education of Western Kentucky State College, and one at 1 p.m. by Dr. E. C. Stimbert, superintendent of Memphis public schools.

The Institute will end with an evaluation by Dr. Marie Barry of the Office of Education.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Rights Compliance Tempo Stepping Up

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—Last year was for breaking new ground. The time has come for growing some results.

John W. Gardner

There is substantial evidence that local agencies in the South receiving U.S. funds can expect this kind of timing for compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A new man in Washington figures to be one of the major factors. He is quiet-tempered John W. Gardner, secretary of the sprawling Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Gardner put out information last week that demonstrates he is trying to snip some of the red tape that has bound efforts to realistically enforce Title VI of the civil rights law.

The Office of Education has all but put the final touches on a new set of guidelines for desegregation of school systems. The new regulations are almost certain to plug some loopholes in the freedom-of-choice plans for school attendance.

The Justice Department is entering school desegregation cases in federal courts at a faster pace.

AS COULD BE expected, neither of the adversaries — Southern segregationists and civil rights groups — will be satisfied with the rate of change.

For one, changes come too quickly; for the other, too slowly.

Secretary Gardner admitted his department has faced "considerable administrative difficulties" in implementing Title VI. Ultimate sanction of that section of the civil rights law is withholding of funds from agencies not in compliance with anti-discrimination regulations.

Gardner's statement was issued in response to a U.S. civil rights commission report, which said discrimination is still widespread in health, welfare and education programs assisted by federal funds.

"Recognizing that our efforts have just begun," said Gardner, "I acknowledge the constructive value of the commission's recommendations."

THIS IS WHAT he said he plans to do:

—Give top priority to recruitment of civil rights personnel and the initiation of programs to achieve compliance in hospitals, educational institutions, and state health and welfare programs.

—Expedite administrative hearings to cut off funds to institutions persisting in discriminatory practices.

—Speed the process of obtaining simultaneous, community-wide compliance of all recipients of funds.

—Establish reporting systems to identify areas of noncompliance; not only the absence of segregation by all citizens in the "full range of federally aided programs."

If Gardner accomplishes aims that he has set forth, local agencies can expect a closer watch on their activities.

After the signing of nondiscriminatory pledges, Southern officials can anticipate visits by federal investigators to ascertain whether promises are being kept.

THEN COMES THE moment of truth for both the federal government and the local agencies — whether and when to cut off funds for violators.

So far, authority to withhold funds has amounted to little more than a threat in the background.

Another obvious fact is this: Few local or state agencies can continue to operate at their present level — if at all — should federal funds be taken from their budgets.

RALPH McGILL

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 3/3/66

Best School For Children

Civil rights committees in Southern states still come up, all too often, against blind and unreasoning local positions and decisions. That there is progress is reassuring. An increasing number of communities which sincerely have sought to avoid honest decision and acceptance of the law as the Congress intended it to apply have found the old fears to be nonexistent and acceptance of law, therefore, unexpectedly easy. This is another development on the asset side. "We went ahead and did what we were ordered to do," said a school superintendent in a county ordered to desegregate its schools," and nothing happened. We were shocked — pleasantly — and wondered what it was we had feared." This is not an unusual story. But it cannot be had where the leadership itself accepts fear and uses it to evade what must be done.

Investigating committees have had testimony that in some counties where compliance agreements were signed to avoid loss of federal school funds there have been silent campaigns of intimidation. Parents with children whom they wished to put in the better school — the one for white children — were privately warned not to press for admittance. Various methods of spreading the coercive warnings were employed — none "official."

Transfer Trouble

These examples are numerous and invite pessimism. But they also are examples of local failure.

Any community, where acts of intimidation have prevented carrying out the agreement of compliance, confesses that its local church leadership and the influence of its "best people" are nonexistent. Such things cannot happen in communities where the ministers, the local business and professional leadership say "No."

That there are communities which still wish to close doors — not open them — is a melancholy commentary on their awareness of their place in this time and present. The South has an educational opportunity not available to any other region. That the quality of our education, our school plants, equipment, the training and pay of our teachers, and the amount spent per pupil are below the national average is not disputed. That the average school

Continued on Page 15, Column 2

Ralph McGill

Best School For Children

Continued From Page 1

for Negroes is below the standard school for white children is also undenied. That Negro teachers, on the average, have had less opportunity for training than their white contemporaries also is an accusing statistic.

What, then, would be a simple step that could be taken by a community that wishes to upgrade its educational facilities? It would be quicker to eliminate the separate facilities which for generations have handicapped all children and to put all available funds, including federal help, into the very best possible school, or schools, for all the children. There is no reasonable excuse to perpetuate bad schools by the various devices now being employed to delay combining all resources to give all Southern children the best possible schools.

This would involve remedial classes for some who have been held back by teaching and conditions that work against advancement comparable with that had by pupils lucky enough to have the best qualified teachers and conditions of study and learning above the average. This is a strong reason to have "the best possible school system," not an argument for delay. Many white children also need screening for remedial instruction.

Sitting in class receiving instruction is not a social exercise. It never was. The school dance is not an educational process. Let it be abandoned. Education — the best education possible — should be the goal. It is attainable if honestly sought.

AC 3/18/66

Macon Hears Schools Face Justice Study

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

MACON, Ga. (AP)—The Department of Justice is considering reopening cases in which school systems are integrating under a court order but not in accordance with the latest guidelines laid down by the U.S. commissioner of education, a federal official said Thursday.

Stanley Kruger, area director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Equal Educational Opportunities Program, made the statement during a statewide school integration conference sponsored by the Georgia Human Relations Council and the American Friends Society. Those hearing Kruger were predominantly Negro.

Kruger said that generally speaking new regulations do not apply to systems that are proceeding with integration under a court decree. However, he said these systems are being required to furnish progress reports to the commissioner of education.

The day-long program included workshops on various problems involving integration of schools throughout the state.

Schools in South Ordered To Desegregate Faculties

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Education Chief Asserts New Guidelines May Double Integration—No Similar Move Is Planned for the North

3/8/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7 — The Office of Education announced today that it would require desegregated teaching staffs next fall in Southern school districts receiving Federal funds.

This is one of several new requirements contained in 1966 guidelines that the Office of Education has adopted for enforcing school desegregation under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, disclosed the new requirements at a news conference. He said in response to a question that it was his "guess" that the guidelines would double the amount of school integration in 11 Southern states. At the same time, Mr. Howe made it clear that the Office of Education would continue to concentrate on the South for at least another year and that there were no immediate plans for moving against discrimination in Northern school under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

Title VI is intended to ban racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

The office will continue to accept pledges of compliance from Northern districts while requiring Southern and border state districts, which have maintained dual school systems, to submit desegregation plans. Mr.

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

SCHOOLS IN SOUTH GET BIAS WARNING

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Howe said in a response to a question that if the new guidelines work as well as expected there may be more integration in Southern schools than now exists in many areas of the North.

Enforcement of Title VI in the Southern schools began last year. Of some 2,000 districts that had maintained segregation by official policy all but about 70 submitted desegregation plans under the 1965 policy.

These complying school districts pledged to begin desegregation during the current school year and to carry it to all 12 grades by the fall of 1967.

As a result, about 180,000 Negro students, roughly 7 per cent of the total, are attending school with whites in the 11 Southern states.

This was considerably less integration than the Office of Education and civil rights groups had hoped to attain in the first massive desegregation attempt by the Executive Department.

More Reviews Planned

Mr. Howe said, however, that the office had achieved "paper compliance" in the South.

"We can look forward to more emphasis on compliance reviews, field visits and investigations in order to determine actual performance in making equality of educational opportunity available to all members of our society," he said.

The Office of Education considers faculty desegregation important both for achieving desegregation of pupils and for improving the quality of schools that have been all Negro. The only requirement this year was that faculty meetings be integrated.

The pattern in the typical Southern community has been for an all-Negro faculty to serve in an all-Negro school and for a few Negroes to be enrolled in a formerly all-white school with an all-white faculty.

Under the new guidelines, districts will be given several alternatives for beginning faculty desegregation. An integrated staff will not be required in every school within a district.

"Race, color or national origin may not be a factor in hiring, assigning, promoting or firing teachers and other professional staff," Mr. Howe said.

"Staff desegregation for the 1966-67 school year must include progress in the desegregation of the regular teaching staff beyond what was accom-

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"Staff desegregation for the 1966-67 school year must include progress in the desegregation of the regular teaching staff beyond what was accomplished in 1965-66," he continued, "and there must be a significant start on this in those school districts that have not yet begun faculty desegregation."

Resistance Expected

Mr. Howe said a great deal of resistance was expected in this area and as a result teachers associations were being asked to help smooth the way.

The new guidelines are long, complicated and legalistic and seem sure to bring renewed complaints from Southern school officials that they do not know what the Office of Education is talking about.

Mr. Howe said that to avoid some of the confusion that occurred last year, school districts would be required to submit preliminary reports this spring containing a plan for the fall and an "intention of mix," or the amount of integration contemplated.

During the summer the office, with an increased enforcement staff, is to see that the plans are carried out.

In addition to faculty desegregation, the guidelines contain these two significant requirements:

¶Small inadequate schools maintained for Negroes or other minority groups must be closed and the students assigned to other schools in the district.

¶"Freedom of choice" plans, which most districts adopted in order to escape with the least integration possible, will be accepted only if they produce a significant amount of desegregation.

Transfers Must Double

For instance, a district that had eight or nine per cent of its pupils transfer from segregated schools last year will be expected to have at least twice that many transfers next year. The lower the transfer rate last year, the higher the rate must be next year.

Meanwhile, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, said he had grown tired of waiting on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, of which the Office of Education is a part, to move against racial imbalance in Northern schools.

Mr. Powell introduced a bill today that he said would lead to full integration by 1970. It would provide $600-million to be parceled out to cities that bring about integration of both student bodies and faculties.

Mr. Powell, who is chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, said that from that committee he had convened an "ad hoc subcommittee on de facto school segregation" to study racial imbalance in large cities.

The Representative had announced a similar project last year but held only a few days of hearings on the Chicago school situation.

School Integration Must Be Doubled

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AC 3/8/66

By REMER TYSON

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Southern school systems were told Monday thatthey will be required to at least double the number of Negroes attending classes with white pupils and integrate faculties by September.

For Georgia as a whole, school systems may be required to more than triple Negro enrollment in formerly white schools.

These requirements — excepting only special cases — were contained in 10 pages of new guidelines issued by the U.S. Office of Education.

The alternative to compliance, said officials, is the loss of federal funds, which have grown to a substantial part of budgets for local school systems.

At the same time, Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II acknowledged that the federal government has no plan to move immediately against de facto segregation in the North.

The commissioner said a new civil rights law probably will be needed to cope with de facto segregation.

Howe declared at a press conference where he outlined the new guidelines for Southern schools, "This year the emphasis will shift from negotiation to performance."

In Atlanta, State School Supt. Jack P. Nix said local school superintendents will have a chance to question a representative of the U.S. Office of Education about the guidelines this week.

He said he has arranged for Stanley Kruger to brief superintendents in Atlanta on Wed-

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

School Integration Must Be Doubled

Continued From Page 1

nesday, in Metter Thursday and in Albany Friday.

"This will bring local officials face-to-face with a federal official so their will be no mistake about what is expected of them," Nix said.

Surgeon General William H. Stewart also announced at the press conference that guidelines for compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act have been mailed to the nation's 10,000 hospitals.

Stewart said an Office of Equal Health Opportunity has been established to enforce compliance with the guidelines for hospitals and other medical facilities.

Howe said the Office of Education plans to increase its compliance staff from 50 to 126 to review desegregation plans and to make field investigations in both the North and South.

The education commissioner said his office will take closer looks this year at Southern school desegregation plans based on geographical zones and freedom of choice. Plans designed to perpetuate segregation will not be approved, he said.

EXPECTED RESULTS

No matter what type of plan is submitted by a local school system, these are the results expected by the Office of Education:

1. If a system transferred 8 to 9 per cent of the Negroes from a segregated school this year, at least twice that number would "normally be expected" in September.

2. In the case of 4 to 5 per cent transferred, the number would be expected to triple next term.

3. Where the transfer percentage was lower than 4 per cent, the increase is expected to be "proportionately" greater than triple.

Georgia has 1.3 per cent of its Negroes in formerly white schools this year, according to the Southern Regional Council.

Commissioner Howe noted that Southern schools this year were permitted to move toward desegregation of professional staffs by holding integrated meetings of school personnel.

BI-RACIAL FACULTIES

The new regulations say systems must have bi-racial faculties for compliance.

Where teachers are displaced by desegregation, the guidelines say administration officials may not go outside the system to fill a vacancy unless the officials can show a displaced staff member is not qualified to fill the vacancy.

Five options are offered by the guidelines for desegregation of faculties. No percentage for staff desegregation is fixed by the guidelines.

If small schools — particularly those created to segregate Negroes — are determined to provide educational opportunities inferior to others in a system, the local district would be required to reassign the students to other classrooms and close the school.

BY APRIL 15

The guidelines require school systems to file reports witr the education commission by April 15 listing anticipated enrollment by grades and race for the term beginning in September.

Local school officials also must report by April 15 planned assignment of teachers for the coming year.

Then, 30 days after school opens in the fall, local systems must report actual teacher assignments and enrollments according to race and grade.

Local systems will be allowed to follow court-ordered desegregation plans, said Howe, although the Office of Education's goal still is desegregation of all grades in Southern schools by the beginning of the 1967 school year.

Integrate Faculty, Schools Ordered

School Desegregation

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 8—The federal government said that desegregation of school faculties must begin this fall and that small, inadequate Negro schools must be closed.

At the same time Monday, the first general guidelines for hospital desegregations were announced, and hospitals were warned that if they persist in racial discrimination, they will be excluded from the Medicare program which begins July 1.

The new guidelines were issued by two agencies within the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department—the Office of Education and the Public Health Service.

The new school rules reflect a tougher attitude for enforcing Title 6 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act forbidding federal aid in programs where there is racial discrimination.

THE OFFICE OF Education said it will require "substantial achievements" in school districts which are using freedom of choice desegregation plans.

The free choice plans, allowing a student to go to whatever school he wants to, have been one of the most controversial features of the federal government's efforts to bring desegregation.

Most of Georgia's school districts, especially those which had no desegregation before, set up free choice plans last fall. But in Georgia and other states, civil rights groups contend fear and intimidation have prevented Negroes from transferring freely to previously all-white schools.

Apparently to meet these objections, the Office of Education set up a set of percentages by which they will measure the effectiveness of free choice plans. If desegregation does not reach those percentages, the federal agency may require adoption of some other type of desegregation plan.

THE OFFICE of Education said that every student and his parent must choose a school every year and that the school system "must insure that this choice is free and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal."

The new guidelines say that, in general, there must be "some faculty integration in every school" in the fall of 1966.

Last year's guidelines required no actual desegregation of faculty.

The guidelines go further than ever before to try to wipe out dual school systems.

Education Commissioner Harold Howe said that much of the past year was spent in negotiating with school districts on desegregation plans, and "in the end the effort did not achieve one of its main purposes."

HE SAID THAT very few school districts made any real effort to devise plans to desegregate their school systems effectively.

So he said in the coming year, "the emphasis will be shifted from negotiation to performance." The Office of Education will require periodic reports on progress and there will be more investigation of complaints in the field.

He also announced the establishment of an Office of Equal Health Opportunity to enforce nondiscrimination in federal hospital and medical aid programs.

Guidelines for desegregation set up by the Public Health Service allow no racial separation in facilities, treatment, staff, training programs or other services related to hospitals.

THE GUIDELINES specify there must be no discrimination in inpatient and outpatient care, that there must be biracial occupancy of multibed rooms and wards and that patients must be not asked if they are willing to share a room with persons of another race.

Employes, medical staff and volunteers must be assigned to patient services without regard to race, and courtesy titles must be used throughout the hospital in connection with both staff and patients.

Permanent and temporary staff privileges must be carried out in a nondiscriminatory way and all aspects of training programs, including recruiting of trainees, must be nonbiased.

Racial Guidelines Spelled Out by U.S.

AJ 3/8/66

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By MARGARET SHANNON

Atlanta Journal Washington Bureau, National Press Building

WASHINGTON, March 8—New federal guidelines for school desegregation are tougher and tighter—on paper—than existing regulations.

They make it sound as if the U.S. Office of Education means business about cutting off federal funds to school districts that do not comply.

But the 1965 guidelines sounded that way, too—and no money has been cut off yet, though some has been held up in a comparatively few instances.

But Southern officials cannot complain, as they did last year from governors on down, that the 1966 regulations are inexact. They are detailed enough to answer, on close reading, almost any question.

The new guidelines cover, in one way or another, many of the major objections of civil rights groups made since the 1965 regulations went into effect.

THE TEST of their effectiveness will come in the enforcement. The enforcement staff will be about doubled—to about 120 They have some 2,000 school districts to ride herd on.

In broad terms, the main requirements of the 1966 guidelines are:

1. Substantial achievements under freedom of choice desegregation plans.

2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff.

3. Progress in closing small, inadequate schools for Negroes.

4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure desegregation progress.

IN GEORGIA, 164 of 179 school districts submitting plans last year to the Office of Education chose the freedom of choice way to desegregation. (Other districts in the state either did not submit plans or were using court-ordered plans.)

The 1966 regulations say that the most substantial indication as to whether a free choice plan is working is the extent to which Negroes have transferred from segregated schools.

When school districts using free choice report this spring to the federal agency on how many transfers are in view for next fall, here are the percentages the Office of Education will use in deciding whether free choice is working:

1. If 8 or 9 per cent transferred from segregated schools in 1965, twice as many transfers would be expected next fall.

2. When 4 or 5 per cent transferred in 1965, three times as many transfers would be expected next fall.

3. If the 1965 percentage was lower than 4 or 5 per cent, the

Turn to Page 10, Column 1

Racial Guidelines Spelled Out by U.S.

Continued From Page 1

percentage next fall should more than triple.

4. If no students transferred last fall, then "a very substantial start would normally be expected to enable such a school system to catch up as quickly as possible with systems which started earlier."

IF A SYSTEM in the fourth category still can't get any transfers made under the free choice plan, the Office of Education may require it to adopt a different type of plan.

Twenty-seven school districts in Georgia with approved plans have no desegregation this year. They will be under particular pressure to produce some next fall.

Here are some of the other main points of the free choice plan requirements:

1. A student who will be in the ninth grade next fall or is 15 years old may make his own choice, and it takes priority over his parent's choice.

2. There must be a free choice every year, and not just once in a school-lifetime.

3. The period for making a choice must be at least 30 days, and the school system must send a letter, an explanatory notice and a choice form to each parent.

4. No reason for a particular choice, or any other information or witness or authentication, may be required on the free choice forms.

5. Once submitted, a choice may not be changed, except for a change of residence, special instruction needs or "compelling hardship."

This is no doubt designed to prevent such situations as in Sumter County, Georgia, where all Negroes who applied for transfers later withdrew them.

6. No choice may be denied for any reason except overcrowding. If overcrowding would result, students must be assigned on the basis of proximity of residence.

7. Buses must be routed to the maximum extent feasible to serve each student choosing any school in the system.

THE NEW GUIDELINES also put heavy responsibility on school officials for seeing that desegregation works and that Negro students and parents are protected against harassment and reprisal.

School officials are required to "take steps to encourage community support and acceptance of their desegregation plan" and to furnish full information about it to news media.

The regulations say that "within their authority, school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under, or otherwise affected by, the plan.

Officials must "take appropriation action" against any student, teacher or staff member "who interferes with the successful operation of the plan, whether or not on school grounds."

THE REGULATIONS add: "If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they must seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials."

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported last month that violence and intimidation have marked school desegregation efforts in some places in the South. Incidents in Americus and Sumter County were among those detailed.

Faculty desegregation — resisted vehemently last year by Southern school officials and governors—is a requirement now of all.

The regulation in effect require some faculty desegregation in every school—not just in every school district.

The guidelines say that small segregated schools should be closed. If they are inferior—and the implication is that Negro schools of this type most often are—they must go "immediately" and the students sent elsewhere.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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HEW Guidelines Clearer

More than six months ahead of school openings next fall, the U.S. Office of Education has let Georgia school men know what desegregation steps they may expect to be required.

Commissioner Harold Howe acted early and spoke specifically. His new guidelines are reasonably drawn and carefully framed. As a result the state will be spared the confusions and upsets of 1965, when the requirements were cloudy or ambiguous. For talking straight, Commissioner Howe gets A.

Embodied also in these new guidelines is understanding as well as firmness. Harsh and extreme ideas were rejected by the dozens, as were soft and vague ones.

In sum, what is finally called for is:

First, "substantial achievements" in advancing pupil desegregation under freedom-of-choice plans. Percentage guidelines are suggested. They call roughly for a doubling of the number of Negroes in formerly white schools. Those schools which have done least this year will have to do most next year.

Second, "significant progress" in desegregation of faculties. Some type of faculty desegregation will be required in every school, not just in every school district.

Knowing clearly what must be done this far in advance, Georgia school systems can do it. The worst problems are past anyway. We have no doubt that Georgians will do more than abide by law this year, and will move on to school all children better and with less tension.

Very rapidly the problem of segregated education is shifting from the Southern schools, which are going forward, to the schools of other regions, where de facto segregation is quietly entrenched. In a year or two, given continuing Southern effort, the focus will shift to areas that may not have tried as hard.

SCHOOL DESEG.
AC 3/10/66

State Told To Triple Integration

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

Georgia school systems are expected to triple the number of Negroes attending previously all-white schools by next fall, a U. S. Office of Education spokesman warned here Wednesday.

Regional USOE Director Stan Kruger explained that new guidelines for desegregation directly affect individual schools, their student bodies and their faculties.

FACES LOSS OF AID

Each and every school that does not desegregate faces the danger of losing its federal aid starting in the fall, he said.

About 200 Georgia school superintendents and school board members meeting at the State Capitol grew more and more grim faced as Kruger closed legal loopholes and told them that now the USOE means business.

He said school systems must desegregate faculties "roughly proportional" to the ratio of white-to-Negro students. This does not mean hiring and firing on a racial basis, Kruger said, but it does mean that if existing teachers are properly distributed among the schools of a system, the proportions will probably be about the same as student desegregation.

4,240 NEGROES NOW

He said that by fall Georgia's 4,240 Negroes now going to classes in previously all white schools will be expected to triple.

The USOE will issue minimum standards of compliance annually "until we have reached the basic objective that schools will be operated without discrimination on the basis of race, creed or national origin," he said.

"It is not enough that schools be in paper compliance," he warned, adding that if USOE feels that a system is not

Continued on Page 8, Column 3

Tripling of Integration In Schools Is Ordered

Continued From Page 1

achieving substantial integration through its present plan it will be required to submit another.

Raged on elderly grey haired school official who was vigorously applauded:

"The Irish came over here and made their way. The Poles came over here and made their way. The Jews came over here and made their way.

"Why are we called upon to make the Negroes' way?"

He also told Kruger that integration of faculties will pull down the level of education in Georgia because Negro teachers are not as competent as white teachers.

Kruger said that no system will be required to keep teachers that are incompetent.

"The only requirement where a reduction in staff is necessary is that race not be a factor in the dismissal," he said.

"I don't think a Negro parent would want his child taught by an inferior teacher, no more than would a white parent," Kruger observed.

He told the school officials that they have until April 15 to amend existing dual school systems or be ruled in violation of the federal guidelines.

"Current programs will continue to receive funds," he said, "but terminating procedures will be started and future funds will be denied if amendments are not submitted."

Kruger is also expected to brief other school officials about the guidelines in Metter Thursday and in Albany, Friday.

SCHOOL DESEG

Race Distinction in Schools Must Go, Educators Told

AJ 3/14/64

By WAYNE KELLEY

The U.S. Office of Education in direct, almost blunt terms, has notified Georgia educators of new school desegreation requirements so tough that last year's seem pale by comparison.

The goal of the guidelines for 1966-67 is outwardly simple: Erase all distinctions which tend to identify schools as either Negro or white.

Federal emphasis for the next school year will definitely be on desegregation of public school faculties. This was made clear Wednesday by Stanley Kruger, a U.S. Office of Education official with responsibility for Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina.

Mr. Kruger conducted a four-hour briefing session for 250 state and local education officials at the State Capitol. A long question and answer period provoked some angry inquiries from the audience and several pointed replies by the federal administrator.

The new guidelines make mandatory for the first time integration of teaching staffs in southern districts. In addition many school systems will be required to double or triple the number of Negro students now attending desegregated classes for next fall.

The new policy puts responsibility for accomplishing these desegregation objectives squarely on the shoulders of local boards of education.

THE GUIDELINES, explained at great length by Mr. Kruger, severely restrict leeway under freedom of choice desegregation plans — the kind submitted by a big majority of Georgia systems.

The federal government is setting a quota for each system to meet, the USOE administrator told local educators. Districts which have desegregated schools for 8 per cent of their Negro students will be expected to double this effort to 16 per cent, he said.

If a district this year has only 4 per cent of its students in desegregated schools it will have to triple that number to 12 per cent. Systems with no desegregation at all will have an immediate quota of 10 per cent.

These are "minimum expectations," Mr. Kruger told his glum audience.

He brushed aside protests that local boards might not be able to transfer white teachers to Negro schools under requirements for desegregation of all faculties.

"It is not sufficient to say that a teacher will not volunteer," Mr. Kruger stated. "They

NEWS ANALYSIS

are the responsibility of the board. If we are going to leave faculty desegregation on the basis of willingness, we aren't going to have any desegregation."

Mr. Kruger also said, in effect, that local boards must see to it that the student desegregation quota is met whether parents choose to transfer their children or not.

SHOULD A SYSTEM not meet its goal, the office of education will most likely rule that some method of pupil assignment other than free choice must be uesd, he commented. This could substitute a zoning system in many cases.

To insure compliance the government will require detailed statistical reports on the racial makeup of schools.

The focus of the government will be on performance, Mr. Kruger warned. "It will not be enough to be in paper compliance."

The USOE guidelines also say that transfers of pupils within or outside of a district will not be permissible when the transfer tends to reduce desegregation in either the sending or receiving system.

This transfer policy would seem to eliminate the compliance status of Warren, Wilkes, and Green counties if they continue to accept white and Negro transfer students from Taliaferro County. The only schools now operating in Taliaferro are Negro.

Last year the USOE compliance requirements for the 1964 Civil Rights bill were considerably softer. Faculty desegregation was only required for in-service training and staff meetings. There were no strict quotas.

As Mr. Kruger outlined specifics closing loopholes and toughening rules, his audience became more and more restive.

A grey-haired man who would only identify himself as "a former school board chairman" was loudly applauded when he rose to complain:

"The Irish came over here and made their way. The Poles came over here and made their way. The Jews came over and made their own way. Why are we supposed to make the Negroes way for him?"

MR. KRUGER replied pointedly that as he recalled it "the Irish and Poles and Jews have had access to public schools."

The USEO official frankly conceded that the new guidelines mostly apply in the South "since they refer only to school districts under voluntary plans." But USEO staff is spending twice as much time in Northern cities such as Boston and Chicago on compliance problems, he added.

Georgia school officials left the meeting in a glum mood.

School systems have a deadline of April 15 to report whether they will meet the new requirements. Systems using freedom of choice plans have a May 15 report date.

One attorney for a large county school board left the meeting with a comment which seemed to sum up the feelings of many officials.

"We are going to tell them we intend to comply," he said. "Then we are going to tell them to make us."

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Over

Landrum Hits Integration Push

Continued From Page 1

ber. Local systems would be required to integrate their faculties.

The Office of Education also tightened the regulations governing freedom of choice plans, the method most widely used in the South last year to begin meeting requirements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"I honestly think there ought to be more time for freedom of choice to work for the betterment of education," said Landrum. "After all, that is the ultimate aim, isn't it? That is the way I feel about it.

"If the purpose is to intermingle, then that can be done by force. I think the most fundamental civil right is a right to education. When we have that, our problems will be solved."

The congressman said his sole concern in protesting the guidelines is for continued development of education in the South.

"As badly as we need education today I don't see how we can cross it up with all the forced moving and unnatural environment and expect anyone to learn anything," he said.

"I think this freedom of choice plan would work itself out if left alone. This (desegregation) is a gradual process. A man isn't going to get a Ph.D. the first day he goes to school. He's got to work up to it."

SCHOOL DESEG

Nix Denies Discrimination

AJ 3/10/66

State School Supt. Jack Nix reported to a federal district court here that he found "no discrimination" in the seating of Negro children in Wilkes and Warren County schools.

Mr. Nix's report Wednesday was the result of a court request that he investigate seating arrangements in the two counties for Negro students transferred from Taliaferro County by a federal court order.

"We found no discrimination in seating whatsoever," Mr. Nix stated Wednesday after visiting integrated Wilkes and Warren County classrooms.

SCHOOL DESEG

AC 3/11/66

Landrum on Schools: U.S. Pushing Too Hard

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The dean of Georgia's delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives declared Thursday that the Office of Education is "pushing too hard, too fast" to desegregate Southern classrooms and teaching staffs.

"They are asking too much," said Rep. Phil Landrum of new school desegregation guidelines issued earlier this week.

Landrum said he has already voiced objections to federal education officials.

"I don't know whether I'm getting anywhere," he added.

However, the usually reserved Ninth District congressman asserted his intention "to resist to the extent necessary to protect the educational system of Georgia and to protect the rights of citizens to an education."

The new guidelines, if followed to the letter, would require Georgia to more than triple the number of Negroes in schools with white pupils next Septem-

Continued on Page 7, Column 4

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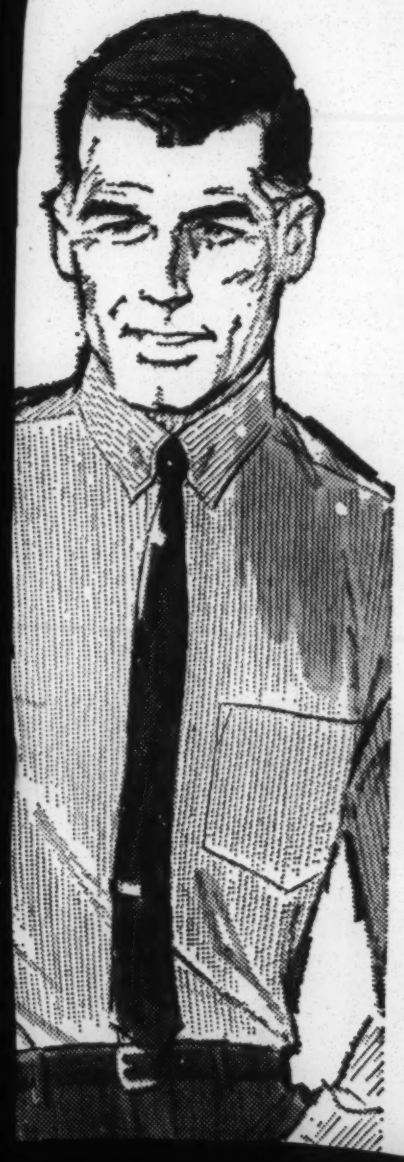

SCHOOL DESEG

President Sees GEA Integrated

AC 3/11/66

'It's Right Thing,' Henderson Says

The Georgia Education Association will vote to drop its "white only" membership requirement when it meets in Atlanta next week, GEA President Zach S. Henderson predicted Thursday.

Dr. Zach Henderson

"It's the right thing to do," explained Henderson, adding that education associations in Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi are the last three that have a color bar.

OKAY AMENDMENT

Last fall, GEA members voted 17,000 to 4,000 in favor of putting the constitutional amendment calling for the dropping of racial bars on this year's agenda.

A two-thirds majority of delegates voting at the convention is necessary for adoption of the amendment, Henderson said. GEA officials expect that 1,181 delegates will attend the three-day meeting, which begins on Wednesday.

The National Education Association, of which the GEA is an affiliate, adopted a resolution last year requiring state teacher organizations to end discriminatory practices.

OUSTER POSSIBLE

Failure to do so could result in ouster by the NEA, officials say.

Henderson also said that within five to 10 years there may be only one large statewide education association in Georgia. Negro educators are now represented by the Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

District STAR Student, Teacher Will Be Named Here March 25

The 1966 STAR student and STAR teacher for the Fifth Congressional District will be named March 25 at a luncheon meeting of the Atlanta Lions Club at the Dinkler Motor Hotel.

STAR students are selected on the basis of grades made on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The student names his choice for STAR teacher honors.

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SCHOOL DESEG.

Integrate, U.S. Warns Educators

AC 3/12/66

All Schools Must Obey, State Hears

ALBANY, Ga. (AP) — Schools which receive no federal aid still must desegreate, or face possible court action on the part of the Department of Justice, a federal spokesman said Friday.

Paul Kruger of the U.S. Office of Education said such a move is possible under provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

Kruger told some 125 persons attending a meeting to hear explanations of new school desegregation guidelines that it is up to them, as school administrators, to enforce the desegregation move.

FROM 50 COUNTIES

Kruger has given similar explantations before gatherings of Georgia educators in Atlanta and at Metter. Some 50 counties were represented at the meeting here, and about 20 per cent of the officials appeared to be Negro.

Kruger said there are about 70 school systems in Georgia which receive no federal aid, but they must follow the same guidelines of desegregation as other schools. He explained that faculties, school buses and other facilities also must be desegregated.

One official who was not identified asked Kruger what would happen in a county where the Negro population is about 68 per cent.

"Of course, they could move white pupils into Negro schools to achieve desegregation ratios," Kruger said. But he admitted this would possibly create "an area of friction."

20 PCT. LEVEL

He said that Negroes would be continued to be shifted to white schools as long as they didn't crowd them, and as long as they didn't exceed 20 per cent of the enrollment.

Another official, who also was unidentified, asked what would happen if a teacher declined to transfer to either a white or a Negro school.

Kruger said it was up to those attending the meeting, the school administrators, to persuade them if possible and to order them to transfer if necessary.

He said in the final decision, a superintendent could order a teacher to transfer, and if refused the teacher would be guilty of insubordination.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Racial Guides Irk Cobb School Board

AC - 3/13/66

By JOHN MEDLIN

A disgruntled Cobb County school board has laid tentative plans to oppose — or at least postpone — requirements set down in the revised 1966 guidelines for school desegregation.

The members had recessed their Wednesday meeting in order to hear a federal official in Atlanta explain the new rullings for the next school year.

In a late afternoon meeting Friday, board members expressed their resentment at changes in the school desegregation requirements. Jasper Griffin, county school superintendent, called them "unrealistic and unreasonable."

Cobb's desegregation plan, approved by the federal government last spring, is still valid in most respects. School board attorney Harry Willingham said that the main discrepency now lies in the fact that the system has not provided for desegregation of faculties.

Shortened deadlines were another cause for the board members' ire. Under Cobb's freedom of choice plan, students had from May 1 to June 1 to choose the school they wished to attend next year. The new guidelines specify that student decisions now be made during a 30-day period ending no later than April 30.

BOARD MEMBERS Tom Wootten prodded the other educators into seeking a possible postponement. Addressing Mr. Griffin as "the man who has spent all his life in education," he asked if the superintendent thought other systems would rally to fight the guidelines.

Mr. Griffin said he thought they would have to wait and see what reactions would be over the state. "They've popped this to us so late those who want to comply will be hard pressed to do it," he remarked.

GEA to Discuss Ban On Negro Membership

AC 3/13/66 SCHOOL DESEG.

School people from across Georgia will converge on Atlanta this week for the 99th annual Georgia Education Association convention.

Delegates will number 1,200, but the convention is expected to attract about 8,000 persons for various other meetings connected with the convention.

The hottest issue expected to come before the teachers is whether to remove restrictions which bar Negroes from membership in the 29,888-member professional organization. A proposed constitutional amendment to do this already has been approved by 17,000 of the members. It will require a two-thirds vote of the delegates to make the change.

A. J. STRICKLAND, superintendent of Trion City Schools, is the only announced candidate for president-elect. He would succeed Clyde W. Kimball, who becomes president, the first Atlantan to do so in 38 years. Dr. Zach Henderson, president of Georgia Southern College in Statesboro, is outgoing president.

Gov. Sanders is scheduled to speak at the convention Thursday night. U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe III will talk at a Friday breakfast of the Georgia Vocational Association.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AJ 3/14/66

Compliance Rules Perplex, Anger Educators Here

Metropolitan Atlanta school superintendents' reaction to new school desegregation guidelines ranged from anger to bewilderment, a check by The Atlanta Journal revealed Monday.

They generally were angry that local officials were not consulted when the guidelines were drawn, and bewildered as to how their school systems would be affected.

The U.S. Office of Education last week outlined the guides for school officials in the Atlanta area. School systems must follow them or face a cutoff of federal aid and court action.

Basically the new guidlines provide for biracial faculties in each school, the elimination of "Negro" and "white" schools and the elimination of segregation in athletics, transportation, parent-teacher associations, extra - curricular programs and similar projects.

Except in the area of faculty desegregation, the Atlanta School System already is substantially in compliance with desegregation guidelines laid down by the U.S. Office of Education, in the opinion of school Supt. John W. Letson.

For this reason, and another important one, the promulgation of the new federal guidelines hasn't caused any consternation among Atlanta school officials.

The other important consideration is that the Atlanta system has been desegregating these past five years under a federal court order and technically it isn't immediately affected by the Office of Education's new strictures.

It will continue to operate under orders of the court, according to Dr. Letson.

Not that this will necessarily preclude application of the new guidelines from Washington, for, as Dr. Letson says, "We will be involved in the immediate future in the same thing, in my judgment."

"WE'RE NOT planning to stand on that technicality (the fact the city's system is under duress of a court order)," says Dr. Letson. "We will proceed

Renfro

Edmonds

as in the past in the direction of full implementation of the court order. We have already gone a long way toward that implementation.

"I think we will meet the test (of the new guidelines) in most respects except for faculty desegregation, and we have gone a long way in that direction.

"I think we would come very close to meeting the beginning regulations."

Dr. Letson adds:

"I certainly think that the future course of the Atlanta system will be voluntary action. Of course, you can never tell whether that voluntary action will be sufficient to eliminate the possibility of further court action. Certainly we have gone considerably beyond the requirement for faculty desegregation, but we have considerable faculty desegregation."

Forcing school children and teachers to function in schools not of their choice could create a bad situation, according to DeKalb County School Supt. Jim Cherry.

"The freedom-of-choice system is a far sounder basis on which to operate an educational system because it substitutes for the authoritarian viewpoint the counseling and guidance viewpoint."

Mr. Cherry is head of one of the largest systems in the state. Grades 1-12 in DeKalb show an enrollment of 70,500 children, of which 3,700 are Negroes—217 of these attending previously all-white schools.

DeKalb has no Negro teachers in predominantly white schools

Griffin

Harris

and no white teachers in Negro schools.

Supt. Cherry has been a strong advocate of freedom of choice for both teacher and pupil for many years. "We are presently evaluating the compliance plan," said Mr. Cherry. "I can't give any definite answer on the new order until we have finished with our study.

"I will say this," he added, "we have always complied with the law of the land."

The new guidelines are "going to knock back our school system several years," said Gwinnett School Supt. B. B. Harris.

THE BUFORD School System may be affected drastically. It has totally segregated schools for its 380 Negro and 850 white students.

There is an elementary and a high school for each group.

School Supt., J. R. Callison was reluctant to make any statement about the new compliance order. "I'd just rather not be quoted at all," he said.

MARIETTA AND Cobb County school systems, somewhat taken by surprise with the more stringent requirements, have not formulated any definite plans for meeting the challenge, according to superintendents Jasper Griffin and Loyd Cox. Neither system expects to have to produce a new compliance plan, however.

Mr. Griffin, the county school superintendent, said he thought it "unfortunate that HEW sees fit to move so drastically in such a short period of time, and on such short notice."

THE CLAYTON COUNTY School System, with less than one per cent of its Negro population attending integrated classes and no faculty integration, may experience some big changes if the federal guidelines are enforced.

Clayton will have to step up its desegregation. According to the guidelines, at least 10 per cent of the student Negro population would have to be in integrated schools.

With an estimated 1,600 Negroes attending school in Clayton, about 160 would have to go to integrated schools. This would mean that more than 100 Negro children would have to transfer next year.

Although Clayton has a centralized administrative setup and holds integrated staff meetings, the system has no integrated school faculties.

Decatur School Supt. Carl Renfro said the stricter federal rules for compliance with integration are a "move away from democracy."

"All they are doing is increasing central government control," he said, "and they are undermining their purpose which they hope to realize." Dr. Renfro says the freedom-of-choice method now employed in Decatur schools has been very satisfactory. "By taking away freedom of choice and attempting to force integration, federal officials will destroy the basis that makes integration tolerable."

Dr. Renfro declined to reveal the number of Negro children now attending predominantly white schools. He said such information would be interpreted "as too few by some and too many by others."

DECATUR'S 11 schools have 3,700 children attending them, 800 of which are Negro.

Fulton School Supt. Paul D. West has said previously that the new guidelines will produce some "explosive and untenable situations."

SCHOOL DESEG

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1966.

RIGHTS CHIEF HITS INTEGRATION RULE

Section of Guidelines Said to Make Delay Possible

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 13 — Negroes who pioneered school integration in many areas of the South stand to be penalized by new desegregation guidelines that were issued last week by the Office of Education, civil rights leaders are saying.

The guidelines, which could sharply increase the amount of classroom integration in the South next fall, are considered stringent in comparison to past standards. School districts under Federal court order, however, are specifically exempted.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., said that most court orders now in effect fall "far short" of the standards in the guidelines.

Mr. Greenberg made the point that although most school districts were not under court order, most of the larger metropolitan areas and many rural counties were. He said court orders were in force where there had been an active civil rights movement. His organization now represents Negro plaintiffs in about 175 school cases.

"Negroes will be paying the penalty for insisting upon civil rights in the nineteen-fifties and the early nineteen-sixties," Mr. Greenberg said. "The only remedy the guidelines offer is the victim of segregation can go back to court."

The guidelines say:

"A school system under a court order for desegregation which is not in accord with the current judicial standards is subject to legal action by the Department of Justice, or by the parties to the original suit, to modify the order to meet current standards."

Judical standards established by United States Courts of Appeals are expected to correspond roughly to executive standards set by the Office of Education. In enforcement by the district courts, however, there is frequently a considerable lag.

Last year in Louisiana, for example, a number of school districts chose to invite court suits rather than submit desegregation plans to the Office of Education, in the belief that they could get by with less integration and still receive Federal funds.

The guidelines are issued under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI is intended to ban racial discrimination in any federally assisted program. The Administration's goal is to complete desegregation of all 12 grades in every district in the South by the fall of 1967.

Several civil rights groups had asked the ffice of Education to require districts under court order to meet the executive standards. The American Friends Service Committee and the Legal Defense Fund said last fall in a memorandum to John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare:

"One reason why authority was given to the department is that many Federal judges take an extremely narrow view of how rapidly and how comprehensively school desegregation must proceed. Unquestionably the reason why authority was given to the department was to free the process of desegregation from the complexities of litigation and the limited views of many district judges on how fast and far desegregation must proceed."

Administration officials have said that they have felt reluctant to override the rulings of the judicial branch. They said that the guidelines issued this year and last were in line with recent court rulings.

Tobacco Spending Greater Than That for Hospital Care

CHICAGO, March 12 (AP)—Americans have been spending more for tobacco than for hospital care, and more for cosmetics, haircuts and toiletries than for doctor bills, the A.M.A. News, published by the American Medical Association, said Sunday.

Spending for health care totaled $25.2-billion in 1964, the latest year for which Department of Commerce figures are available, the article said.

The total spent for hospital care in 1964 was $7.6-billion, with $7.8-billion spent on tobacco products, the article said.

Last 'White' Parley Of GEA Set Today

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 3/16/66

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

The Georgia Education Association begins Wednesday what authorities predict will be its last "white only" annual convention.

On Friday the 1,180 delegates attending the four-day meeting at Atlanta's Marriott Motor Hotel will vote whether to remove the "white only" qualification for membership in the teachers' organization.

A poll has indicated that 80 per cent of GEA's 29,504 members favor the change. The only other state teacher groups that have not yet dropped racial barriers are in Mississippi and Louisiana.

The delegates will vote to adopt the constitutional amendment, says GEA President Zach S. Henderson, because "it's the right thing to do."

Scheduled to address the about 8,000 teachers and guests expected are Gov. Carl E. Sanders, U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe III and State School Supt. Jack P. Nix.

The theme of the 99th annual convention is "Improved Education — Georgia's Thrust."

A. J. Strickland, Trion school superintendent, is the only announced candidate for president-elect for 1966-67. If elected he will automatically succeed Clyde W. Kimball Jr., principal of Atlanta's Continental Elementary School.

Kimball is scheduled to be installed as president Saturday morning. He is Atlanta's first GEA president in 38 years.

The convention will open on Wednesday with the School Bell Awards dinner. Guest speaker will be J. C. Bostain of the Foreign Language Institute, Washington, D.C

The first general session will be Thursday evening. Gov. Sanders will speak.

Commissioner Howe will address the convention at a Friday breakfast meeting.

During the four days, nine GEA departments and 20 affiliate groups will conduct meetings and install officers.

Education Chief Backs Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By TOM GREENE AJ 3/17/66

The new U.S. Commissioner of Education said in Atlanta Friday the controversial new desegregation guidelines issued by his office "mean what they say" and will be enforced.

Harold Howe II, appointed education commissioner last January by President Johnson, made the remark in a press conference after he spoke at a breakfast sponsored by the Georgia Vocational Association. The breakfast was held in connection with the 99th annual convention of the Georgia Education Association.

During the speech, Mr. Howe called on Georgia teachers to "consider how you can act to help achieve our national objectives" in education.

At the press conference, the commissioner was asked how serious he considered the guidelines to be. He answered: "We mean what they say and we feel

Turn to Page 6, Column 1

GUIDELINES DEFENDED

Continued From Page 1

we will be able to follow through on these guidelines and make them work."

THE GUIDELINES laid down last week provide among other things for stepped up school desegregation and "substantial progress" in faculty desegregation.

Mr. Howe said, however, that "we recognize this (faculty desegregation) may not be possible in every school. We didn't make this a hard and fast" order to take care of those areas where there might be trouble.

A group of Georgia principals and board of education members are laying plans to seek congressional pressure on the Education Commission for delay of implementation of the guidelines. They also will ask Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton to file legal action against them.

Asked how effective he thought this would be, Mr. Howe said his office conferred with congressmen before issuing the guidelines and got legal opinions on them. Some congressmen, he said, criticized them as not being strong enough.

But he added that he thinks the congressional approach of the Georgians is the proper one. "I can't argue against their doing this, but we think we have set up a valid program."

MR. HOWE said he does not feel it is valid criticism of the guidelines to say they are hurting those systems who are trying to comply with the law. He pointed out that in over 100 southern school systems who had desegregation plans approved, there was no desegregation at all, and where there was some "we think there is a possibility for more progress."

He said flatly that the "overall intent of these guidelines is to remove from the educational scene the continued concept of the dual school system" which "represents discrimination" on its face.

During his speech, Commissioner Howe said the U.S. Constitution "leaves education entirely in the hands of the states" and "our founding fathers did not assign any responsibility for education to the federal government."

But, he added, there is a "growing strength of . . . local-state-federal partnership in education."

Mr. Howe said, "Local control is the best way to run the educational enterprise" but some weaknesses in the country's educational setup are difficult for local schools to cope with.

ONE PROBLEM he cited was population mobility, which has created a "geographical imbalance" in our local educational systems.

Such situations, he said, have "brought the federal government into education in a big way," listing the National Defense Education Act of 1958, Vocational Education Act of 1963 and 23 other pieces of federal education legislation passed in the last three years.

"These laws do not represent a new division of responsibility," he said, but they "do reflect a new partnership in education among the local, state and federal governments.

"They reflect in addition an awareness that this nation has a common life, and educational New Mexico affect Georgia and Illinois."

He added: "Far from removing any burden of educational leadership from individuals and local communities, the federal commitment to education offers even greater possibilities for initiative to every teacher, every school administrator, every businessman and citizen."

MR. HOWE did not in his prepared speech mention directly the new guidelines issued by his office requiring a stepup in school and faculty desegregation. These guidelines have stirred heated conversation during the GEA convention.

Meanwhile, GEA delegates were voting Friday on a proposed constitutional amendment which would remove restrictions barring Negroes from membership.

The issue was debated briefly during the first delegate session of the 99th annual GEA convention Thursday. While only four persons spoke, two for and two against the amendment, reaction to the speakers indicated that the delegates were overwhelmingly in favor of removing the restrictions.

Placing the amendment on the ballot was overwhelmingly approved by GEA membership in preliminary voting last fall.

The 1,200 delegates attending the convention Thursday heard their outgoing president, Dr. Zach S. Henderson, make a low-keyed but impassioned plea for changing the constitution.

"THIS IS life, this is 1966," Dr. Henderson said, adding that only Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana teacher associations still have such restrictions, and Mississippi is getting ready to remove it from its constitution. He was given a standing ovation.

Gov. Sanders, in a speech to the convention Thursday night, said education is the answer to the problems facing the country today.

"These problems will never be solved merely by some federal program," he said. "Neither will education's problems be solved by guidelines. . . ." (This was an obvious reference to the new desegregation guidelines issued last week.

FRANK HUGHES, GEA executive director, Thursday urged the delegates to become involved in politics to the extent of letting the current crop of statewide candidates know how they feel about education matters.

He also made a pitch, without saying so in so many words, for a 1 per cent increase in sales taxes to finance what he terms will be a need for $100 million for education in the next three years.

A. J. Strickland, superintendent of Trion City Schools for 18 years and a native of Blackshear, was unanimously elected president elect of GEA Thursday. He will become president in 1967.

Atlanta's Clyde Kimball is scheduled to be installed as president Saturday morning, the final GEA session.

State's Schoolmen Fight Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AJC 3/17/66

By TOM GREENE

Georgia school superintendents and members of boards of education have banded together to fight what one called the "autocratic edicts" of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare which last week ordered a stepup in desegregation.

About 50 superintendents, board members and other education officials met in Atlanta Wednesday to discuss the new desegregation guidelines issued by HEW, and most obviously were angry and puzzled.

Outgoing president of GEA calls for implementation of controversial Peabody Report —Page 4.

Out of the meeting came a seven-member steering committee which will draw up a plan of action to seek at least a delay in implementation of the new guidelines.

THE COMMITTEE is expected to recommend, among other things, that a delegation go to Washington to confer with Georgia's congressional delegation to get them to put pressure on HEW so educators will at least have more time to comply with the orders.

They also are expected to approach Georgia Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton to request him to seek some legal means of fighting the new desegregation orders.

The educators also will seek the aid of their counterparts in

Turn to Page 22, Column 5

FIGHT GUIDELINES

Continued From Page 1

other states in trying to put pressure on HEW.

The new guidelines of HEW, among other things, said that school systems must make "substantial progress" by this fall on faculty desegregation and school integration or face cutoff of federal funds. It hiked the percentages of Negro students who must attend previously white schools and ordered that small, inadequate Negro schools must be closed altogether.

ONE SUPERINTENDENT, E. R. Cone of Thomas County, said Wednesday that "I am not going to be a party to assigning teachers and students to any schools" where they don't want to go. "There are other ways to make a living," he added. Mr. Cone said his board of education has offered to put up as much as $1,000 to help fight the HEW order.

Ralph Hood, Glynn County superintendent, who said the new guidelines threaten to "destroy public schools," said schoolmen would be "betraying our oath and our obligations" in carrying them out "and I am in favor of not doing it."

W. L. Robinson, chairman of the Fulton County Board of Education and past president of the National School Boards' Association, said "I feel like this is the time for the State of Georgia to lead the way and show some leadership."

Mr. Robinson, who branded the new guidelines as "bureaucratic, autocratic edicts," said he has been told by reliable sources that President Johnson is not going to back down on the matter and HEW "is going to see that these edicts are carried out," added:

"But if we put enough pressure behind this thing, we may not be able to reverse it but we could at least slow it down."

Mr. Robinson added that "This is not a southern problem, it is a national problem. We could probably work out a plan . . . but it isn't right, there's nothing just about telling a teacher 'you must go from your school' " to another one.

FULTON Supt. Paul West, who presided over Wednesday's meeting, suggested that the steering committee be appointed and asked to draw up the plan of action. He suggested the committee meet during the Georgia Education Association convention currently under way in Atlanta to draw up the plan, then present it to another meeting of the group next week. "Then we can move from that point."

Members of the steering committee are Claude Bray of Manchester, president of the Georgia School Boards' Association; Mr. Robinson; Roy Hendricks of Metter, chairman of the Candler County Board of Education; R. D. Blakeney, Gainesville superintendent; Mr. Cone; Gordon Holstun, superintendent of the Upson-Thomaston school system, and M. S. McDonald, Rome superintendent.

NEW MATH
FOR PARENTS
GET IN STEP WITH YOUR KIDS
YMCA—JA. 5-5401

RALPH McGILL

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
A C 3/17/66

Long Look at Consequences

It has been a long hard road from Little Rock, via Oxford, Mississippi, into the present.

Lessons were learned along the way. These lessons come under the heading of "Consequences," "Cause and Effect," and "Alternatives."

The lessons learned have been accepted, in part, at least, by most of the major urban communities. After all, it has been almost 12 years since the U.S. Supreme Court school decision case of 1954. There has been adequate time in which to learn. Violence that necessitated federal troops in some communities and created general encouragement of defiance of legal processes involving schools and court orders by public officials, and private, no longer is likely in the larger urban centers in the Southern states. (The North's grievous burden is that of the large slum areas and of defacto segregation. Neither can be satisfactorily solved until the slums are replaced with housing developments that include for each a complex of elementary, secondary, and, perhaps, junior colleges and, or, modern vocational schools.)

Guide Lines

The guide lines recently announced by the U.S. Department of Education for the school year 1966-67 cannot be attacked as extreme or hurried. After all, as before noted, 12 years have passed since the Court, fully aware of the difficulties, suggested a deliberate course at deliberate speed, asking only good faith and honest effort.

There still are some smaller towns and rural communities which have made no start at all. They have almost incred-

Court school decision case of 1954. There has been adequate time in which to learn. Violence that necessitated federal troops in some communities and created general encouragement of defiance of legal processes involving schools and court orders by public officials, and private, no longer is likely in the larger urban centers in the Southern states. (The North's grievous burden is that of the large slum areas and of defacto segregation. Neither can be satisfactorily solved until the slums are replaced with housing developments that include for each a complex of elementary, secondary, and, perhaps, junior colleges and, or, modern vocational schools.)

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There still are some smaller towns and rural communities which have made no start at all. They have, almost incredibly, in the light of events and the alternatives, gone to the great trouble of carrying out a policy of circumvention — in many disguises. The years that could have been spent in honest, educational planning with the aid of the known — and respected — Negro leadership in their school systems have been lost.

An illustration from action taken only a few weeks ago provides a picture of circumvention. In one school system a number of families had asked for transfer to the best school. They were then approached individually and privately. Each set of parents was told that they were the only ones who had not withdrawn the request for transfer. It was then suggested that their child, or children, might be "very unhappy" as the "only" ones in an otherwise all white school. This deception was exposed. Transfers were made and no trouble ensued, but bitterness remains.

Circumventions

Other "circumventions" have been more ugly, involving threats and economic actions against parents.

Most persons now see that the region's most urgent need is the best possible education for all its children—and adults. Loss of federal funds would be a needless disaster. Yet, there are a number of towns and communities that in anger and resentment plan nothing at all except defiance. Angry protests and asking for more "time," after a dozen years of time in which no community meetings were held to work out a peaceful, slow program of compliance in the interests of their children, have a very hollow ring. Each of the resisting communities tends to think it is somehow "different" for a neighboring town or city that has successfully obeyed the law and courts. There can be only one "difference," leadership that is too frozen in prejudice to act.

There isn't a community that cannot manage to implement the new guidelines peacefully and happily—what is lacking is the will and the leadership to organize that will. Until local leadership assumes that responsibility, violence and hatreds will replace easily attainable educational advances.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AC 3/18/66

Panel of 50 Fights School Integration Guidelines

By the Associated Press

A committee to fight new federal guidelines on school desegregation has been formed by about 50 Georgia school superintendents and members of boards of education.

A seven-man steering committee is expected to draw up plans to seek at least a delay in implementation of the guidelines. It is expected the group will request assistance from Georgia's congressional delegation and ask Attorney General Arthur K. Bolton to seek legal means of fighting the order.

W. L. Robinson, chairman of the Fulton County Board of Education and one of the seven named to the steering committee, said he has been told by reliable sources that President Lyndon Johnson is not going to back down on the guidelines. He said the Department of Health, Education and Welfare "is going to see these edicts are carried out."

Robinson said, "If we put enough pressure behind this thing we may not be able to reverse it, but we could at least slow it down."

"I am not going to be a party to assigning teachers and students to any school," said Superintendent E. R. Cone of Thomas County.

Glynn County Superintendent Ralph Hood said the guidelines threaten to destroy public schools. He said he was in favor of not carrying them out.

Fulton County Superintendent Paul West, who presided at the meeting, suggested that the steering committee draw up a plan.

Members of the steering committee are Robinson, Cone, Claude Bray of Manchester, president of the Georgia School Boards' Association; Roy Hendricks of Metter, chairman of the Candler County Board of Education and newly appointed to the State Board of Education; Superintendent R. D. Blakeney of Gainesville; Superintendent Gordon Holstun of the Upson-Thomaston school system, and Superintendent M. S. McDonald of Rome.

GEA Admits Negroes By 4-1 Vote, Denounces New U.S. Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 3/19/66

Says Integration Rules Curb Freedom of Choice

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

The Georgia Education Association voted more than 4 to 1 Friday to drop its "white-only" membership qualification then even more overwhelmingly passed a resolution denouncing the new federal school desegregation guidelines.

Of the 1,038 delegates voting on the membership issue in Atlanta at the annual GEA convention, 862 favored dropping racial barriers and 176 opposed it.

A two-thirds majority was necessary for passage of the constitutional amendment which immediately opens GEA membership to Negroes.

ONLY 2 STATES

Its adoption leaves only teacher organizations in Mississippi and Louisiana barring Negroes. The vote was taken by machine.

When a voice vote was taken on the federal guidelines resolution only about three faint cries of "No," followed the thunderous "Yes," that resounded in the Marriott Motor Hotel's main ballroom.

THE RESOLUTION

The resolution which attacks the federal guidelines requiring faculty integration of most Georgia schools this fall states:

"Whereas, the process of integration this current school year has been supported with amazing cooperation from most school systems in Georgia, and

"Whereas, the 1964 Democratic national platform declared, 'True democracy of opportunity will not be served by establishing quotas based on the same false distinctions we seek to erase, nor can the effects of prejudice be neutralized by the expedient of preferential practices,' and

RESTRICTS FREEDOM

"Whereas, the recent federal guidelines do require forced integration of faculties in a manner that sets established quotas and also eliminates or sharply restricts freedom of choice on the part of teachers, and

"Whereas, these same federal

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

GEA Accepts Negro Members

Continued From Page 1

guidelines will tend to destroy much of the good will that now exists between school boards, school administrators, and classroom teachers, and

"Whereas, the democratic process of our nation is founded upon freedom of choice—to choose our vocations, to choose our avocations, to choose our places of residence, to choose the political party to which we belong, and to choose the candidate whom we would support, and

"Whereas, it appears that teachers who have themselves been denied the democratic process of freedom of choice will not likely be the most apt teachers of the democratic process, and

"Whereas, this denial will tend to destroy the democratic process itself, and

"Whereas, these new federal guidelines are being arbitrarily imposed by the same Democratic party that approved the Democratic National Party Platform in 1964,

"Therefore, be it resolved: that the federal government, which is presently controlled by this same Democratic party, return to its own national platform for its position and for its approach to a solution of this national problem, and

"Be it further resolved: that this position of Georgia teachers be made known to our Georgia senators and representatives."

The delegates representing the GEA's 29,000 members also adopted a resolution stating that it has not yet endorsed any candidate for any public office.

President-elect Clyde Kimball said the board of directors had agreed Wednesday to destroy without examining political opinion poll cards returned by the membership.

Also adopted by the delegates, whose four-day convention ends Saturday, were resolutions endorsing the teachers' salary raises adopted by the State Board of Education Wednesday and state-supported kindergartens.

The various departments of the GEA Friday elected the following officers:

Georgia Speech Association: president, Dr. Faye Head of Athens; first vice president, Mrs. Daphne Yvars of DeKalb College; second vice president, Dr. Richard Rea of Athens; third vice president, Mrs. Aileen Braley of Tucker; secretary-treasurer, Miss Roberta Winter of Agnes Scott College.

Georgia Mathematics Council: president, Mrs. Gwen Shufelt of Alpharetta; vice president, Leo Arnold of Albany; second vice president, Mrs. Becky King of Doraville; third vice president, Miss Nelle Covington of Thomaston; secretary, Mrs. Aurelia Henson of Dunwoody; treasurer, Mrs. Ora Lee Gadell of Athens; Newsletter editor, Miss Sue Boren of Decatur.

Georgia Council of Teachers of English: president, Mrs. Jane Sepple of Jackson; vice president, Mrs. Jeanne Boring of Moultrie; secretary, Mrs. Virginia Daniel of Millen; treasurer, Mrs. Mary McCampbell of Marietta; liaison, James Hale of Atlanta.

Georgia Audio-Visual Education: president, Dr. John Pursell, education media consultant for the State Department of Education; president-elect, Mrs. Rebecca Brown of Atlanta; vice president, D. E. Nalley of Gwinnett County; treasurer, Mrs. Bess Hayes of DeKalb; secretary, Mrs. Calvin Cox of DeKalb County.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Meeting Scheduled On Desegregation

AC 3/20/66

Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 19—A conference on school desegregation will be held in Atlanta May 14 under the sponsorship of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

It is one of nine such meetings scheduled in Southern states beginning March 26, according to a commission announcement here. The U.S. Office of Education will provide technical assistance at the meetings.

William L. Taylor, commission staff director, said the aim of the conferences is to acquaint citizens with federal laws and policies about school desegregation.

The new 1966-67 guidelines of the Office of Education will get particular attention. There also will be discussions of problems and techniques of desegregation and financial grants and other services available from the federal government and private agencies.

Invited to the Atlanta meeting will be local and state school officials, Negro and white teachers, parents, representatives of local and state civil rights organizations, officials, mayors, county commissioners and officials of public and private community and human relations organizations.

There will be workshops and problem clinics at the one-day meeting. The Office of Education will conduct the problem clinics, which will be restricted to problems presented by county, city or community delegations.

GEA Head Seeks Ease On Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 3/20/66

By TOM GREENE

The centennial year president of the Georgia Education Association has pledged to seek "some modification at least" of new federal desegregation guidelines, but admonished teachers to be prepared to move forward regardless of the outcome.

Clyde W. Kimball Jr., who Saturday became the first Atlantan to be president of the GEA in 38 years, cited a resolution passed by delegates during the organization's 99th annual convention which sharply criticized the new guidelines and said:

"I will do all I can to help

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GEA Head Seeks Ease on Guidelnes

Continued From Page 1

get some type of solution that we can live with."

But he warned the teachers that "you are responsible for what is going to happen in education this year, and I urge you that our first and foremost responsibility is to the boys and girls" in school.

"THERE IS work to be done even if we can't always have things the way that we want them," Mr. Kimball said.

The new GEA president is principal of Continental Colony School in Atlanta. After being sworn in at the President's Breakfast which concluded the convention at the Marriott Motor Hotel Saturday, he urged teachers to adopt Robert E. Lee as their "symbol of courage."

He reminded them that General Lee "after he lost the battle of his cause" was "as great a leader to the people of the Southland after the war as he was before the war."

Mr. Kimball also urged Georgia teachers to work to decrease school dropouts, adopting a goal of each teacher preventing at least one child from leaving school prematurely.

Dr. Zach Henderson, president of Georgia Southern College in Statesboro and outgoing GEA president, told the teachers he was proud of the fact that they had overwhelmingly voted to remove the color barrier from membership requirements — a goal for which he worked all year.

"IT'S HARD to speak the truth, but it's there" and you have to face it, Dr. Henderson said, adding:

"If GEA has a place in the state, it must be in the middle of trouble. The only way we can succeed . . . is to walk right up to the problems and roll up our sleeves and go at it.

"We must take the problems that are ours and make out of them workable solutions for this day."

GEA delegates voted heavily Friday to remove color restrictions from membership requirements in their constituion, but that does not mean that there will be instant integration in the century-old organization of almost 30,000 members.

New members join the organization through local units, and there likely will be a few Negro members by next year's 100th convention. But Negro teachers have their own organization, the Georgia Teachers Education Association (GTEA) with about 9,000 members and representatives of both groups say a merger of the two is unlikely anytime soon.

Dr. Howard Tate, GTEA executive director, who congratulated the GEA for "doing in 1966 what it should have done in 1867," said there would have to be joint committee meetings before any consolidation comes.

A. J. STRICKLAND, superintendent of the Trion City Schools for 18 years and a native of Blackshear, was named president-elect during the convention. He will become president in 1967.

New directors elected were Mrs. Jewel Palmer of Marietta, seventh district; E. J. Harrell of Hawkinsville, third district; D. D. Morrison of Pelham, second district, and A. D. Clifton of Metter, elected to fill an unexpired term to which he had been appointed.

Mrs. Hazel Lewis of Columbus was elected a trustee and Mrs. Isabel Kinnett of Macon was appointed treasurer, replacing Mrs. Pearl Tedder of Columbus, who had held the job for 20 years.

Dr. Henderson was nominated by the delegates to serve as the state's director in the National Education Association. He will have to be elected at the NEA convention this summer in Miami.

Guidelines 'a Mockery,' Talmadge Tells Senate

SCHOOL DESEG. - AJ 3/29/66

Says New Rules Curb Freedom of Association

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 29—Sen. Herman E. Talmadge charged Tuesday that new school desegregation guidelines "make a mockery of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association."

In remarks prepared for delivery in the Senate, the Georgia Democrat said the rules recently issued by the U.S. Office of Education "make requirements of school systems that not even the Supreme Court has seen fit to make."

Sen. Talmadge

"They call for the herding and busing of students from one school to another on the basis of arbitrary percentages, the juggling of school attendance zones and school bus routes to suit the whims of some bureaucrat in Washington, the mandatory transfer of teachers from one school to another and the requirement for such a mountain of paper work that teachers will be turned into bookkeepers and have little time left for the education of children," Sen. Talmadge said.

THE GUIDELINES, effective this fall, require a stepup in the percentage of student desegregation, substantial progress toward faculty desegregation and a shutdown of small Negro schools, among other things.

Sen. Talmadge said there is no legal obligation on any school system "to take action to achieve any degree of racial balance, not in Washington D. C., not in New York City and not in Georgia."

"Now comes the Office of Education demanding what the law nowhere requires or even contemplates," he said. "The imperative word 'must' appears no less than 92 times in these regulations."

The senator said Georgians view the 1954 school desegrega-

Turn to Page 12, Column 3

GUIDELINES 'MOCKERY'

Continued from Page 1

tion decision and the federal funds withholding section of the 1964 civil rights act as "an accomplished fact."

"I join the people of Georgia in support of all the constitutional rights of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color," he said.

"But one of the most cherished of these rights is freedom from regimentation and enforced togetherness, which thankfully is forbidden by the Constitution," Sen. Talmadge said.

He did not cite the provision of the Constitution to which he was referring.

Sen. Talmadge said he hopes "these high-handed tactics will be abandoned." He said the office of enducation should obey the law.

Solons, Schoolmen To Discuss Rules

Georgia school officials will meet with the state congressional delegation in Washington Wednesday for a conference on the new U.S. Office of Education desegregation guidelines.

The delegation, a steering committee of school superintendents and school board members, is trying to gain a delay in implementation and moderation of the "shockingly hasty" order.

The guidelines laid down early this month call for stepped up school desegregation, "some" faculty desegregation and closing of small, inadequate Negro schools.

THE STEERING committee has said that this "terrific acceleration of desegregation procedures is altogether unfair and will militate against orderly desegregation processes progressively under way."

The committee has urged local school boards to let their individual congressmen know their feelings on the guidelines. It also is asking Georgia Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton to look into the legalities.

W. L. Robinson, president of the Fulton County Board of Education, and M. S. McDonald, superintendent of Rome schools, are cochairmen of the committee and will lead the delegation to Washington.

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Which Is the Mockery?

It's interesting that Sen. Herman Talmadge should use the word "mockery" in referring to the U.S. Office of Education school desegregation guidelines.

The senator says these guidelines "make a mockery of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association."

The U.S. Supreme Court has used the word in connection with school segregation, too. In a case rising from the Little Rock crisis, the high court quoted the great Chief Justice John Marshall about an earlier state effort to evade federal law.

If states may "at will annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery," Mr. Marshall wrote.

And that is precisely the point in the case of the Office of Education rules. It is now almost 12 years since the Supreme Court ruled that segregation denies Negroes equal protection guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

Eight years ago, it was even more specific: ". . . only a prompt start, diligently and earnestly pursued, to eliminate racial segregation from the public schools (can) constitute good faith compliance. State authorities thus were duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discriminaton in the public school system."

Yet the dual school system still is maintained throughout the South. Most desegregation is token. And most school districts did not embrace even tokenism until this school year, under pressure of Office of Education rules authorized by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The obligation to eliminate the dual system would exist by virtue of the 1954 decision even if the Office of Education were not involved.

But the Civil Rights Act places an obligation on the Office of Education to withhold federal funds from school districts practicing discrimination. To avoid being totally arbitrary, OE had to establish some minimum standards for judging compliance. In the first year, it was extremely lenient so as to make the transition easier.

It was understood then that requirements would be strengthened this year, and they have been. They are not so demanding as Sen. Talmadge paints them, but they do require a higher percentage of pupil desegregation and progress toward faculty desegregation.

Sen. Talmadge says he now accepts the 1954 decision and the Civil Rights Act as accomplished facts. But he and other members of the Georgia congressional delegation feel somehow bound to protest the guidelines and seek modification. If they fail—and they will—they should feel an equal duty to explain to the people of Georgia that these rules, too, are accomplished facts.

Guidelines Fight Led by Talmadge

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 3/30/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Georgia lawmakers and education officials Tuesday began mounting a major campaign in Washington seeking to soften new federal guidelines for school desegregation in the South.

Sen. Herman Talmadge led a round of speech-making in the Senate during which Southerners accused the U.S. Office of Education of going beyond the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in issuing the guidelines.

Talmadge declared the regulations "amount to nothing less than a federal blackjack to force school officials to take actions never required by the Supreme Court or any federal statute. The Commissioner of Education claims Title VI (of the Civil Rights Act) for his authority, but the fact is these regulations exceed the scope and intent of the law to a shocking degree."

CALLED TYRANNICAL

Sen. Richard B. Russell called the guidelines the most "unjustified and tyrannical use of federal power" by government bureaucrats.

Russell, who led the fight against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, said proponents of the legislation "told us no quota system was involved. We are now told that freedom of choice means nothing."

Senators who supported the school legislation were warned by Russell that their actions would "come home to roost" if a fair housing bill proposed by President Lyndon B. Johnson is made law.

FUND CUT-OFF

He said "these fanatics and do-gooders" will be demanding that all federal funds be cut off from communities or cities if each residential block does not have a certain racial balance.

Ninth District Rep. Phil Landrum, an experienced congressional hand in educational affairs, said he has been conferring daily with top officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare about the guidelines, and he detects concern by some of them that the regulations "may go beyond what was intended" by law.

Landrum told HEW Secretary John W. Gardiner in a letter Tuesday, "It occurs to me that a more prudent course for your department to follow in administering these laws would be to withhold the application of these drastic guidelines and give the local people conversant with the local problem an opportunity to

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Georgians Lead Guideline Fight

Continued from Page 1

work these problems out under the freedom of choice plan and, thereby, afford a more wholesome learning environment."

At the request of Fulton County School Supt. Paul D. West, Atlanta Rep. Charles L. Weltner has set up a meeting at 11 a.m. Wednesday in Washington for Georgia education officials, the state's congressional delegation, and a representative of the Office of Education.

WAYS TO ALTER

Purpose of the conference is to discuss ways to alter the federal regulations for the coming school year. Georgia lawmakers in Washington have indicated an eagerness to participate in the meeting. This is a striking contrast to their attitude toward a governor's conference called by Gov. Carl Sanders in Washington last year to protest the first set of federal guidelines.

Commissioner of Education Harold Howe and David S. Seeley, head of the compliance division of the Office of Education, have agreed to meet with the Georgians.

Besides West, the Georgia educators include State School Supt. Jack Nix, Fulton County School Board president W. L. Robinson, Rome Supt. M. S. McDonald, Gainesville Supt. R. D. Blakney, Thomas County Supt. E. R. Cone and Jack Acree of the Georgia School Board Association.

Both Reps. James A. Mackay of Decatur and John Davis of Summerville have criticized the guidelines as being too severe.

The key argument by the Georgians, who are making the biggest effort to change the guidelines, hinges on the use of the word "desegregation" in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Sen. Talmadge, in his speech, expressed the delegation's sentiment by saying, "The term desegregation is specifically defined as not meaning the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

QUOTA SYSTEM

The lawmakers contend that restrictions on the use of freedom of choice plans, the most widely used method of desegregation in the South, and fixing of percentages of Negroes in formerly all-white schools constitute a quota system.

If followed to the letter, the guidelines would require Georgia to more than triple its percentage of desegregation next year and would require integrated faculties in every school.

Sen. Talmadge told the Senate that the people of Georgia acknowledge the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act as "accomplished fact."

Talmadge continued, "I join the people of Georgia in support of all the constitutional rights of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color. But one of the most cherished of these rights is freedom from regimentation and enforced togetherness, which thankfully is forbidden by our Constitution. . . .

"It is my hope that these high-handed tactics will be abandoned. I am alert to the problems involving the great social changes now sweeping Georgia and other states of the South, and because of these problems and the earnest efforts of the people to resolve them, I say that reason and common sense must be allowed to prevail above all.

"The school system of Georgia pledged to obey the law and demonstrated good faith in doing so. The Office of Education should do the same."

So. CAROLINA

Race, Labor Split S.C. Democrats

AC 3/31/66

COLUMBIA, S.C., (AP)—South Carolina's old guard Democratic leadership took a bitter beating Wednesday in a state party convention that included a demand for recognition of Negro voting strength and passage of a compulsory school attendance resolution with racial overtones.

The five-hour session ended in confusion with less than half of the more than 1,000 delegates present and with those who had remained in their seats shouting down state Sen. L. Marion Gressette of Calhoun, chairman of the state's long-standing segregation committee.

Also passed in the final minutes was a resolution proposed by Negro delegate A. W. Homan of Aiken. It put the convention on record as noting "incidents of racial discrimination" at party precinct meetings and directing "strict adherence" to non-discrimination guidelines set forth in the state party's platform.

John Bolt Culberston, a white Greenville attorney and longtime civil rights spokesman, had warned the convention earlier that Negroes and the labor vote would not tolerate "some of these faint-hearted Democratic candidates . . . who don't believe in giving Negroes the vote or labor a voice."

Culbertson, who ran unsuccessfully for Congress last year, vowed that he would run in the June 14 party primary for the nomination to one of the state's two U. S. Senate seats unless the announced candidates pledged to vote for civil rights legislation and elimination of state right-to-work laws.

He was cheered by all of the more than 200 Negro delegates and applauded by a good many of the white delegates.

SCHOOL DESEG

Guideline Change Won by Georgians

AC 3/31/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A group of Georgia congressmen and educators came away from a day-long meeting with federal education officials Wednesday feeling they had won one major concession and had made inroads to others.

The clear-cut concession was a statement by Commissioner of Education Harold Howe that the new federal desegregation guidelines would not require integrated faculties in every school beginning this fall.

Officials of the U.S. Office of Education had said previously in Washington and in Georgia that the guidelines would require racially mixed faculties in each school.

Fulton County Supt. Paul West, who served as moderator of the meeting, announced afterward that "the commissioner said to me privately, 'I see this is a Donnybrook and I want you to get me a committee of three and come see me next week.' "

The sharpest comment during the meeting came from normally reserved Rep. Phil Landrum of Jasper.

Landrum's fired up statement came as David S. Seeley, head of the Office of Education's civil rights division, talked of the differences of opinions toward desegregation held by the Georgians and federal officials.

Landrum snapped, "We didn't come here to express our feelings or for you to express your feelings.

"What we are here to tell you as courteously and forcefully as we can, we tried to the limits of our abilities (to comply with regulations last year).

"We did not expect the stringent guidelines this year. We have not moved as fast as you wanted us to. But we moved.

"Why in God's name do you want to throw up a barrier to this progress? What you have said is that you are going to wreck the school system in a state that has tried harder than any other state, and bless you, you have had more support—political support—from Georgia than any of the states except those not concerned with this problem.

"What we want to do is to run a school system. We can run a system under freedom of choice. We can't under your guidelines."

Restrictions on freedom of choice desegregation plans was one of the most protested provisions of the new guidelines.

Commissioner Howe said the federal government believes that dual school systems continue to exist without legal support but he thinks the guidelines still permit a degree of

Continued on Page 3, Column 4

Georgians Gain Concessions In School Guidelines Plea

Continued From Page 1

gradualism and some freedom of choice.

"This process seems to me a continuation of free choice with the stipulation that the plans produce a desegregation," said Howe.

He said the Office of Education will not arbitrarily cut off school funds. He said systems which do not comply will be consulted by federal officials in hopes of working out acceptable plans through negotiation.

SEES TROUBLE

Howe said his office recognizes that integration of faculties would be difficult in the South and for that reason revised the original draft of the new guidelines so they would not require desegregation of all teaching staffs.

"I think it would be difficult to say exactly what faculty desegregation would be required," said the commissioner.

The congressmen and Georgia education officials were unable to pin down specific answers to hypothetical questions put to the federal officials about the guidelines.

GO TOO FAR

This factor, and others, indicated to some of the congressmen that the federal officials are concerned that they went beyond provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and court decisions in drawing the guidelines.

Other Georgia educators attending the meeting included State School Supt. Jack Nix, Gainesville Supt. Revis Blakeney, Fulton County School Board President W. L. Robinson, Rome Supt. M. S. McDonald, Thomas County Supt. E. R. Cone, candler County Supt. A. D. Clifton and Jack Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia School Board Association.

Church Preparing Sex Education

MINNEAPOLIS (UPI) — Sex education of children "at every age level from infancy to young adulthood" has been undertaken by The American Lutheran Church, which now is preparing publication of materials for the program.

Dr. C. Richard Evenson, ALC director of parish education, said "the church is accepting responsibility for sex education in response to a need which public schools usually are not permitted to treat adequately."

School Desog.

TEXTS OF NOTICE PROVISION, LETTERS AND TRANSFER APPLICATION PRESCRIBED BY THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR USE WITH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS NOT DESEGREGATING ALL GRADES

March 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

School Desegr.

REVISED STATEMENT OF POLICIES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

March 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

AJ 4/1/66

Negro Group Asks Guideline Hearing

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By TOM GREENE

The Georgia Teachers and Education Association, currently holding its 48th annual convention in Atlanta, has asked the U.S. education commissioner for an audience on new desegregation guidelines.

Officials of the Negro professional organization have written Commissioner Harold Howe pointing out that they represent about a third of Georgia's teaching profession.

The letter, which requests a conference next week, said the GTEA was not represented in a group of Georgians which earlier this week conferred with the state's congressional delegation and education officials on the controversial guidelines.

That group representing school superintendents and school board members, is seeking delay in implementation and moderation of the new guidelines which call for stepped up desegregation and some staff integration.

THE GTEA LETTER to Commissioner Howe said, "Certainly those persons who appeared in your presence do not express the philosophy of our members and the thousands of others whom we represent.

"We feel that any audience entertained by the United States Office of Education in discussing matters as urgent and significant as the new guidelines on desegregation should be representative of all the people."

The GTEA convention, which has attracted some 5,000 delagates, was scheduled to conclude Friday night after a speech by Francis Keppel, assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Gov. Sanders Thursday told the delagates that Georgians are "determined to eradicate" barriers which "have lurked as spectres of limitation and of internal weakness." But he warned the battle "probably will not be fully won in our lifetime."

These barriers, the governor said, "perhaps have caused more civil strife and social unrest than any other factors in human history, including such ancient temptations as avarice and power-seeking."

THE GOVERNOR said that education will be the key to the problem.

State School Supt. Jack Nix Thursday night told the teachers that some college graduates entering the teaching profession are going to work for less money than most graduates of vocational schools.

"How can we encourage our sons or daughters to enter the teaching profession with a salary like that?" he asked.

But the superintendent said teacher salaries and education in Georgia are improving and will continue to do so.

AC 4/1/66 School Desseg.

Bolton Urged: Eye Guidelines For Possible Court Challenge

Atlanta Journal Washington Bureau
National Press Building

WASHINGTON, April 1 — A South Georgia congressman has asked Georgia's attorney general to study the new federal school desegregation guidelines with a view to challenging them in court.

Rep. Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge wrote Atty. Gen. Arthur K. Bolton that in his opinion "bureaucrats in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have far exceeded their legal bounds."

The 2nd District Democrat said the guidelines "in effect hold the threat of withdrawal of federal funds over the heads of Georgia school boards to force them to commit illegal acts against the constitutional rights of Georgia parents and children, both white and Negro."

Rep. O'Neal said that the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision "did not require integration or the correction of racial imbalance."

As he sees it, the court "did forbid the use of segregation practices by the school authorities."

Desegregation plans giving pupils freedom of choice in the schools they attend resulted, he said, but now the U.S. Office of Education, a HEW agency, is "abandoning 'free choice' and proceeding to percentage requirements."

REP. O'NEAL said both Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, then a senator, and Chairman Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., assured Congress in debate on the 1964 civil rights bill that the measure was not authorizing federal officials to work toward achieving racial balance in schools.

The Georgia congressman also wrote Rep. Celler asking him if what he said along that line in the House in 1964 still holds true.

Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., Rep. Phil M. Landrum of Jasper and numerous other Georgians and other Southerners in Congress have questioned the legality of the guidelines.

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe told a meeting of Georgia schoolmen and congressmen Wednesday that the percentage standards are meant to call attention of his office to situations needing attention and are not intended as a means of overcoming racial imbalance.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act in defining desegregation says that it does not mean assignment of pupils to schools to overcome racial imbalance.

Howe, 5 Georgians To Talk Guidelines

AJ 4/1/66 SCHOOL DESEG

A committee of five Georgia school officials will meet with Harold Howe, U.S. commissioner of Education, in Washington Tuesday to continue their appeal for flexibility in the application of recently announced desegregation guidelines.

The conference is an outgrowth of a meeting with federal officials Wednesday which ended with Mr. Howe suggesting that a smaller committee meet with him later. The Wednesday meeting was attended by a committee of educators and the members of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives.

Paul D. West, superintendent of Fulton County schools, said Friday that the smaller group would meet with Mr. Howe at 9 a.m. Tuesday.

Supt. West objected to charges from some quarters that the group was engaging in "political grandstanding" and "attempting to evade the desegregation guidelines.

"There is nothing about the work of this committtee," he said, "that is based upon the desire to evade the law. It is based upon a deep-seated professional goal of providing the best education for all our children."

THE CURRENT problem, he said, stems from the various interpretations given to the guidelines by federal officials. He said that most school officials are "quite willing" to accept guidelines. "We feel it is our professional responsibility to accept them," he said.

SUPT. WEST said the federal official who explained the guidelines at three meetings in Georgia in March put them forward as inflexible. "Absolutism was the keystone," he said.

After meeting with the commissioner of education, Supt. West said, "apparently he understands the complexity of this and is fully sympathetic for school systems and boards that are moving in a manner consistent with their commitments of a year ago."

He said that he expected Tuesday's meeting to result in an "expansion" of Mr. Howe's statements "of flexibility and the thesis that all school systems in the nation can't be classified as the same in composition and administration."

Those scheduled to attend the Tuesday meeting are Supt. West, Claude Bray of Manchester, president of the Georgia School Boards Association, M. S. McDonald of Rome and W. L. Robinson, president of the Fulton County school board.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Baker First in U.S. to Lose School Aid After Filing Plan

AC 4/1/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Office of Education, in the first action of its kind, Thursday moved to cut off federal funds to Baker County, Ga., for failing to live up to a desegregation plan approved last year.

U.S. funds have been withheld from 79 Southern school systems which did not file desegregation plans, but this is the first time the Office of Education has accused a district of violating a federally-approved plan.

Although no official announcement has been made, The Constitution learned that the Office of Education on Thursday afternoon mailed special delivery instructions to State School Superintendent Jack Nix, saying that no new federal funds were allocated to Baker County.

Federal education officials also ordered Baker County to show cause why funds should not be terminated.

Baker County filed a desegregation plan last year that allowed freedom of choice in school attendance. The plan was approved and Baker had received U.S. financial allocations until Thursday.

It was reported that 165 Negroes filed applications for transfer last fall to all-white schools in Baker County. Only seven Negroes were transferred to white schools.

Civil rights organizations complained to the Office of Education, which twice sent teams of investigators to Baker to determine if the county was following its desegregation plan.

Investigators judged Baker County to be cheating on its desegregation agreement, and negotiations failed to change operations of the school system, according to sources in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Baker County is reported to

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

U.S. Stops School Aid For Baker

Continued From Page 1

be one of seven school districts in the South investigated by the Office of Education compliance staff since last September.

The compliance division is being doubled this year and school systems can expect closer surveilance of desegregation plans, Commissioner of Education Harold Howe has said.

Baker County will continue to receive funds already obligated by federal agencies, but the flow of U.S. money for new projects was cut off by Thursday's action.

The show cause hearing will be held before a federal examiner to determine if there is justification for the action against Baker County.

In another development Thursday, a federal examiner recommended that funds be terminated for Glascock County, Ga.

The Office of Education under administrative procedures began deferring last June 30 federal funds allocated to Glascock, Toombs, Lincoln and Taliaferro Counties.

None of the four Georgia counties have submitted plans acceptable to federal officials. Show cause hearings on termination of funds were held last November for Glascock, Toombs and Lincoln Counties.

A federal examiner recommended on Feb. 25 that funds be terminated for Toombs County. Before the examiner returned a recommendation for Lincoln, the county on Feb. 17 filed a plan approved by the Office of Education.

Procedures to terminate funds for Taliaferro have not been started since the county is the defendant in a U.S. court desegregation suit filed by civil rights groups and joined by the Justice department.

Before termination of funds can become final for Glascock, Toombs or Baker Counties recommendations by examiners must be affirmed by commissioner Howe; John Gardner, secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Congressmen be notified officially.

Meanwhile, Rep. Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge, Ga., requested Georgia Attorney General Arthur Bolton to seek a court test of new desegregation guidelines.

In a letter to Attorney General Bolton, Rep. O'Neal said he believed the commissioner of education in drawing the new guidelines had assumed authority not granted by the 1964 Civil Rights Act or by court decisions.

"In my opinion," said O'Neal, "the only recourse for Georgia schools to cope with this illegal action is to obtain judicial review."

He asked Bolton to "search out the avenues of approach to this problem."

Other members of the Georgia congressional delegation continued to work behind the scenes for a wider interpretation of the new guidelines.

U.S. Takes Step to Halt Funds To a School District in Georgia

4/2/64 SCHOOL DESEG.

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 1—After six months of delay, the Office of Education has made its first move to cut off funds from a school district accused of failing to live up to its desegregation pledge.

Notice was mailed last night to officials in Baker County, in Georgia that the matter is subject to a formal hearing, the first step in cutting off Federal assistance as provided under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The office wanted this move interpreted as an indication that it would get tough with other districts that fail to live up to desegregation promises, a spokesman said.

Cut-off hearings have been held or are scheduled for about 80 districts in the South. But all of these either made no attempt to qualify for Federal assistance or submitted desegregation plans that were unacceptable.

Baker County was one of many that submitted plans that met Government standards but then were accused by Negro groups of violating the agreements. A team assigned to investigate the Baker County situation last September said it had found flagrant violation of the plan and recommended immediate cut-off of funds.

Rights Leaders Complained

Three months later when civil rights leaders complained of the district continuing to receive funds, a spokesman for the office said:

"We believe that sufficient evidence of substantial noncompliance exists and are coordinating with the Justice Department whether we will pursue the matter through the courts or through administrative proceedings."

There was no further report until last night, when Georgia's Congressional delegation was informed that the hearing notice had been mailed.

Baker County, in rural southeast Georgia, has been a center of racial turmoil. About two-thirds of its 4,700 residents are Negro.

Last summer, the Baker County school board submitted a desegregation plan under which students would be permitted to choose which school they would attend.

According to a report of the investigation more than 160 Negro parents signed forms saying they wanted their children to attend former all-white schools. Of these about 40 were reassigned to Negro schools because their forms were incomplete or improperly filled out.

A number of others withdrew their requests to transfer. But of the remaining applications the board agreed to transfer only seven and reassigned the remainder to Negro schools.

Other Negroes Turned Back

On the day school opened the sheriff and a force of 25 State Troopers turned back all Negroes but the seven picked by the school board.

The report said that Baker County officials agreed they were not in compliance but maintained that Baker County as "such a hard nut to crack" that it would take Federal troops to keep order if more Negroes were enrolled. They said that acceptance of seven Negroes was an important breakthrough.

Because of the lengthy procedure prescribed for cutting off funds under Title VI, which bans racial discrimination in any program that receives Federal assistance, Baker County will continue receiving Federal funds for at least the remainder of this school year.

Of the 80 school districts cited for hearings, about 15 have come into compliance. The first hearings for the others were held last October. Examiners have returned decisions in 41 cases with recommendations that funds be cut off to all.

Their recommendations are now before the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Before there can be any cutoff, however, the department must give Congress 30 days notice.

RALPH McGILL

SCHOOL DESEGREGA-

AC - 4/4/66

A School Memory

Memory takes me back to the old elementary Fourth District Grammar School at Chattanooga, Tennessee. Beginning with the fourth grade, there were in "our class" two Italian - American girls from obviously poor families. Their clothing was shabby. They sometimes brought no lunch to school. (This was before the coming of cafeterias.) I recall them in part because, to a boy but lately moved from a river bottom farm distant from the city, they were the two first foreign looking persons I had ever seen.

They have been on my conscience since those elementary school years. At recess they were apart. None of the several groups that formed "to play" ever took them in. I don't recall anyone speaking to them or they to anyone else. It was a cruel thing to do, but that's how it was.

I think of that — and similar experiences in school years — when I hear people say the civil rights laws and guidelines destroy freedom of association at school. They do not. Pupils still freely will choose their associates.

No Social Event

Going to school is not a social event. Nor is attendance in classes a social occasion. There is no social atmosphere in receiving instruction.

Play at recess is not a social affair. On the contrary, it invariably is the one time during school hours that free choice of association operates. Recess group-associations are like the groups that walk to and from school, or arrive and depart in car pools. They are freely made.

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Play at recess is not a social affair. On the contrary, it invariably is the one time during school hours that free choice of association operates. Recess group-associations are like the groups that walk to and from school, or arrive and depart in car pools. They are freely made. Members of them may lock themselves in and avoid broader experiences, or not.

One of the great myths is that education is somehow a social event. This attitude is found chiefly in areas where the school is also the community club house. In such areas, dances, community parties, and other noneducational events take place at the school house. But these are not a part of the education. They have nothing to do with the curriculum.

Such events are not without their educational impacts. The processes of learning are all about us. Most of our "learning" does not come from school. The extra-curricular activities often are events that teach false values and create smug status groups and attitudes.

Educational guidelines, as announced by the U.S. Department of Education, will be difficult only in those communities which pre-judge them on the basis of false information, unreasonable fears, or pressures of local prejudices.

Honest Appraisal

The guidelines deserve honest appraisal, based on a careful examination of local conditions. There will be real difficulty only where the climate is one of determination to resist — rather than to try in good faith. School administrators should be allowed to hold community meetings to prepare for accepting the guidelines free from interference. If, in 1954, school administrators had been allowed to work out, with deliberate speed, the court's orders, we would not have had the great disorders encouraged and initiated by some of the governors of our region — and by lesser political leaders — who said "never" and who created violence.

Surely, after 10 years of varying turmoil, we now know that the fears of 1954 were unjustified. We can hardly have failed to learn that in several states the leadership of that time badly let its people down. It must now be apparent that it is necessary to give all our children the best possible education. There isn't any other path to take except that—to give each child the best opportunity to have the best education his state can give him.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Integration Guidelines Not Too Harsh, Nix Finds

AC 4/6/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Georgia Schools Superintendent Jack Nix said Tuesday he believes the new federal desegregation guidelines will be easier to "live with" than state educators thought a the outset.

Nix, who headed a committee of Georgia school officials at a conference with U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe, said federal officials made it clear, however, that school districts must make "substantial progress" in desegregation next fall to qualify for federal funds.

This was the second meeting in Washington within a week between Howe and Georgians to discuss the new guidelines. None of the Georgia congressional delegation participated in Tuesday's private session with Howe.

Nix said Howe informed the committee that methods of accomplishing "substantial progress" are open to interpretations and will be measured according to circumstances in individual school districts.

The state superintendent said all new federal funds will be

Continued on Page 10, Column 3

Guidelines' Threat To Funds Held Less

Continued From Page 1

withheld from all Southern school districts which do not sign by April 15 an agreement to comply with the guidelines.

Nix said only "15 or 20" of Georgia's 196 school districts have signed the agreement so far.

"There will be many that won't sign by the deadline," said Nix. "The failure to sign 441-B (the compliance form) would be an act of non-compliance."

The Office of Education under administrative procedures holds up obligations of new federal funds to school systems ruled out of compliance with its desegregation guidelines.

The Georgians said they were given the impression that freedom of choice desegregation plans formed under the initial guidelines issued in 1965 would be allowed to continue if they showed "progress" toward elimination of dual school systems and if the compliance form is signed.

WEST'S FINDINGS

Dr. Paul West, Fulton County superintendent, said, "We found out that we don't have to meet the percentages as long as a system makes solid progress."

He said Howe told the committee that the figures contained in the guidelines will be used to pinpoint school districts with low percentages of Negroes in classrooms with white students.

A low percentage of integration will not be reason to cut off funds automatically, the Georgians said they were told.

The committee reported they were assured that any system which signs a compliance form will not have federal money cut off without the Office of Education making an effort to negotiate with local officials.

COMPENSATORY FACTORS

Dr. West said the Georgians were informed that "compensatory" factors would be taken into consideration in individual desegregation plans.

West said, for instance, systems with a large percentage of student desegregation might be credited with progress even though faculty desegregation in the district would be less than anticipated by the Office of Education.

Rome Superintendent M. S. McDonald said after the meeting with Howe, "We all ended up with the feeling that they will be reasonable in helping us to work it out."

SEE LIAISON

Nix said he is convinced that both the Georgia and federal education officials are concerned with the best course of action for education.

"At no time have I said not to obey the law," said Nix, acknowledging that the aim of the federal government is to eliminate dual school systems in the South.

"There might be 196 stages in Georgia" for moving toward that objective, said Nix.

Other Georgians meeting with Howe on Tuesday were Jack Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia School Board Association and W. L. Robinson, president of the Fulton County School Board.

Only 10 Days to Obey Guidelines, State Told

SCHOOL DESEG.

AJ 4/6/66

Cutoff of Funds Looms; Flexibility Stirs Hope

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, April 6—Georgia school districts Wednesday had just 10 days to fall in line with new federal desegregation guidelines or face a cutoff of federal funds for new activities.

State Supt. Jack Nix and a committee of school administrators who held a second conference with U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe found out Tuesday that:

1. The April 15 deadline for signing compliance assurances (form 441B) remains intact.

2. The guidelines issued last month remain intact, too.

About 175 of Georgia's 196 school districts still must act on the new guidelines. New desegregation plans are not required, however, for systems which already have them, and all except three Georgia districts do.

The Georgia schoolmen came away from their closed meeting with Mr. Howe Tuesday apparently more optimistic that enforcement of the guidelines will be more flexible than Stanley Kruger, southeastern equal education officer for the U.S. Office of Education, had led them to believe.

HERE IS WHAT the guidelines say about signing up to comply with the new guidelines:

" A school system with a voluntary desegregation plan must provide an assurance that it will abide by the applicable requirements for such plans contained in this statement of policies. Such assurance may be given by submitting HEW form 441B to the commissioners.

"After April 15, 1966, commitments of funds for new activities will be subject to deferral for school systems which have failed to submit HEW form 441B."

THE GUIDELINES also say:

"A school system with a desegregation plan accepted by the commissioner need not resubmit its plan if it intends to continue under the same type of plan.

"If a plan accepted by the commissioner fails to meet any requirement under this statement of policies, the submission of HEW form 441B will be deemed to amend the plan so that it will meet such requirement."

The term "voluntary desegregation plan" applies to all plans other than court-ordered ones such as a few Georgia systems, including Atlanta, are under.

Most of the school systems in Georgia are using the freedom of choice plan, which is one type of voluntary plan allowed by the Office of Education.

But the new guidelines mainly affect freedom of choice plans, and that has been one of the main reasons for consternation on the part of school officials in Georgia.

"The Georgia group, however, "came to the realization that there is reasonable flexibility" in application of the guidelines, Dr. Paul D. West of Atlanta, superintendent of Fulton County schools, said after the closed meeting with Commissioner Howe.

Turn to Page 10, Colume 1

Only 10 Days More On Guidelines

Continued From Page 1

Dr. West said that school systems showing "definite progress" in their efforts to meet the guidelines will get reasonable treatment from the Office of Education.

ANOTHER MEMBER of the Georgia group, W. L. Robinson of Atlanta, chairman of the Fulton School Board, said that school systems expecting to be able to continue with a freedom of choice plan or other programs of desegregation must sign the new compliance statement, according to what Mr. Howe said.

State Supt. Nix considered the meeting profitable. He said everyone there was interested in seeing that education in Georgia is not interrupted.

GARDNER DENIES RACE CODE IS RIGID

SCHOOL DESEG

Says School Guidelines Are Misunderstood — Seeks 'Reasonable' Progress

4/12/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11 — John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, assured Southern political and educational leaders today that his department was not trying to impose a formula of racial balance in schools or "instantaneous desegregation" of every teaching staff.

The assurance was contained in a letter sent to Governors, members of Congress and state school officials in response to growing opposition in the South to new school desegregation guidelines set by the Office of Education.

Although officials insisted that the action did not constitute softening of the guidelines or revision of policy, it was clearly an attempt to head off the possibility of a full-scale revolt by Southern school districts.

Doubled Integration Seen

Mr. Gardner said there had been widespread misinterpretation of the guidelines issued March 7 for the 1966-67 school year. He said the guidelines had been based on court decisions.

The guidelines were issued under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which make racial discrimination in any federally assisted program illegal. The Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, said in announcing the requirements that they could double the amount of school integration in 11 Southern states.

Since then a number of political and educational leaders in the South have charged that the guidelines go beyond the

Continued on Page 18, Column 3

GARDNER DENIES RACE CODE IS RIGID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

law and the latest Federal court decisions on school integration. Fewer that 300 of the 2,000 school districts asked to submit declarations of intent to comply with the guidelines have done so, although the deadline is April 15.

Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council, said that a "real effort is being made to force the Office of Education to back down from the new guideline."

Part of the new opposition in the South is said to stem from a belief that the Office of Education is about to press for more integration in the South than exists in other regions. There is no plan for moving against discrimination in Northern schools under Title VI for at least another year.

"The guidelines do not, as some have assumed, require the instantaneous desegregation of the faculty in every school building in every district," Mr. Gardner said in the letter.

"They provide considerable flexibility as to how a district might undertake faculty desegregation. What the guidelines do require is that a reasonable beginning be made and that reasonable progress be achieved beyond what was achieved last year."

Percentages as Guides

In response to criticism that the Government was trying to impose a percentage of "racial balance" in the schools, Mr. Gardner said the percentages had been written into the guidelines only as an "administrative guide" for measuring progress in integration under "free choice" plans, which most Southern districts have adopted.

Under free choice, students select their school instead of being assigned to them on a geographic basis. Civil rights groups have charged that misuse of freedom of choice last year thwarted integration in many areas.

The New York Times

REASSURES OFFICIALS: John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, wrote about guidelines in school integration.

The new guidelines say that in areas of heavy Negro population the Office of Education may expect the following under freedom of choice plans next year:

If the rate of transfer from segregated schools was 8 or 9 per cent last year the transfer rate should double next fall; if a smaller percentage of Negroes transferred, such as 4 per cent, then next fall's transfer rate should be tripled; and so on.

"In seeking appropriate criteria to guide us in review of free choice," Mr. Gardner said, "we have adopted the objective criteria applied by the courts in similar situations."

No court decision has established percentages of racial balance, but H.E.W. officials say several recent decisions carry the same effect.

"With more than 2,000 separate districts to consider," Mr. Gardner said, "such percentages are an administrative guide which helps us to determine those districts requiring further review. Such districts will determine whether or not the freedom of choice plan is in fact working fairly."

Mr. Gardner pointed out that the first guidelines issued in April, 1965, "were not widely questioned" and that all but about 30 districts had made an effort to comply in order to receive Federal funds.

The new guidelines, however, are much more stringent and many school officials in the South say they constitute the first real assault on the dual system.

Mr. Gardner said the changes had been made because during 1965 "the courts repeatedly announced requirements which put school districts further along the road toward desegregation."

Several Federal judges, however, have said that the new court decrees were following executive standards adopted by the Office of Education.

MENZIES TO TEACH IN VIRGINIA IN FALL

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — Sir Robert Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia, has been named University Scholar in Residence for the fall semester at the University of Virginia. He was elected by the university's Board of Visitors meeting at Charlottesville, the Australian News and Information Bureau reports.

Sir Robert, who retired in January after a total of 18 years in the office, served more than twice as long as any previous Australian Prime Minister. While at the university, he will deliver a series of public lectures and will meet with student seminars, particularly in the School of Law and the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs.

Sir Robert first served as Prime Minister from 1939 to 1941, when he resigned the office and leadership of the United Australia Party. Two years later he again became head of the party, which he reorganized into the Liberal Party and in 1949 began a 16-year tenure as Prime Minister.

SCHOOL DESEG.

Education Chief Denies Racial Balance Formula

AC 4/12/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—John W. Gardner, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, assured southern political and educational leaders Monday that his department was not trying to impose a formular of racial balance in schools or achieve the "instantaneous desegregation" of every teaching staff.

The assurance was contained in a letter sent to governors, members of Congress and state school officials in response to growing opposition in the South of new school desegregation guideslines by the office of Education.

Officials insisted that the action did not constitute a softening of the guideslines or a revision of policy, but some observers saw it as an attempt to head off the possibility of a full-scale revolt by southern school districts.

Gardner said there had been widespread misinterpretation of the guideslines which were issued March 7 for the 1966-67 school year. He said the guidelines were based on court decisions.

Whites and Negroes Merge Clayton's Teacher Group

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 4/13/66

By JOE BROWN

Constitution Education Writer

Clayton County's two professional teacher groups — one Negro, the other white—voted unanimously Tuesday to merge. They are the first in Georgia to do so.

"We have been working on the machinery of this for a full year," said Clayton County School Supt. J. E. Edmonds. "We're very pleased."

Despite the merger, the exact status of the new group is in doubt. The whites are members of the Georgia Education Association and the Negroes belong to the Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

"We were not surprised," said GEA Executive Director Frank M. Hughes. "We were expecting it." Hughes added, however, that local units only receive GE services for GEA members.

Hughes said he has no knowledge of other local groups planning similar moves. He said there is only one Negro teacher to every 10 white teachers in Clayton County.

Both the GEA and the GTEA are affiliates of the National Education Association and are under orders to prevent plans for merger at the national convention this summer.

So far no plans have been announced, but the GEA did agree last month to remove its "white only" membership qualification.

The GTEA has always accepted members regardless of race. The Clayton County Chapter of the GEA has 780 members. The GTEA has 70.

Edmonds has been appointed temporary chairman by the new group, which will elect officers April 20.

The GEA has about 26,000 members: the GTEA, about 12,000.

Only 65 Systems In State Comply With Guidelines

AC 4/14/66

SCHOOL DESEG.

97 Million In U.S. Aid At Stake

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

With $97 million at stake, and facing a Friday deadline, less than half of Georgia's school systems have said they will comply with new federal guidelines for school desegregation.

The guidelines, released in March, require desegregation of teaching staffs and increased integration of student bodies. As of Wednesday afternoon only 65 Georgia systems had agreed to comply, State Department of Education officials said.

195 SYSTEMS

Of the state's 195 systems, five that do not operate separate schools for Negroes and whites and seven now under federal court order to desegregate are not required to sign the compliance pledge.

The five, Gilmer, Forsyth, Dawson, Union and Towns, are classified as fully integrated, while those under court order must desegregate at the pace the court sets.

The remaining 183 systems, however, must submit certificates of compliance to the State Department of Education by Friday or stand in danger of losing all federal funds.

"It should be emphasized that both the original and the revised guidelines deal with those school districts submitting desegregation plans designed to eliminate a dual school system," says U.S. Commissioner of Education Howard Howe.

FUNDS FROM U.S.

The federal government is authorized to withhold funds from non-complying systems under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he explains.

"Under Title VI, no federal office may dispense federal monies that would be used to support programs or activities in

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION Wash. Post 4/24/66

South Balks at New School Guidelines

Desegregation Rules Resisted in 5 States

By Jack Nelson
Los Angeles Times

ATLANTA—Stiff resistance to the new school desegregation guidelines has developed in each of the five Southern states where more than 98 per cent of the Negro students still attend segregated schools.

The guidelines, announced last month by the U.S. Office of Education, have become a political target of both Democrats and Republicans and once again white Southerners are being told the Federal Government is trying illegally to force them to desegregate.

Hundreds of school systems so far have failed to sign pledges of compliance with the new regulations. U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II said that all systems that have not filed the pledges by April 15 will be notified that under the 1964 Civil Rights Act they face loss of all Federal aid.

Modification Sought

In Alabama the local school superintendents, by a 76-to-4 vote, adopted a resolution urging their Congressmen to seek modification of the guidelines.

In Georgia, State School Superintendent Jack Nix reported that only about 20 of the state's 196 systems had filed the compliance forms.

Some of the same Dixie politicians who urged resistance to the 1954 Supreme Court school desegreation decision and called it illegal are now saying the new guidelines are illegal.

Despite the 1954 decision, scores of Federal court desegregation rulings and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, only .25 per cent of Alabama's negro pupils now attend desegregated schools. Other states where the percentage is less than 2 include Mississippi .34; Louisiana .68; Georgia 1.3 and South Carolina 1.5.

States Most Affected

The same five states have formed the hard-core opposition to all desegregation efforts of recent years. They are the states most affected by the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Faculty desegregation requirements in the new guidelines are causing much of the opposition.

Many school officials also bitterly oppose a provision that outlaws "freedom of choice" plans if the plans fail to produce a satisfactory level of desegregation.

Such plans, approved by the 1965 guidelines, were adopted by most Southern schools. Hundreds of systems using the plans manage to remain completely segregated while continuing to qualify for Federal aid.

The new guidelines set up criteria for the Education Commissioner to review such

South Carolina Republican Party adopted a resolution opposing the guidelines and cheered a speech by Sen. Strom Thurmond denouncing the regulations as unreasonable and un-American.

Such statements by leading political figures have received wide play in the Southern press and strong endorsements from segregationist newspapers. They have promoted much stiffer resistance than U.S. education officials had originally expected.

Gardner Writes Lawmakers

[Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner, wrote Senators and Representatives from 15 Southern and border states this week, telling them that the guidelines go no further than the law allows and that school districts have considerable flexibility in meeting the guidelines.

[In addition, school officials from Mississippi, North Carolina and Florida will meet with Office of Education officials in Washington today and Friday to discuss the guidelines. Meetings with school officials from other states are scheduled in following weeks.]

Personnel Lacking

The question now is how far the Education Office can go—or is willing to go—to insure compliance.

The record of tokenism this year is attributable to two things: lack of sufficient personnel to determine which systems were living up to their school desegregation plans and admitted leniency in enforcing the 1965-66 guidelines.

There has been no indication that additional funds will be alloted for monitoring and enforcing compliance next fall.

The Education Office stuck closely to its announced policy of promoting voluntary compliance, rather than using the ultimate weapon of withdrawing Federal aid—so closely that civil rights leaders have complained and some Southern school officials have interpreted the policy as a lack of resolve.

To date no funds have been withdrawn from school systems that have defied the 1965-66 guidelines. But the time is close when a final decision may be made in a number of cases.

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Many school officials also bitterly oppose a provision that outlaws "freedom of choice" plans if the plans fail to produce a satisfactory level of desegregation.

Such plans, approved by the 1965 guidelines, were adopted by most Southern schools. Hundreds of systems using the plans manage to remain completely segregated while continuing to qualify for Federal aid.

The new guidelines set up criteria for the Education Commissioner to review such plans to see whether they are in compliance. In essence, the criteria are based on the desegregation results of the current school year: the less accomplished, the more required next fall.

Regulations Described

The regulations say that if a significant percentage of students, such as 8 or 9 per cent, were transferred from segregated schools during the 1965-66 school year, at least twice that many transfers would be expected in the fall. And if the percentage were less, such as 4 per cent, then the Education Office would expect the percentage to be tripled.

Most of the opposition is in the Deep South, but scattered protests have been heard in other Southern states. For example, the Texas State Board of Education has expressed displeasure with the guidelines.

Gov. George Wallace told Alabama school officials that they "should not have to obey the edicts of bureaucratic officials which go beyond the law."

U.S. Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.), who led the unsuccessful fight in the Senate against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, called the guidelines an "unjustified and tyrannical use of Federal power."

Called Blackjack

His Georgia colleague, Sen. Herman Talmadge, labeled them "nothing less than a Federal blackjack to force school officials to take actions never required by the Supreme Court or any Federal statute."

At its recent convention the cheered a speech by Sen. Strom Thurmond denouncing the regulations as unreasonable and un-American.

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State PTA to Avoid Stand on Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 4/14/66

Not Their Policy to Direct Local Action, President Says

By DIANE THOMAS

The Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers will issue no directives regarding compliance with federal desegregation guidelines drawn up in March.

"We don't expect it to be a major issue," Mrs. Leland Bagwell, president of the Georgia PTA, said Wednesday.

AVOIDS LOCAL STAND

"The Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers doesn't send down directives for action at the local level," she said. "But we are urging local PTA leaders to provide accurate information for members so that intelligent decisions can be made."

More than 600 Georgia PTA leaders gathered at the Atlanta Marriott Motor Hotel Wednesday for the 52nd annual convention of the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers. Mrs. Jenelle Moorhead, president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, keynoted the three-day meeting.

The national PTA will undertake in the near future a program of "really tremendous scope" to recruit "hard to reach" parents in economically deprived areas for active membership in Parent-Teacher Associations, she said.

PILOT PLAN

"Even as I speak," she declared, "the Office of Economic Opportunity has before it a pilot project . . . to help reach the hard-to-reach parent."

Such a program, the University of Oregon educator said, could entail calling on the parents, organizing block meetings in the neighborhoods or the "adoption" of a less affluent PTA by another that is well established.

SUCCESSFUL PROJECTS

Successful pilot programs were carried out last year in sections of Los Angeles, Chicago, Akron, Ohio, and Washingotn, D.C., she reported.

The plan now before the OEO calls for establishment of "model programs" in 10 cities during the first year. The 10 cities have not yet been selected.

RALPH McGILL

SCHOOL DESEG

AC 4/15/66

A 'Let George Do It' Policy

Governor George Wallace, in a strong state rights assertion, has said the Yellowhammer state will not accept the school guidelines as laid down by the U.S. Department of Education.

He will not, he said, allow the public school system of his state "destroyed in this fashion." In other words, one assumes, he will let George do it.

Governor Wallace, however, is entirely within his states rights. The public school system of Alabama can reject any and all federal school funds. The governor says it is the will of the state school people so to do. One may doubt the private unanimity of the school people. But one also would understand their refusal to oppose the governor's decision. (Readers should keep in mind that the governor's wife is a candidate for governor in the primary of this summer.)

It is not true, as the governor says, and must know, that the guidelines interfere with the "historic" right of academic freedom.

The Guidelines

The guidelines do not, in even a remote sense, interfere with academic freedom. The guidelines issue is simple. Federal funds may not be used in a discriminatory manner. Nor may they be spent to perpetuate what the Congress of the United States and the Courts of the country have outlawed — discrimination in employment. Governor Wallace says that he will obey the law, but will not go beyond it. The Congress has made it against the law to discriminate.

The U.S. Department of Education certainly cannot go beyond the law. It may not give federal funds to a state which

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The U.S. Department of Education certainly cannot go beyond the law. It may not give federal funds to a state which will, for example, continue to discriminate against equally qualified Negro teachers. There are some Southern states and-or communities which, despite acute shortages of teachers, are dismissing, or failing to rehire, the most experienced and qualified Negro teachers.

The Congress, in its legislation, has declared this to be unlawful. In time, there will be court tests on this issue. No public agency may use federal funds to discriminate. That is the one and only issue in the opposition to the educational guidelines.

So it simply is not true that the guidelines in any sense interfere with academic freedom. They do, and should, interfere with local boards using federal education funds in a discriminatory manner, including that of hiring teachers.

Federal Aid

It is helpful if we will keep the facts before us. Some Southern communities and leaders are attempting to depict federal aid to education as "interfering" with freedom of education. This is not true. It is the kind of propaganda that claims the U.S. Supreme Court banned the Bible and prayer from the public schools. There was, and is, no truth in that statement. The court said that public schools, which include Jews, Muslims, and members of other non-Christian religious sects, may not require compulsory prayer of Bible readings. No thoughtful person wishes prayer or Bible reading to be compulsory. We either have separation of church and state or we don't.

Governor Wallace may refuse federal aid for all his schools. Individual communities may do the same thing. The quality of education is low in Alabama, as it is in other states. Governor Wallace assists in further lowering this quality. But he and the principals would do well to know what they thereby do to innocent children. And they also must know that individual suits will be filed, in the months ahead, against the discrimination in employment they plan.

The spectacle of adults refusing to do all that can be done to give their children the best possible education is not a pleasant one. It is no coincidence that opposition to guidelines came from those who most need federal aid.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

72 School Systems at Aid Deadline

AC 4/15/66

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

Of 183 Georgia School systems required to pledge compliance to the new federal guidelines for school desegregation 111 had done so Thursday afternoon.

Systems not pledging compliance by Friday midnight stand in danger of losing all federal aid, authorities say.

"I'm rather optimistic," State School Superintendent Jack P. Nix said Thursday. "I have not had a superintendent say he or his board will defy the federal guidelines."

FEDERAL AID

"I think the state will lose very little federal money," he added. Last year Georgia schools received about $97 million in federal aid.

The guidelines, released by the U.S. Office of Education in March, require desegregation of teaching staffs this fall and further integregation of student bodies.

Of Georgia's 195 school systems, five that do not operate separate schools for Negroes and whites and seven now under federal court order to desegregate are not required to sign the compliance pledge.

COURT CALLS TUNE

The five, Gilmer, Forsyth, Dawson, Union and Towns are classified as fully integrated, while those under court order must desegregate at the pace the court sets.

Federal officials say that payment of funds to systems failing to file compliance pledges will be "immediately deferred."

During the 1965-66 school year only 1.3 per cent of Georgia's 320,000 Negro school children were in integrated classes.

EXPECTS INCREASE

Office of Education Regional Director Stan Kruger says he expects systems having some integration now to triple the amount this fall. Systems that now have no integregation are expected to have 10 per cent of their Negro enrollment in desegregated classes this fall.

Kruger says he hopes to see all teaching staffs integrated. Systems that do not meet these standards will be very carefully studied, he said.

"They must have reasons," said Kruger, "and be prepared to prove them."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Negroes Told City To Meet Guidelines

Acting Though Signing Isn't Required, Letson Is Quoted

By DICK HEBERT

Negroes said Thursday night that School Superintendent John Letson has promised them Atlanta will abide by federal desegregation guidelines for 1966 even though it doesn't have to sign a compliance pledge.

Atlanta's school system is one of seven in Georgia that does not have to sign the pledge because they are under court-ordered desegregation plans.

But Dr. Robert L. Green, education director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said the 1966 federal guidelines are more stringent than the current court order against Atlanta, and could result in stepped up desegregation.

CITY WILL COMPLY

Four Negro parents visited Letson Wednesday to discuss desegregation plans and were told then that the city will comply, one woman told an SCLC-sponsored meeting.

The new guidelines allow every student to submit an application to attend any school of his choice, but also allow the school officials to give priority assignments to those living nearest any given school.

Green met with Negroes to organize a committee to push for faster desegregation and for more consideration of needs at predominantly Negro schools.

He said he was concerned that the guidelines were described as "flexible" by the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

"Just how flexible are they?" he asked. He said that depends on the amount of pressure brought by Negroes against the school officials who apply the guidelines.

LACKING SCHOOLS

He said Negroes represent just short of half the school population in Atlanta but have only nine high schools and 42 elementary schools while whites have 15 high schools and 75 elementary.

"There are 11 Negro schools on double sessions but no white schools on double sessions," he said. Even Collier Heights School, held out as "a model school for Negroes," has almost double the enrollment it was built for, Green said.

In one Negro high school he said there aren't enough chairs for all the students enrolled—"a tacit assumption" that there will be a steady absentee rate of 10 per cent or more.

New schools proposed in the bond issue anticipated this year "will not facilitate desegregation," he said, because they are located deep in segregated neighborhoods.

HOUSING PROBLEM

And housing isn't getting desegregated, he said. One man commented, "They're trying to move all the Negroes to one side of town, the west side."

Green said, "Ninety-eight per cent of the public housing here is rigidly segregated" and only helps concentrate Negroes in certain areas, making desegregation of previously all-white schools that more difficult because the schools aren't where they can be reached by Negroes.

He indicated the committee being organized will shape up plans to organize local Parent-Teacher Associations, high school groups, civic clubs and others behind a drive for better treatment at the hands of school officials.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Saturday, April 16, 1966

Augusta Negro to Get Helm As She and Pupils Integrate

AUGUSTA, Ga. (AP)—A Negro principal said Friday that she expects her 52 pupils to transfer with her next September when she becomes principal of what is now an all-white elementary school.

The principal, Mrs. Annie Mae Williams, and the one other teacher at the two-room, five-grade fifth Ward school will be assigned to the Martha Lester school which now has 160 white pupils and eight white teachers.

The reassignments voted by the Richmond County school board Thursday night are part of a desegregation plan under new federal guidelines. The Fifth Ward school will be closed.

Pupils now attending the Negro school and those at the Lester school will be given their choice of about four schools, County Superintendent Roy E. Rollins said.

Rollins said he did not know what the racial makeup of the faculty at the Lester school will be next September.

But Mrs. Williams will be the principal. She said she expects the school to be integrated.

"It makes no difference," she said when asked in an interview how she felt about teaching white pupils for the first time in 33 years as a teacher.

"I've been here a long time," Mrs. Williams, 51, said.

"I'm no fuss-maker. I think that's the reason they wanted me to take it. I have not brought any agitation."

She said she never thought when she began her classroom career that she would teach white children. "But I've always got along," she said.

The Lester school has seven grades and better facilities, Mrs. Williams said. "I think it will be better for the children."

Mrs. Williams said she taught about 20 years at the Doughty School in Augusta before her transfer to 5th Ward two years ago. She attended Allen University, Columbia, S.C., and is working toward a Master's degree in education.

Moving with the principal next fall will be the other 5th Ward teacher, Mrs. Lillie Mae Brittain.

U.S. Extends Deadline To May 6 for Schools To Accept Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEG

AC 4/16/66

149 of State's Systems Have Pledged to Comply

By JOE BROWN

The deadline for school systems to file notice they will comply with the new federal desegregation guidelines has been extended by the U.S. Office of Education from April 15 to May 6.

As the original deadline approached Friday the Georgia Department of Education had received compliance pledges from 149 of the 183 systems required to make them.

State School Supt. Jack P. Nix said the pledges from the remaining 24 systems were probably en route and would be received Monday.

Nix says he knows of no system in Georgia planning to defy the guidelines.

Of Georgia's 195 school systems, five that do not operate separate schools for Negroes and whites and seven now under federal court order to desegregate are not required to sign the compliance pledge.

In announcing the deadline extension Friday afternoon U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II said:

"Because of the delay in issuance of the revised guidelines and the time required by school boards to review the guidelines and take official action, the date for filing the assurance form HEW 441B is being extended until May 6.

"Commitment of the funds for new activities will be scubject to deferral for school systems which have failed to file the assurance by that date."

Howe announced the extension in telegrams sent to chief state school officers in 17 Southern and border states.

Only three Georgia systems last year failed to sign compliance certificates with the first desegregation guidelines handed down by the U. S. Office of Education.

Last month the Office of Education issued new guidelines for desegregation that must be followed if a school district is to be eligible for federal aid. Last year Georgia schools received about $97 million in federal monies.

This week Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner warned he will not hesitate to cut off funds to schools that do not comply with the requirements.

Gardner said the guidelines recognize the complexities of school desegregation, but "they call for very substantial progress and there can be no substitute for progress."

Negro school principal says her students will go to an all-white school with her. Page 3.

Won't Okay Guidelines, Americus, Sumter Say

SCHOOL DESEG
AC 4/12/66

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

The Americus and Sumter County School Systems said Monday they will not comply with the new federal guidelines for school desegregation.

They have until May 6 to reconsider without losing any federal aid. Last year the Sumter County System received $296,699 in federal monies while the Americus City System received $161,251.

Compliance signings approach one-half in 17 Southern and border states. Page 15. Garland Byrd to challenge guidelines. Page 3.

Georgia Department of Education officials say out of the state's 195 systems these are the only two to announce they will defy the U.S. Office of Education directive. Late Monday compliance pledges had been received from 170 systems.

Sumter County School Supt. Edward N. Bailey said: "We will not sign Form 441 to go along with the new guidelines. We recognize the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as being law and go along with it, but we feel the guidelines go further than requirements of the law. We have done everything to fulfill the freedom of choice requirements for pupils."

The Americus system also said it is obeying the civil rights act and charged that the new guidelines exceed the requirement of the law.

The guidelines released in March require integration of teaching staffs at most schools this fall and further desegregation of student bodies.

U.S. Commisioner of Education Harold Howe II says the department has checked with its own attorneys and those of the Justice department and have been

Continued on Page 10, Column 5

Americus, Sumter to Ignore Guides

Continued From Page 1

assured that the requirements do not exceed the law.

"It is time to lay to rest this talk of illegality," Howe said.

The Americus Board of Education has written the Department of Health, Education and Welfare stating its views. The letter signed by board chairman E. Jean Wise reads:

"The Board of Public Education of the City of Americus will comply in every action with every phase of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"Our desegregation plan, which was approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1965, has been amended to include specific instructions outlined in the 1966 guidelines with reference to application to freedom of choice plans.

"Our system was voluntarily desegregated in the summer of 1964. The number of students attending predominantly white schools was substantially increased in 1965.

"No request for transfer has been denied any students and no influence or pressure has been exerted by any school official or employe regarding transfer.

"We solicit instruction from the U.S. Department of Justice should it be determined through legal process that we have failed to abide by any section of the established law.

"We shall continue to operate our public schools in a manner which can best serve all the children in our community with the funds which are available to us.

"We shall put additional federal funds which may be allotted to us to good use in creating new opportunities for all our children, but we do not intend to relinquish the control of our public schools to any federal agency in order to qualify for federal funds."

The Americus System has about 3,000 pupils, while Sumter has about 2,700.

Byrd Suit To Attack Guidelines

SCHOOL DES.
4/19/66 AC

A suit to overthrow the new federal guidelines for school desegregation will be brought by former Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd.

Garland Byrd

Byrd, who lives in Taylor County, said Monday his first action will be to have his county school board enjoined from complying with the guidelines.

Taylor County has already submitted a pledge of compliance to the U.S. Office of Education and local school officials say they know nothing of Byrd's plans.

Byrd said he will not challenge the 1964 Civil Rights Act as being unconstitutional, but will charge that it is being unconstitutionally administered by the federal government.

The act states that federal funds cannot go to a school that is segregated or discriminates racially, but declares this does not mean a school must achieve any specific racial balance, Byrd said.

Byrd said Education Commissioner Harold Howe II in new guidelines issued last month violated "congressional intent" in demanding that school boards actually produce integration.

The suit will also bring in the State Board of Education, Byrd said.

This would place State Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton in the position of defending indirectly federal policies that Gov. Carl E. Sanders himself has attacked.

Sanders last year led Southern governors in protesting the federal plans to require faculty integration which is required this fall under the new guidelines.

Bolton might concede that the legal point of the suit is correct, Byrd said. He said he is prepared to appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court, if necessary, and go into federal court.

Guidelines Okayed by Over Third

SCHOOL DESEG
AC 4/19/66

170 of 195 in State Agree to Comply

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Office of Education on Monday had received assurances of compliance with 1966 guidelines from slightly more than one-third of the school system following voluntary desegration plans in 17 Southern and border states.

Officials reported that 687 of 1,945 school systems had for-

Jack Nix

Georgia Tally: 170 of 195 Systems

warded compliance form 441B to the Office of Education.

The tally was made Sunday night, said federal officials.

MORE ON WAY

A wave of compliance agreements is expected to flow into the Office of Education before May 6, the new deadline for submitting the form.

An official said the Office of Education has received indications that hundreds of compliance agreements are either being prepared or are in the mail to Washington.

For instance, federal officials said 62 of 179 Georgia systems following voluntary desegregation plans have filed the compliance form with the Office of Education.

GEORGIA HAS 170

Georgia School Supt. Jack Nix said Monday that 170 of 195 Georgia systems have signed the compliance form.

If the Office of Education had not extended the deadline for submitting the compliance form from April 15 to May 6, new federal aid would have been subject to deferral in nearly two-third of the school systems of the Southern and border states with voluntary desegregation plans.

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Education Commissioner Harold Howe has said that failure to sign form 441B is an act of non-compliance and new funds would be deferred automatically.

3,000 ASSURE

There are approximately 5,000 school systems in the 17 states. Slightly more than 3,000 have assured the Office of Education that they have eliminated dual school systems, are following court-ordered desegregation plans, or have filed no plans.

Only one Louisiana system has filed the compliance form. Five Louisiana systems are following voluntary plans and 35 are desegregating under court orders.

TALKS BY STATES

The Office of Education reported these totals for systems which have submitted compliance agreements as of Sunday night.

Alabama, 4 of 94 systems; Arkansas, 82 of 200; Delaware, 28 of 35; Florida, 23 of 48; Georgia, 62 of 179; Ketncky, 19 of 59; Louisiana, 1 of 5; Maryland, 14 of 18; Mississippi, 31 of 108; Missouri, 2 of 14; North Carolina, 32 of 155; Oklahoma, 35 of 105; South Carolina, 66 of 96; Tennessee, 50 of 121; Texas, 183 of 586; Virginia, 52 of 117, and West Virginia, 3 of 5.

Guidelines Refused By 3 More Systems

SCHOOL DESEG

Effingham, Toombs, Charlton Join Americus and Sumter

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Fashion Editor

Five of Georgia's 195 school systems say they will not comply with the new federal guidelines for school desegregation.

Nine others also have not signed compliance pledges but indicate they may do so by the May 6 deadline. Failure to sign could result in the loss of federal school aid.

Joining the systems of Sumter County and the City of Americus, which said Monday they will not comply, are Effingham County, Toombs County and Charlton County.

All say they feel the guidelines requiring the integration of most teaching staffs this fall and further desegregation of student bodies exceed the authority of the 1964 civil rights act.

Charlton County Supt. D. Ray James said, "We have not signed and will not sign HEW 441B until we are assured what we are proposing will be accepted by the federal government."

James said his system has told the Office of Education the local high school will be fully integrated this fall. In attendance will be 273 white pupils and 151 Negroes.

"We don't intend to go to court and we don't intend to go to jail," said James about faculty integration. "But they're asking more than we can do."

"We're not being diehards," he added. "But there's a limit to what is acceptable to our board and what will be supported by the community."

Systems still considering signing are Winder, Camden, Jeff Davis, Seminole, Vidalia, Early, Randolph, Glascock and Terrell.

Taliaferro County, which is under the direction of State School Supt. Jack P. Nix, also has not said what it will do.

The three counties bordering it say they will not accept transfer students. All of Taliaferro white pupils transferred last fall to schools in Warren, Wilkes and Greene counties.

After weeks of racial demonstrations the federal court stepped in and forced the three to also accept Taliaferro Negroes who requested transfer.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Guideline Appendixes Threaten 40 Systems

More Negotiation Expected To Bring Schools in Compliance

JACK NIX
Mentions "Cutoff Score"

DR. SINGLETARY
Cites Consolidation

By WALKER LUNDY

Forty Georgia school systems have attached written stipulations with their signed agreements to the new school desegregation guidelines which probably will make the documents void.

However, it is expected that additional negotiations between the individual school systems and the officials of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare will bring the systems into compliance.

An official of the Georgia Department of Education said 51 school systems of the 164 that have signed compliance forms made changes in the HEW Form 441B. However, 11 of the 51 made only minor changes.

THE OTHER 40 systems tacked on appendixes spelling out changes and reservations they have.

B. C. Cloer of the State Department of Education's state-federal relations division said he imagines these 40 will have to be renegotiated.

B. C. CLOER
State-Federal Relations

"Most likely, they will not be acceptable," he said. "But at least they're (the systems) indicating they're willing to negotiate."

In Washington, an official of HEW was less outspoken.

He was asked whether the 40 school systems that have filed amendment compliance forms would have them declared void.

He answered, "It would appear so. (He paused.) It's hard to say. (He paused again.) I'd rather not comment on that."

The official asked that his name not be used.

ONE SOUTH GEORGIA school superintendent — who also requested that his name be deleted — said HEW had told him that any alteration in the signed form would make the agreement void.

Mr. Cloer, however, said he believed the appendix would have to change the meaning of the compliance form before the agreement would be rejected.

"I feel like HEW will be reasonable in their negotiations," he said. "Some of the changes amount to only one word."

The principle area where stipulations and reservations were tacked on is faculty integration.

"Nobody seems to know

Taliaferro to Integrate Schools

SCHOOL DESEG. AC 4/26/66

By DON PHILLIPS
United Press International

Taliaferro County has agreed to reopen its school system on an integrated basis next fall, it was learned Monday.

Jack Nix

The decision was revealed in a brief filed in federal district court by State Schools Supt. Jack Nix which asked that he be relieved as receiver of the Taliaferro school system.

All but a Negro Taliaferro school was closed last fall when white students transferred to neighboring Warren, Wilkes and Greene counties to avoid integration.

Racial demonstrations ensued in Crawfordville when Negroes were not allowed to ride white buses out of the county, and former Schools Supt. Claude Purcell was ordered by a federal district court in Atlanta to find a solution. Negroes were eventually allowed on the buses.

Warren, Wilkes and Greene counties have informed Taliaferro they will not accept transfer students next fall, however, and the Taliaferro Board of Education agreed April 15 to open one integrated high school and one integrated elementary school next fall.

The court brief said the Taliaferro system would move to obtain federal financial assistance as soon as it could legally do so. It was estimated the system would be eligible for $74,592.78 in federal funds.

Nix told the court "the point has been reached where the providing of an education for the children of Taliaferro County necessitates return of the management and control of the Taliaferro County school system to the local officials who are responsible for its operation."

The brief revealed that Negro Taliaferro students who transferred to other counties "earn considerable lower grades and have a much higher rate of failure than the white students."

Nix pointed out in the brief that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had refused to provide funds for remedial assistance to Negro students.

(Advertisement)

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SCHOOL DESEG.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1966.

U.S. BIDS COURT SET SCHOOL GUIDELINES

Asks Uniform Decree for 7 Cases Pending in South

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 26—Noting a general lag in desegregation of school districts under court order, the Department of Justice petitioned tonight for a uniform decree that would have the effect of speeding integration in many Southern cities and counties next fall.

The department made the request to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in a brief filed in New Orleans in seven pending cases.

In effect, the department said a new judicial tool was needed to correct the lag between the district and appeals courts, a lag that has resulted in a wide disparity in desegregation progress and widespread failure to conform with the latest executive and judicial standards.

A "uniform and comprehensive decree" for the seven cases, the department said, would be "unmistakable precedent" for all school systems in the South under court order.

The model decree requested by the department follows closely the desegregation guidelines drawn by the office of education for districts permitting students to choose their schools. Most districts in the South are under freedom-of-choice plans.

The guidelines are for school districts not under court order. They make up the majority of districts in the South and are being desegregated by the executive branch under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, more than 200 districts, chiefly covering urban areas, are being desegregated under court order.

The seven cases concern Jackson, Claiborne, Caddo and Bossier parishes in Louisiana and Jefferson Conty (Birmingham) and the city of Bessemer in Alabama, all of which had been desegregated earlier under suits filed by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The department said that of almost 100 freedom-of-choice plans approved in the Fifth Circuit, almost half did not desegregate all grades by 1967, as required by the executive guidelines; 78 failed to provide nonracial citeria for denying students their choice, and 79 failed to provide a start in faculty desegregation.

Conformity Sought

The Office of Education guidelines were based on the most advanced court orders. The Justice Department is now asking that these standards be made uniform, in part to keep districts from choosing the court route as the slowest form of desegregation.

Thus tonight's action could help put down a revolt by many districts against stringent new requirements in the guidelines. In order to receive Federal assistance, districts must desegregagte under one of the two routes.

The Justice Department said the courts had been overburdened with court cases and a uniform decree would estimate much of the litigation.

"There will no longer be occasion for the periodic submission of amended plans," the department said. "Instead, the school boards will clearly understand their obligations, and will report to the court on a periodic basis. The court would continue to have the final responsibility for fixing constitutional standards."

Drinkers' Aid Given in Berlin

About 400 West Berlin students are available for tipsy drivers to conduct them home safely if they call Berlin 32-37-11, says the Berlin Tourist Office here, United Press International reports. The service is available within minutes and costs $2.25.

U.S. Seeks Integration Uniformity

SCHOOL DESEG.
A C 4/27/66

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Justice department proposed Tuesday night a uniform school desegregation order for federal courts and asked the South's highest federal court to adopt it as a model.

The proposed order generally follows the new and tougher guidelines of the U.S. Office of Education. It calls for desegregation of all public school grades by the fall of 1967, under the "freedom of choice" system of pupil distribution.

Assistant Atty. Gen. John Doar submitted the proposal to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, the last stop for Southern civil rights litigation before the Supreme Court.

He asked that court to apply the order to seven school districts in Alabama and Louisiana whose present desegregation plans are being appealed.

Then, Doar said, the court should promulgate its order as a guide to all U.S. district courts in its jurisdiction.

The need for a standard plan is apparent, the government said, from the fact that 99 plans approved by district courts in the past 10 years fall below federal requirements under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Aptitudes Case Faces Top Court

SCHOOL DESEG
AC. 4/28/66

SAVANNAH, Ga. (AP)—The U.S. Supreme Court likely will be asked again to hear an appeal questioning the scholastic aptitudes of Negro school children.

The high court refused to hear an appeal on the question in 1964 in the long-standing Savannah school desegregation case.

The involved suit has been in the courts since 1962. It has been appealed again to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. No matter what the decision of the appelate court is, it is likely that the Supreme Court again will be asked to rule.

NO COMMENT

The high court in its earlier refusal to hear the appeal issued no comment.

The original suit was filed by Negro pupils who asked that schools in Savannah and Chatham County be desegregated.

Since this suit, a group of white parents intervened on behalf of the school board and the Department of Justice intervened on behalf of the Negro pupils.

In his latest ruling, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett of Brunswick ordered that pupils must be assigned to schools on grounds of age, mental qualifications, intelligence and achievement rather than by race.

This ruling has been appealed on behalf of the Negroes by the Department of Justice, the school board and the white parents.

HEARD TESTIMONY

The most startling developments in the long court procedure came three years ago, when Scarlett heard detailed testimony from psychologists and others aimed at forcing the Supreme Court to change its 1954 school desegregation decision.

Among those testifying was Dr. Ernest Van Den Haag of New York, a professor of psychology and sociology at New York University and the New School of Social Research.

"Psychological injury from segregation is far less than from forced integration to both white and colored races," he declared.

Another witness, Dr. R. T. Osborne, professor of psychology and director of the Student Guidance Center at the University of Georgia, said a published study by him showed that Negro pupils have lower learning capacity than white pupils.

School Deseg.

FEDERAL RIGHTS UNDER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LAW

STAFF PAPER PREPARED FOR THE

MISSISSIPPI STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

APRIL 1966

Free choice plans for desegregating schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 tend to place the burden of desegregation on Negro students and their parents.[1/]

The vast majority of plans submitted by school authorities in Deep South States have been "Free Choice" plans. Out of the 108 plans accepted by the Office of Education from Mississippi, 104 employ the "Free Choice" method. Twenty school districts are operating under court orders. According to estimates made by the Southern Education Reporting Service in December 1965, the number of Negroes attending school with white students in Mississippi was 1,750 or less than 1% of the State's Negro school population.

At the request of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Commission staff prepared this paper to assist Negro pupils and their parents in understanding their rights under current Federal school desegregation law.

1/ U.S. Office of Education (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, March 1966.

1. DESEGREGATION PLANS

Q. HOW CAN I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIVES FEDERAL MONEY?

A. Most school districts receive Federal assistance. You can find out about your school district by writing to the U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. IF IT DOES RECEIVE FEDERAL MONEY WHAT REQUIREMENTS MUST IT MEET?

A. If a school district is not under court order to desegregate, it must either be desegregated or follow a plan for desegregation of students, teachers, facilities, transportation, services, etc. If it is under court order, it must obey the court order. If it does not meet any of these three requirements, the Office of Education may refuse to give Federal money to that district. In addition, a suit can be brought by a parent or organization.

Q. WHAT KINDS OF DESEGREGATION PLANS ARE ACCEPTABLE?

A. There are several kinds of desegregation plans acceptable to the Federal government. Most of the communities in the South use a "Freedom of Choice" plan. Others divide the community into attendance areas and assign each child to the school for his area. Some districts close small Negro schools and assign the Negro children and teachers to white schools. Still others put only a few grades in each school and assign children by grade regardless of race.

Q. HOW LONG WILL THE PLANS TAKE TO ACHIEVE DESEGREGATION OF ALL GRADES?

A. Most of the plans called for desegregation of all 12 grades for the 1965-66 school year. All plans must provide for desegregating 12 grades by 1967-68.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD'S GRADE IS NOT YET COVERED BY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN?

A. The child can transfer to a white school under any of the following conditions: (1) his present school does not offer the course of study he desires, (2) he wants to attend a desegregated school already attended by a brother, sister or any relative living in his household, (3) he meets all the requirements for transfer under ordinary circumstances, (4) he would otherwise have to attend school outside of the school district.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS ENTERING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GRADE THAT IS NOT COVERED BY THE CURRENT "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. He may attend the school of his choice.

Q. HOW WILL I KNOW IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. Most school districts in the South use "Freedom of Choice" plans. If the district is under this plan, each pupil and his parents will receive a letter in the spring explaining their rights under the plan along with a Choice of School Form and a notice explaining the plan.

Q. WHAT WILL THE "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" LETTER SAY?

A. The letter will come from your school superintendent in the spring. It will ask parents and pupils to choose a school within 30 days. The choice form will list all schools that you may choose from (both white and Negro) and their grades and locations. The notice will explain the plan in detail.

Q. WILL STUDENTS WHO RETURN THEIR FORMS EARLY HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF GETTING INTO THE SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE?

A. No. All letters must be mailed to parents on the first day of the choice period. There can be no preference given to those who return their forms early in the 30-day period.

Q. CAN THE CHILD CHOOSE HIS OWN SCHOOL?

A. Yes, if he is fifteen years old or will enter grade 9, 10, 11 or 12 next year.

Q. WHAT IF I DON'T RETURN THE CHOICE FORM DURING THE 30-DAY CHOICE PERIOD?

A. You may return it at any time before the child begins school next year. If the form is not filled out by the end of the first week of school, the child will be assigned to the school nearest his home where space is available, without regard to race.

Q. CAN A TEACHER OR PRINCIPAL TELL ME WHICH SCHOOL TO CHOOSE?

A. No. You and your child decide which school he will choose. Teachers, principals and other school officials may not tell you which school to choose or to influence your choice in any way.

Q. CAN MY CHILD'S NAME BE PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPER OR PUBLICIZED IF I CHOOSE A WHITE SCHOOL?

A. No. It is a violation of Federal regulations to publicize information about choices made by individual students or about the schools to which they are assigned.

Q. WHAT IF ONLY A FEW NEGRO CHILDREN ENTER WHITE SCHOOLS IN MY SCHOOL DISTRICT UNDER A "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" PLAN?

A. If your school district has a sizable percentage of Negro children and most of them are still in Negro schools, the Federal government can require the school district to take additional actions to desegregate, such as holding a new choice period, increasing teacher desegregation, or putting into effect some other kind of plan.

2. COURT ORDERS

Q. WHAT IS A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION COURT ORDER?

A. A School Desegregation Court Order is the instruction given by the court after a school district has been sued and found to have been maintaining segregated schools. It tells the school district what it must do to achieve desegregation.

Q. WHAT IF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT DECIDES TO DO WITHOUT FEDERAL MONEY - AND CONTINUES TO HAVE SEGREGATED SCHOOLS?

A. The law requires a school district to desegregate whether or not it receives Federal money. If a school district has been sued and ordered to desegregate it must obey the court's order. If it has not been sued, one or more parents or an organization can sue a school district to force it to desegregate. If a parent can't afford to sue, cannot get a lawyer, or is otherwise unable to sue, he can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and ask the Federal government to sue.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT IF MY SCHOOL DISTRICT IS UNDER COURT ORDER?

A. To find out about your district, write to the Office of Education, Washington, D.C. or the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I FIND OUT WHAT MY SCHOOL DISTRICT MUST DO UNDER THE COURT ORDER?

A. Since court orders are often hard to understand, you might ask a lawyer to explain it to you. He, or you, can get a copy from the Clerk of the Federal Court for a fee.

Q. HOW CAN A COURT ORDER BE CHANGED TO BRING ABOUT FASTER SCHOOL DESEGREGATION?

A. One or more parents or an organization can sue a school district for a better method of school desegregation. Parents can also make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. asking the Federal government to sue.

3. VIOLATIONS AND COMPLAINTS

Q. WHAT CAN I DO IF LOCAL OFFICIALS DO NOT OBEY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN OR COURT ORDER?

A. You can make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice and to the Equal Education Opportunities Program, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Q. HOW DO I KNOW WHETHER TO SEND MY COMPLAINT TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION OR THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE?

A. To be sure it gets to the right one, send the same information to both.

Q. WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD BE IN THE COMPLAINT?

A. The complaint can be a letter. It should contain the facts you are complaining about, including the name and address of the schools involved, names of people, dates of incidents, and any other details that you are able to give.

Q. DO I HAVE TO SIGN THE COMPLAINT?

A. You must sign all complaints to the Dept. of Justice, but it is not necessary to sign complaints to the Office of Education. However, it makes it easier for them to investigate if they know who complained. If you do not wish to give your name, just write out what happened and mail it without signing it.

Q. CAN I COMPLAIN TO THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION BY TELEPHONE?

A. Yes. The number in Washington, D. C. is (202) 962-0333. Ask for the Equal Educational Opportunities Office and tell them you have a complaint.

Q. WHERE ELSE MAY I SEND A COPY OF MY COMPLAINT?

A. You may send a copy of your complaint to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. You should also keep a copy for yourself.

Q. AFTER MAKING A COMPLAINT, WHAT KIND OF RESPONSE SHOULD I EXPECT?

A. You should expect a letter acknowledging that your complaint has been received. In some cases a Federal representative may come to discuss it with you. He will have identification to show that he is a Federal official. In other cases he may telephone you.

Q. WHAT IF I RECEIVE NO ANSWER?

A. If you do not receive an answer within a reasonable period of time, you should write or call Washington again to see if your complaint has been received, and what is being done about it.

4. PROTECTION

Q. WHAT KIND OF PROTECTION SHOULD I EXPECT FOR MY FAMILY IF I AM ONE OF THE FIRST TO SEND MY CHILD TO A WHITE SCHOOL?

A. The school authorities are responsible for seeing that no student or staff member interferes with persons exercising rights under the plan or affected by it. Such protection must be given both on and off the school grounds. If they can't provide necessary protection they must seek assistance from other officials.

Q. WHAT IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE PROTECTION FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES?

A. Notify the nearest FBI office. Also, make a complaint to the Civil Rights Division, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. and to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

5. NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Q. WHAT ABOUT TRANSPORTATION TO SCHOOL?

A. Whatever transportation is provided for white children must also be provided for Negro children.

Q. WHAT SHOULD I EXPECT IN THE WHITE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF DESEGREGATION OF FACILITIES, SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES?

A. The law says that there can be no discrimination in school facilities, services and activities. This includes sports participation, social and educational activities, drinking fountains, washrooms, lunchrooms, classroom seating, auditoriums, locker rooms, use of materials, buses, etc. Also, Negro parents can attend PTA meetings, commencement exercies and all other school events.

Q. WHAT IF MY CHILD IS TREATED BADLY AND INSULTED IN A NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOL BY TEACHERS AND OTHER STUDENTS?

A. It is the responsibility of school officials to see that these things don't happen. You can make a complaint to the local school officials or to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. and Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C. or to all of these.

Q. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO NEGRO TEACHERS AS SCHOOLS ARE DESEGREGATED?

A. It is a violation of Federal regulations for a school system to dismiss, demote or pass over teachers for retention, promotion or rehiring because of race. If a teacher must be displaced because of desegregation, no teacher from outside the system can be brought in unless the displaced teacher is not qualified to fill the vacancy. If the district is going to have fewer teachers because of desegregation it must retain those who are best qualified regardless of race. Where teachers need to upgrade their skills the Federal government finances programs to train them to be better teachers.

Q. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHER DESEGREGATION?

A. The superintendent and school boards have the responsibility for hiring and assigning teachers. They are required to desegregate teaching staffs. A Negro teacher who wishes to be assigned to a white school can so advise the proper school officials in the district.

Q. WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT DIFFERENT SALARIES FOR WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS?

A. It is a violation of the Constitution for school authorities to pay different salaries to teachers based on race. A teacher or a group of teachers or a teachers organization can sue the school officials to force them to equalize pay. The Attorney General can join in the suit.

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ADDRESS FURTHER QUESTIONS TO:

Equal Educational Opportunity Program
Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

SCHOOL DESEG.

DEEPER FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT DUE

Guidelines Chief Faces Dixie Wrath

By ED ROGERS

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The official most bitterly beset by southern politicians because of the stringent new school desegregation guidelines is planning for even deeper federal involvement in the nation's schools.

"We're planning projects that will require increased funds, increased responsibilities, new legislation," U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe III said. "We want new commitments for more contribution to more effective education."

Howe, a 47 - year - old pipe-smoking "bureaucrat" who looks more like a tweedy professor, has been set upon by group after group of congressmen and other politicians, from state after southern state, who charge that his desegregation guidelines go too far.

They claim that by decreeing "achievement percentages" in school integration Howe stretched a law that flatly said "racial balances" could not be forced, and that Howe decreed faculty integration when the law specifically excludes "employment practices" from its structures.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., went still further in a recent statement declaring the real goal of the federal government and Howe is federal control of textbooks and teaching subjects.

To this Howe has issued a flat denial, and yet he told United Press International his office is busy making long-range plans calling for deeper federal involvement in public school operations.

"We're looking ahead to where the federal government is going," Howe said. "As we look ahead we're making plans for presidential decisions. We're developing five-year projects."

Howe declined to give more details, saying the plans are still in the "talking stage" and he did not consider it proper to disclose them until after President Johnson looks them over. Asked whether these plans do not portend the controls Ervin foresaw, Howe said:

"Absolutely not. I don't think any of our planning could possibly be interpreted as develop-

ing new to me," he said. "Nobody could serve as superintendent without getting into controversy. If a person were purely an academician and hadn't been exposed to officials he'd be a babe in the woods.

"Our top level people including myself have had this experience. We've tried to exude as much sweet reasonableness as possible. The thing I admire about most people in political life is you can disagree and be friends at the same time."

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"Absolutely not. I don't think any of our planning could possibly be interpreted as developing federal control."

Howe's insistence with the backing of Justice Department attorneys that his guidelines do not exceed authority given him under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, may become a matter for legal interpretation.

Howe said in his view the federal government should definitely be one of the many participants in the broad influences and "broadly dispersed activity" that shape the course of public school education.

Among the other participants he cited were independent colleges, professional teacher associations, accrediting agencies and organizations created by interstate compacts such as the Southern Regional Education Board. All of these except the last are private.

"All these multiple positions and interests tend to raise the common denominator of education," Howe said. "I see nothing wrong with the federal government joining these broad influences by helping back the needs of education at some weak points."

In replying to Ervin's attack as in other sometimes bitter confrontations with southern congressmen and school officials, Howe remains as articulate and unruffled as his clothes invariably are rumpled.

Attacking politicians find Howe, their new symbol of big-government bureaucracy, a surprise. As horned-rimmed glasses slide down his nose he talks and talks fast, but more like a politician than a professor.

Howe talks in a conciliatory way. This has led to reports that he has made concessions to the protesting emissaries from Dixie states. Howe himself says anyone getting hopes up will be disappointed. He explained it to a reporter in this way:

"I think people hoped for a process of concession rather than clearing up misunderstanding. I hope to continue to be as understanding as I can be and have tried to be. It takes a heck of a lot of patience on both sides. But I have kept the same position from beginning to end, except that I have given them more time."

Howe, born in Hartford, Conn., did graduate work in education and history and served as principal of schools in Massachusetts and Ohio. He was superintendent in Scarsdale, N.Y., from 1960 to 1964. After that job he came to consider himself as much a politician as educator.

"Public disagreement is noth-

DeKalb Placement Draws Warning

SCHOOL DESEG

5/3/66 AJ.

By TOM GREENE

The DeKalb County School System has been warned by federal school officials that it may not be acting in compliance with its own desegregation plan.

DeKalb Supt. Jim Cherry Monday received a telegram from Stanley Kruger, regional desegregation compliance officer with the U.S. Office of Education, telling the superintendent that Mr. Kruger had received word the system is using a "freedom of choice" plan to assign students to schools next year.

Mr. Kruger said DeKalb's approved desegregation plan calls for assignment of pupils on a "geographic attendance zone" basis.

MR. CHERRY, however, said the approved plan is a zone and freedom of choice one, with assignment to a zone coming first. Then a child's parents may request that he be transferred to another school within the district.

He said the misunderstanding apparently arose over the newspaper advertisement placed in a DeKalb paper by the system last week publicising the desegregation plan. Mr. Cherry said the advertisement was based on one drawn up by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and not the system.

Mr. Cherry said Mr. Kruger apparently wants to know whether all DeKalb citizens understand the zone plan.

"The question apparently is whether or not it was done to the extent that it satisfies Mr. Kruger," he said.

"We intend to comply with the law," he added, and DeKalb officials are studying Mr. Kruger's telegram and will attempt to clarify the situation as soon as possible.

DEKALB school officials Monday began sending out "choice of school" forms to parents of over 70,000 pupils asking them to designate the school they wish their child to attend next year.

Mr. Kruger said the system, under its approved plan, should instead have sent letters before April 30 assigning each child to a school within his attendance zone, then allow them to request transfers to another school if they desired to do so. The transfers could be allowed if the school a child preferred to attend was not too crowded.

Mr. Kruger also said the system should have submitted before April 15 a map of school districts indicating any changes in the school zones and reports on staff assignments and anticipated enrollment.

DeKalb County was one of the first systems in the state to have an approved desegregation plan last year and also to sign compliance forms with new guidelines this year.

MR. KRUGER said the whole thing may just be a misunderstanding on procedure, but he finds it hard to understand why. He said he spent some time about three weeks ago with C. L. Harper, DeKalb deputy school superintendent, going over the procedures under DeKalb's approved plan "rather thoroughly."

DeKalb last year had some desegregation of first and eighth grade students. The letters sent out Monday, which must be returned with the parents' choice of school by May 31, would allow desegregation in all grades.

SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1966 The Atlanta Journal

Guidelines Backed At Teacher Meet

SCHOOL DESEG.

By TOM GREENE

The new federal school desegregation guidelines which have stirred up a furor in the South do not go as far toward elimination of discrimination as the law allows, a Florida educator said here Saturday.

Joe Hall, superintendent of Dade County (Miami), Fla., schools, told some 250 Southern educators attending a conference on the guidelines that the question he hears the most about them is "Why don't they (U.S. Office of Education) just stick to the law?"

But the guidelines, he said, "are based upon the law," which bars racial discrimination in any form.

"The law goes a lot farther. These guidelines are just steps in that direction," Mr. Hall said.

THE CONFERENCE at the Americana Motor Hotel, which ended Saturday, was cosponsored by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators to explain the new guidelines and help to head off panic among classroom teachers.

For the first time next fall, some desegregation of faculty will be required.

Those attending the conference represented their local education associations and other professional organizations and school systems in Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Kentucky.

During a symposium Saturday morning, Mr. Hall said school administrators should emphasize the economies the guidelines are going to bring school systems, by doing away with some schools and the required transportation for them.

At the same time, teachers displaced by the closing of some schools can be utilized in others "to do something about this class size we've been talking about."

Mr. Hall added: "These guidelines will be helpful to us if we proceed as rapidly and effectively as we can to do what

guidelines were revealed during an afternoon session of the Georgia delegation.

And federal funds have been approved for a statewide conference to be cosponsored by the Georgia Education Association and the Georgia Teachers and Education Association. Details are to be worked out.

The Georgia delegates also discussed the possibility of local institutes for students and parents to familiarize them with implementation procedures.

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At the same time, teachers displaced by the closing of some schools can be utilized in others "to do something about this class size we've been talking about."

Mr. Hall added: "These guidelines will be helpful to us if we proceed as rapidly and effectively as we can to do what is inevitable in our schools."

Mrs. Thelma Davis of Griffin, past president of the Department of Classroom Teachers, said the finger is being pointed at the teachers, and "they are frightened."

BUT IF TEACHERS had the backing, she said, they "will come through. But they are frightened, they are afraid, and I can't think of anything more terrible than to be afraid."

Mrs. Davis said "it's not the children we have to worry about, it's the adults."

And she said she knows from personal experience that "the color of your skin does not determine whether or not you are a good teacher."

George Dabbs, president-elect of the Florida Education Association, said "most of the problems ("or are they privileges?") we will face are problems that really do not exist. They are problems that are developed in the minds of men."

Mr. Dabbs said the professional associations can take the lead in the controversy. "The prime responsibility of the profession is to take a stand for what we know to be right . . . professionaly and morally."

Mrs. Minnie Hitch of Kentucky, president of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, said the laws have been passed and will be observed. "We will obey the letter of the law, but what about the spirit?" she asked.

SHE POINTED to situations where desegregation ultimately has led to resegregation, and said "the problem is not in the law, the problem is in you and me."

"You know what is right," she said, "but what are we going to do about getting across the spirit? We need to interpret to the community from a standpoint of our home life.

"In our communities, we have the kinds of potential to develop to see to it that these things work" instead of mouthing "pious platitudes about what is right and what is wrong."

She added that "the community's responsibility lies not within the law, but lies behind the law."

Plans for the State Department of Education to sponsor a series of conferences in the congressional districts this summer on the implementation of the

Spending at All-Time High But Surplus Is Maintained

5/8/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, May 7—South Carolina, true to its long established practice of living within its means, looks to a $27 million surplus at the close of the present fiscal year, June 30, of which $9 million will be added to the reserve; $3.5 million returned to counties for school use at $5 per pupil, and the remainder used for other projects, mostly educational, which had been awaiting a realistic look at the balance sheet.

And this overage was accomplished despite the fact that the 1965-66 appropriation bill for current expenses was the largest on record.

Looking to fiscal 1966-67, the legislature is setting another peak in spending, with a total allotment of around $367 million including earmarked funds.

FURTHER, as usual, the money bill carries no new taxes, and no increases. The nearest thing, and it is in another bill, is the upping of the price of auto tags $1, the money derived to be used to reflectorize all plates and to add 74 patrolmen.

Only once in 25 years has the state run a deficit and it was a minor one. One reason for this is that the governor does not sign a supply bill unless the state auditor certifies that revenue to meet it is "reasonably" in sight. That the estimates are carefully made is borne out by the way they have stood up over the years.

Teachers and other employes from the governor down will get increaased pay, not as much as some would like, but apparently a very fair distribution.

THE CHIEF executive, who now gets $20,000 a year plus generous extras such as a home, servants, automobile and liberal allowances, will be raised to $25,000 with the same benefits. Other constitutional officers, such as secretary of state, treasurer, comptroller general, attorney general, go up from $15,000 to $20,000 a year and retain their autos, etc.

In dishing out the pay boosts, the solons did not overlook themselves. The House voted to make a member's pay $3,000, up $600, plus the usual per diem, travel allowance, etc. The Senate made it $4,000. A free conference committee adjusted the two.

In a supplementary bill, in which some of the surplus was used, is an item of $50,000 for a state historical drama to be staged starting in 1967 near Columbia. Another $150,000 comes from a private fund, already raised. Kermit Hunter, who wrote "Unto These Hills," and other out-of-doors successes, is doing the script.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

FBI DENIES WESLEYAN INTIMIDATION

MIDDLETOWN, Conn., May 7 (AP) — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says that the FBI made no attempt to intimidate any student or official at Wesleyan University in its investigation of a national student organization.

Hoover said that such a contention by student critics of the FBI at Wesleyan was "a misrepresentation of the truth of the matter."

The FBI chief said further any statement that the FBI was hostile to the goals of academic freedom was "not only utterly false but also is so irresponsible as to cast serious doubt on the quality of academic reason or the motivation behind it."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

255 AREAS IGNORE PUPIL BIAS PLEDGE

SCHOOL DESEG.

But 1,498 District Near and in South Qualify for Aid

NYT 5/9/66

WASHINGTON, May 7 (AP) — Two hundred and fifty-five school districts have ignored requests to pledge compliance with civil rights laws in order to qualify for new Federal aid and are regarded as not complying, the Office of Education reported today.

As of the deadline last night, 1,498 school districts in 17 Southern and Border states had pledged to carry out racial desegregation along guidelines set up by the office. About 140 had not sent in formal assurances of compliance but had indicated they intend to do so.

On this basis, the office lists only 255 that have not been heard from and thus have not qualified for new aid. The office did not identify them and will make further efforts to obtain voluntary compliance.

Meanwhile, the ability of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to carry out its role in civil-rights compliance has been thrown into doubt by lack of funds, its chief said today.

Budget Cut Heavy

The Secretary, John W. Gardner, said in an interview, "The House dealt a real blow to our plans for civil rights compliances" when it cut a budget request from $4,132,000 to $927,00.

The budget request had proposed 348 positions and the House reduced this number by 70, Mr. Gardner said.

The item was included in the $10.55-billion 1966-67 appropriations bill for the Welfare and Labor departments passed by the House this week.

Making it plain he intended to seek restoration of the money by the Senate, Mr. Gardner said:

"I don't think we can operate an adequate and balanced program in both the North and the South with this kind of reduction."

Asked why the 1966 civil rights program of the Johnson Administration did not deal directly with de facto school segregation in the North, Mr. Gardner said studies were still under way of such cities as Boston, Chicago and San Francisco in an effort to determine a course of action.

Residential Patterns

"Housing and residential patterns are involved and they are things that are hard to cope with in legislation," he said.

Turning to a discussion of civil rights compliance by hospitals, which is required for those participating in the Medicare program when it begins July 1, Mr. Gardner said:

"We are doing everything humanly possible to get all hospitals into compliance. We are not going to have any area out of compliance if we can help it."

The statistics on hospital compliance as of Friday, as given to the Secretary by the Public Health Service, were:

Questionnaires have been sent to 8,237 hospitals and replies have come from 6,923, or 85 per cent, with 1,314 not heard from.

A total of 5,023 hospitals, or 61 per cent of the total, have been certified to the Social Security Administration as being in compliance. This is about 75 per cent of those that replied.

The service is investigating 1,685 of the replying hospitals and replies from 215 hospitals are still being reviewed.

Mr. Gardner said he wanted to reiterate that the civil rights guidelines for hospitals provide for latitude in reassignment of patients though requiring desegregation of all activities.

"There must be latitude—the doctor has to have latitude," Mr. Gardner said. "We do not intend to interpose ourselves between the doctor and the patient."

"Over a period of time if a Negro ward remains a Negro ward there is no way of concealing it," he said. "Over a period of time the records will show whether an institution has racially based room assignments."

Bronx

Bronx House, one of the more than 59 Greater New York Fund agencies in that borough, will provide day and out-of-town camping facilities this summer for hundreds of children and families. Throughout the year, this neighborhood center acts as a focal point for athletics, classes, clubs, Jewish cultural programs and many other activities.

In the Bronx, there are many kinds of services to the community available through Fund agencies. Among these are homes for convalescents, unwed mothers, the aged and children, facilities for the blind, rehabilitation centers, hospitals and clinics.

If you live or work in New York, the 425 hospital, health and welfare agencies of the Fund are ready to serve you, whoever or wherever you are. To help all those in need, make your contribution where you work to the Fund a generous one.

ALGERIA TAKES OVER FOREIGN-HELD MINES

Special to The New York Times

ALGIERS, May 7—President Houari Boumediene announced Saturday the nationalization of foreign-owned iron, zinc, lead and copper mines throughout the country.

In a nationwide radio and television speech, he said the continued exploitation of Algeria's mines by foreign companies put the Government in an "intolerable situation."

He cited as an example a steel mill near Annaba, formerly Bône, in eastern Algeria. He said the Government had found itself obliged to associate with foreign companies at disadvantageous prices for Algeria's own iron ore.

It is the first measure of nationalization Colonel Boumediene has announced since he came to power last June.

He listed 11 mines, most of them French-owned, that the measure will affect. The Government has already taken over a number of mines which were abandoned by their French owners.

De Gaulle's Itinerary Given

MOSCOW, May 7 (AP) — President de Gaulle will travel to four cities besides Moscow when he visits the Soviet Union June 20. The French leader will go to Novosibirsk, an industrial center in Siberia, and to Leningrad and Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad). He will also stop for a few hours in Kiev.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Desegregation Showdown Near for DeKalb and U.S.

AC 5/10/64

By ART PINE

The DeKalb County School administration and the U.S. Office of Education are heading toward a major confrontation over school desegregation, spokesmen for both sides indicated Monday.

DeKalb still has not replied to the telegram that federal compliance officer W. Stanley Kruger sent last Monday asking for an "immediate explanation" of why the county is not following its approved desegregation plan.

Jim Cherry

School Supt. Jim Cherry has issued statements that the county "is definitely complying "with the federal guidelines, but his office has made no contact with Kruger since the telegram — and doesn't plan to.

Federal officials were beginning to hint Monday about the possibility of "deferring" government grants to DeKalb until the school system conforms to its plan of compliance as the Office of Education sees it.

HINT HIGHER ACTION

And DeKalb administrators, insisting that they are complying even if Kruger says they aren't, were talking privately about taking the matter to Education Commissioner Harold Howe — or to the courts, if necessary.

The new guidelines require that DeKalb 1) assign all pupils to schools according to geographic attendance zones, and 2) then permit them to transfer to other schools if they wish.

Cherry says DeKalb, which reassigned first and eighth graders according to attendance zones last year, has produced enough publicity about its plan of compliance so that it is ready to go ahead with phase two.

Kruger contends that the publicity was inadequate, and that in any case reassigning only two out of 12 grades does not fulfill the requirement. The school system, he says, must reassign the other 10 this year.

Meanwhile, DeKalb has already sent out 70,000 letters to parents implementing phase two of the program—including a form parents can check to choose the school they want their children to attend.

FORMS QUESTIONED

Kruger says the administration sent out the wrong forms—that it should have mailed out maps showing geographic attendance zones for phase one.

Cherry maintains he sent the letters "under duress" at Kruger's orders. "I didn't think they were necessary," he said. "They certainly didn't change anything."

But underneath all this, the argument is really over just how far DeKalb is to desegregate its schools.

The Office of Education wants students reassigned to geographic zones first so Negro pupils "don't have to take the initiative themselves" to get out of all-Negro schools.

"If they have to ask for reassignment right away," Kruger said, "they may hesitate to go ahead with it."

THEIR RIGHT

The administration insists Negro students "should have the right" to stay in all-Negro schools if they want.

"There'd certainly be more desegregation if all students were first assigned by geographic attendance areas," Kruger said Monday. "Otherwise, with just the free-transfer phase in operation, there's a tendency for children to return to the school they've been attending previously."

In essence, DeKalb officials say, they plan to conform to the letter of the compliance law.

Kruger says he plans to issue "another communication" Tuesday if DeKalb still hasn't replied to his now week-old telegram.

Meanwhile, the school administration is sticking to its guns.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Dixie School Leaders to Get Call to Testify on Rights Bill

AC 5/10/66

WASHINGTON (UPI) —Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., said Monday he will invite chief school officials of 17 Southern and border states to testify at subcommittee hearings on the 1966 civil rights bill.

A spokesman for Ervin's Senate Judiciary subcommittee on civil rights said the school officials are being invited to speak out especially on an amendment Ervin himself is introducing.

Ervin said on the Senate floor his amendments will halt the present administrative policies that he said require "racial balances" in schools and other institutions receiving federal funds.

AGENCIES TARGET

One target of Ervin's amendment is the policy of the various federal agencies including the U.S. Education Office to order deferment of federal funds if certain desegregation goals are not met.

A spokesman for the education office estimated the latest round of "deferrals" will affect less than 200 school systems in 17 Southern and border states.

Officials of all racially dual systems in these states are being required to submit certificates that they intend to comply wih federal desegregation guidelines.

SOME ON WAY

Of the 1,893 of these systems only 1,498 had mailed in certificates by the deadline last Friday, but the spokesman said many of them are believed to be in transit.

Since deferment applies only to new funds it is not likely that mere tardiness will have any practical adverse effect on any of the schools.

But there have been a number of deferments in the past and Ervin said this bypasses the formal machinery which Congress set up to safeguard rights of schools before funds are formally cut off.

Another target of Ervin's amendment was the guidelines themselves. Ervin said they require certain racial balances in schools, hospitals and other institutions receiving federal funds.

The amendment, he said, will make it clear that federal agencies can bring sanctions only in proven cases of actual discrimination, without regard to de facto racial percentages.

Ervin has scheduled two weeks of hearings before his subcommittee. They are to follow hearings already in progress on the administration's bill in the House.

After Ending 'White Only,' GEA Still Lacks a Negro

SCHOOL DESEG

5/11/66 AC

The Georgia Education Association, which agreed in March to drop its "white only" membership qualification, still does not have a Negro member.

"I'm not surprised," said GEA executive secretary Frank Hughes Tuesday. "Membership taken out now would run out in September. Anyone joining will probably do so then."

The GEA constitution provides: "All persons actively engaged in the educational work of teaching, supervision, administration, libraries, colleges and universities may become active members of the association upon payment of dues."

Annual dues in the 29,000-member organization are $8. The membership year runs Sept. 1 to Aug. 31.

The National Education Association of which the GEA is an affiliate, adopted a resolution last year requiring all state organizations to drop racial barriers and prepare to merge.

The predominantly Negro organization in this state, also an NEA affiliate, is the Georgia Teachers and Education Association. It has about 12,000 members.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Cherry, U.S. Schools Chief To Discuss Guideline Dispute

AC 5/11/66

By ART PINE

DeKalb School Supt. Jim Cherry and U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe will meet Friday for a conference on DeKalb's alleged deviation from federal desegregation guidelines, it was learned Tuesday.

The meeting was arranged by 4th District Rep. James A. Mackay after several private sessions with officials of the U.S. Office of Education.

Cherry said late Tuesday night that he had not received official confirmation of the meeting from either Mackay or Howe, but would be "happy to meet with the commissioner at his earliest convenience."

News of the conference came just after Cherry brushed aside federal compliance officer W. Stanley Kruger and told him he just didn't want to talk with Kruger any more and would take the dispute directly to Howe.

In a telephone conversation with Kruger late Tuesday, Cherry said he was disgusted because Kruger had blasted DeKalb County in the press without first making the statements to Cherry.

"For the past week I've had to get all my information from the press," Cherry told Kruger. "After that kind of treatment, I just don't want to discuss this with you."

The DeKalb superintendent also sent a telegram to Howe that afternoon, presumably restating his position and offering to meet with the commissioner.

But Tuesday he declined to release its contents to reporters until he was sure Howe had received it. "I don't want to do the same thing I'm accusing Kruger of doing," he explained.

Howe could not be reached for comment.

Meanwhile, Kruger said after his phone call to Cherry that

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Cherry, U.S. Educator To Discuss Guidelines

Continued from Page 1

"the situation hasn't changed.

"We still feel DeKalb is not following the procedures approved by the commissioner and amended," he said.

Kruger said he assumed Cherry would confer with Howe or someone higher up on the staff. "I have not been in a position to give (DeKalb) the relief from the guidelines they're seeking," he said.

The compliance officer said his section "still intends to investigate other complaints" received from the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the DeKalb Council on Human Relations.

He said his office had received complaints that the school administration failed to provide adequate information about its plan of compliance, and that geographic attendance zones were "gerrymandered" in areas around Negro schools.

Kruger will be in Atlanta Saturday to speak before a meeting of both councils, he said.

Asst. Supt. C. L. Harper said he thought the Office of Education was "nitpicking" in its charges that DeKalb was deviating from the approved plan of compliance.

He said the county already has 222 Negro pupils enrolled in previously all-white schools. There are 3,600 Negro students in the county, according to Harper.

Cherry telegraphed Howe Tuesday after reading an article in The Atlanta Constitution which reported federal officials were hinting about the possibility of "deferring" government grants if DeKalb didn't comply.

Officials estimated the U.S. government grants "close to $2 million—directly or indirectly" to the county each year.

The dispute began April 2 when Kruger sent a telegram to the school administration asking for an "immediate explanation" of why DeKalb was not following its plan of compliance.

Cherry had not answered Kruger's telegram by Tuesday, and Kruger had not spoken personally with Cherry since then.

The Office of Education maintains that DeKalb, which formally reassigned all first- and eighth-graders according to geographical attendance zones last year, should have done the same thing for pupils in the other 10 grades before sending out 70,000 "free-transfer" blanks.

Cherry says the administration sent out so much publicity about geographical attendance zones in 1965 that in effect it fulfilled the requirements for all grades.

Kruger alleges that DeKalb's procedure forces Negro children to take the initiative in transferring to previously white schools, and that under such circumstances they are usually reluctant to do so.

ON GUIDELINES

SCHOOL DESEG

Cherry Called to Capital

AC 5/12/66

By ART PINE

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe called DeKalb School Supt. Jim Cherry late Wednesday morning and invited him to an 8:30 a.m. conference next Monday to discuss their differences over DeKalb's degree of compliance with federal desegregation guidelines.

Spokesmen for both officials confirmed Wednesday that Cherry has agreed to travel to Washington for the meeting.

The conference was arranged by Fourth District Rep. James A. Mackay, whose staff had spent more than a week trying to get the two men together.

MAY 2 TELEGRAM

Mackey blamed the whole dispute on "a lack of adequate communication between federal and state officials."

Cherry did not reply to a May 2 telegram from federal compliance officer W. Stanley Kruger asking for an "immediate explanation" for DeKalb's alleged deviation from federal rules.

And Kruger, while not talking to Cherry personally, issued statements to the press blasting the school administration—an action that prompted Cherry to demand to speak with Howe directly.

Mackay said he told the commissioner he thought "a telegram is a rather short means of dealing with so complex a subject as this one—especially in this age of long-distance calls and airplanes."

AC 5/12/66

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RAPS "ABRUPTNESS"

The congressman also criticized what he called "Kruger's abruptness with many people, which has created hard feelings not only in our district, but in other districts in Georgia."

He said Kruger had promised him last weekk that he would see Cherry this past weekend while he was attending a National Education Association convention in Atlanta, but there was no meeting.

"I was rather disappointed when I found that out Monday morning," Mackay said.

Kruger told The Constitution earlier that he had tried to call Cherry once over the weekend, but could not reach him. "I was tied up with the conference the rest of the time," he said.

BOTH CONFIDENT

Mackay and Cherry both said they were sure "evrything will be worked out" at Monday's conference. Howe was not available for comment.

The Office of Education maintains that DeKalb, which formally reassigned all first- and eight-graders by geographcial attendance zones in 1965, should have done the same thing for pupils in all other grades this year before sending out 70,000 "free-transfer" blanks May 3.

Cherry says the administration sent out so much publicity about attendance zones in 1965 that it in effect fulfilled the requirements for all 12 grades.

Kruger alleges that DeKalb's procedure forces Negro children to take the initiative in transferring to previously all-white schools, and that under such circumstances they are usually reluctant to do so.

The Office of Education, in enforcing the guidelines, is seeking complete desegregation in DeKalb—in effect, compliance with "the spirit of the law," as Kruger put it.

18 Southern Senators Urge Johnson to Void New School Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 5/14/66

Russell Writes Letter Calling Rules Unlawful

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Eighteen Southern Democratic senators have sent a letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson, asking him to use his executive powers to revoke new school desegregation guidelines issued by the U.S. Office of Education.

The previously unpublicized letter was written by Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, leader of the Southern bloc in civil rights affairs.

Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss., a signer, passed around the letter for signatures. Among the signers was Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge.

QUESTION AUTHORITY

Although none of the senators made the letter public, The Constitution was informed that the Southerners argued that the 1964 Civil Rights Act did not provide legal authority for the regulations.

The long letter requested President Johnson to make a a personal investigation of the guidelines and the law on which the Office of Education based the regulations.

The letter expressed confidence on the part of the Southerners that such an examination of the law and the guidelines would reveal to the President that the regulations were not supported by the 1964 act.

PERSONAL INTERVENTION

Johnson was asked to intervene personally to prevent implementation of the guidelines.

The Office of Education has said new federal funds are being deferred for Southern school systems which, by May 6, had not signed an agreement to comply with the regulations.

All but a few hundred of the nearly 2,000 school systems operating under gradual desegregation plans signed the compliance agreement. Some of the districts which signed the form attached special stipulations, and many are expected to be unacceptable to federal education officials.

The letter sent to President Johnson quoted Vice President Hubert Humphrey, floor manager of the 1964 Civil Rights Act while he was still a member of the Senate, to support the South-

Continued on Page 9, Column 5

Southerners Ask Guideline Voiding

Continued from Page 1

ern contention that the guidelines not only violate the actual intent of the law but the spirit of it.

Humphrey was quoted as saying during Senate debate on the 1964 act that the legislation would not require racial balance in public classrooms.

The Southerners told the President that their states had tried to follow the law, but the Office of Education had gone beyond that point in issuance of the guidelines.

The letter, dated early in May, was delivered to President Johnson this week. There is no indication that Johnson has sent a reply.

Other senators signing the letter were from Virginia, North and South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Talmadge Silent on Plea For LBJ to Revoke Guides

WASHINGTON, May 14 (UPI) — Eighteen southern senators have sent a personal plea to President Johnson that he nullify school desegregation guidelines that confront noncomplying school districts with a cut off of federal funds.

A copy of the "most solemn petition" dated May 2 was made available to newsmen Saturday, a day after John W. Gardner, secretary of health, education and welfare, announced he was ending federal aid in 12 districts in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

The letter to the President said: "We come to you as chief executive of the nation to protest vigorously the abuse of power involved in the bureaucratic imposition of the guidelines and we earnestly beseech your personal intervention to right this wrong and have this order revoked."

In Atlanta, Sen. Herman Talmadge declined to comment on the letter, saying, "I never comment on my communications with the President of the United States." Sen. Talmadge, who even declined comment on whether or not he signed the letter, said his views on the guidelines are well-known.

THE PETITION was said to have been drafted by Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., veteran leader of the southern bloc and a long-time personal friend of the President.

The revised guidelines were issued in March under authority of the 1964 civil rights law. Failure of schools to take definite steps to integrate can result in withdrawal of federal aid.

The 18 senators from nine states wrote Johnson: "In our efforts to protect our schools and the children who direct the destinies of our states tomorrow, we earnestly appeal to you to intervene and prevent illegal, unfair and unrealistic action by the office of education."

They said they are not appealing as "a token protest entered for political purposes" but as a matter of deep principle.

The southerners noted that many school districts in their states had sought to take initial steps toward desegregation and said "it would be little short of criminal" to undo these efforts towards compliance.

They also said the new guidelines would victimize the children of both races and in some of the poorest communities in the South.

The petition said: "Not only do the announced regulations put an unfair, if not impossible, burden on local officials but in those instances where those officials simply cannot enforce the guidelines, the principal victims will be the children of all races in the schools who stand in the greatest need of adequate financing."

It noted Johnson's often proclaimed interest in education "particularly in assisting the underpriviledged."

"But I am sure," the letter said, "that you will agree that the withdrawal of school funds from communities that are less favored financially will victimize children who are most in need of an education."

Signers were Russell and Sens. John C. Stennis, D-Miss.; Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C.; Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.; B. Everett Jordan, D-N.C.; Donald Russell, D-S.C.; Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.; John L. McClellan, D-Ark.; Spessard L. Holland, D-Fla.; Lister Hill, D-Ala.; J. William Fulbright, D-Ark.; Harry F. Byrd Jr., D-Va.; George A. Smathers, D-Fla.; James O. Eastland, D-Miss.; Allen J. Ellender, D-La.; Russell B. Long, D-La., and John Sparkman, D-Ala.

Dixie Solons Hit On Guides Action

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 5/15/64

By ANN CARTER

Atlanta vice mayor Sam Massell, at a meeting of 600 Negro and white educators, has criticized a group of top Southern legislators who are seeking to revoke desegregation guidelines.

"Take back to your respective communities a word of caution," he told the delegates Saturday at the Biltmore Hotel, "that no one be misled in thinking that 18 senators standing in the schoolhouse door will in any way change the end result —the enforcement of federal law . . ."

Mr. Massell, acting chairman of the Georgia State Advisory Committee, was acting as moderator for a one-day conference on Education Desegregation sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The purpose was to discuss the controversial revised set of rules covering school desegregation which came in March from the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

IN HIS COMMENTS, Mr. Massell referred to reports released late this week that 18 senators, including Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge of Georgia, have asked President Johnson to revoke or investigate the new guidelines.

Keynote speaker for the meeting was Mrs. Ruby G. Martin, a civil rights worker with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

She said the guidelines took "months of preparation based on court decisions."

Of the new guidelines, probably the most controversial is the one requiring desegregation of school faculties.

Mrs. Martin said the guidelines don't set a formula or say who must be hired and fired. They only request that the best qualified person — not the race —be considered.

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, associate administrator of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, said he felt mixing white and Negro teachers in the same school would be the biggest problem.

Changing to integrated faculties "hits at the heart of school desegregation," he said. "Some people fear it because of the image developed: that Negro teachers are inferior to white teachers.

"BUT IF A NEGRO teacher is not qualified to teach white pupils then he's not qualified to teach Negro pupils," Dr. Cothran declared.

Howard Moore Jr., an Atlanta Negro attorney, said that everyone seems to "loose sight of the fact that schooling has to do with people.

"In the South we see education in terms of black and white . . . not the sharing of nuances, irony or the sense of communication."

Mr. Moore said that Atlanta city schools need not comply with the new guidelines since schools here are integrated by means of a court order forming its own guidelines.

But W. Stanley Kruger, director of Area II of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, said that the Justice Department is seeking ways to modify and up-date existing court desegregation orders.

Mr. Kruger also explained that the new guidelines were compiled "to amend loopholes that escaped detection (in former guildelines) last year.

Comply With Guides, DeKalb Board Urged

SCHOOL DESEG

5/15/64

The DeKalb branch of the NAACP has urged the DeKalb Board of Education to comply with federal school guidelines by abandoning its freedom-of-choice policy and assigning students to schools in attendance zones.

In a letter to Supt. Jim Cherry, Charles E. Price, DeKalb NAACP president, said, "The time has come to transfer this burden of choice which lay heavy on the shoulders of the parents and students to the Board of Education which is better prepared to carry it."

The letter read "The assignment policy will accomplish the stated objectives of school desegregation immediately. Our experience with freedom of choice left much to be desired."

SUPT. CHERRY, who has been embroiled in a controversy over DeKalb's compliance with the new desegregation guidelines, is due to meet in Washington Monday with U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe.

In meeting with Mr. Howe, on the matter, Mr. Cherry, in effect, will be going over the head of the local federal compliance officer, W. Stanley Kruger, who has charged that DeKalb has deviated from its approved plan. He has charged that DeKalb is not assigning students to schools in geographic zones.

DeKalb does operate on a plan similar to assignment by zone, but not completely so. Although children may apply for transfers, they are not assigned to any particular school. Mr. Cherry is known to oppose any "forcing of Negro students to attend previously white schools."

Throw Out U.S. Guidelines, Byrd Asks Georgia Court

SCHOOL DESEG.

COLUMBUS, Ga. (AP)—Former Lt. Gov. Garland T. Byrd says the 1966 federal school desegregation guidelines clash with the 1964 Civil Rights Act and has asked a state court to bar their use.

In a suit filed Friday with Superior Court Judge John H. Land, the Reynolds attorney asked injunctions against the federal government, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the school board of his home county, Taylor.

Byrd said Friday he resigned two weeks ago his position as Taylor County Attorney to block possible countersuit by the federal government.

Byrd said as a gesture of compliance with the guidelines the Taylor board ordered six Negro pupils to the formerly all-white high school in addition to the two Negro pupils already registered there under a freedom of choice plan.

He said W. Stanley Kruger of HEW had indicated to the board that a transfer of 10 per cent of the country's Negro high school pupils — or about 75 pupils—would be satisfactory, and that the system faced loss of federal funds if it did not comply.

Charging the six Negro pupils were assigned against their will, Byrd said the move discriminated against the six and against white pupils as well.

He quoted Title IV of the Civil Rights Act as saying "desegregation does not mean assignment of students to public schools to overcome racial imbalance."

The suit asks that the Taylor school board be enjoined from carrying out "the proposed plan of desegregation in the two high schools of Taylor County," that HEW be barred from giving the board orders and that the government be prevented from withholding federal funds.

Land scheduled a preliminary hearing for June 3 at Columbus, and said he would hear the case unless the federal government acts to remove it to a federal court. Byrd said he fully expects the government to do so.

Byrd admitted there is a possibility the county could lose its federal aid, saying, "I'd rather have a second-rate system without federal funds than a 10th-rate and unworkable system" under the guidelines.

SCHOOLS STUDIED ON DE FACTO ISSUE

SCHOOL DESEG

Rights Commission Names Panel of 14 for Inquiry

NYT 5/22/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21—The United States Commission on Civil Rights announced today the appointment of 13 educators and a businessman to direct a study of de facto segregation in public schools.

The study, ordered last November by President Johnson, is expected to determine what the Administration will do about what Mr. Johnson has called "racial isolation" in classrooms where there is no official policy of segregation.

The Office of Education is attempting to achieve some progress toward racial balance in Southern districts that have maintained a dual system through official policy. This is being done under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is intended to ban racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

However, plans to use Title VI in districts outside the South have been abandoned on the ground that such action cannot be legally maintained where there is no clear proof that officials intended to discriminate.

Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the commission, who is president of Michigan State University, said that Dr. Thomas B. Pettigrew, associate professor of social psychology at Harvard University, would be chief consultant for the project and chairman of the civilian advisory committee.

Dr. Pettigrew will have chief responsibility for developing the study and supervising the project. His view of the problem is well known. In a position paper submitted to a White House conference on education last year, he wrote:

"The blunt truth is that 'Negro education' is generally grossly inferior to 'white education' in both the North and South; it typically involves less expenditure per child, less trained and experienced teachers, and less adequate facilities; and it often prepares Negro youth through both its explicit and implicit curricula to assume only low-skilled employment."

Others named to the panel are:

Samuel Brownell, Superintendent of Schools, Detroit

Benjamin E. Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Chattanooga

Kenneth B. Clark, director, Social Dynamics Research Institute, City College, New York

James Coleman, professor of social relations, John Hopkins University

Rashi Fein, economist, the Brookings Institute, Washington

John H. Fisher, president of Teachers College, Columbia University

Philip N. Hauser, director, University of Chicago's Population Research and Training Center

Vivian Henderson, president, Clark College, Atlanta

Peter Rossi, director, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago

Judson Shaplen, dean, Graduate School of Education, Washington University, St. Louis

Neil V. Sullivan, Superintendent of Schools, Berkley, Calif.

John A. Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.

Robin Williams, professor of sociology, Cornell University.

Although it has been six months since the president ordered the study, little has been done about it pending the appropriation of funds. Last week, Congress voted $399,000 for the study for the fiscal year 1966, which ends June 30. The commission has requested an additional $658,000 for the study for the fiscal year 1967.

Dr. Hannah said the study would determine the extent of racial isolation in schools and its effect on children. It will aso examine the structural patterns of the racial make-up of schools and its relationship to housing and employment, as well as legal questions involved in the use of Federal funds.

In a letter to the commission last Nov. 1, Mr. Johnson said:

"I trust that the task can be completed expeditiously and that your findings may provide a basis for action not only by the Federal Government but also by the states and local school boards which bear the direct responsibility for assuming quality education."

 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

South Intensifies Resistance to U.S. Guidelines for School Integration

BY GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 22—Scores, perhaps hundreds, of Southern school districts appear to be headed for a showdown with the Federal Government over its new guidelines for school desegregation.

Although the deadline for filing compliance agreements for the 1966-67 school year fell two weeks ago, about 135 systems still refuse to submit them as the first step toward meeting government demands.

This is twice as many "holdouts" as in the current school year. Yet, it is only a partial picture of resistance in the South. Many more school systems—40 in Georgia alone—have submitted agreements, but attached conditions to them that fall short of full compliance.

And even among the school districts that have signed compliance forms without reservations, there remains hope that they can do less than what the Government is demanding — a "substantial start" toward abolishing the dual school system in the South.

Rights Act Challenged

All this is an open challenge to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and it means that the Government must either soften its demands or cut off Federal school aid in the South on a far greater scale than it has yet contemplated.

Civil rights and human relations organizations are becoming concerned that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the school provisions of the rights act, is giving way to Southern pressure.

Department officials deny the charge and say that they are not pessimistic about compliance, but they acknowledge that pressure against them is increasing.

This month alone, 18 Southern Senators wrote to President Johnson urging that he modify the guidelines on faculty desegregation and pupil integration.

And in Alabama, Gov. George C. Wallace sumoned the state's entire Congressional delegation to the state capital to urge other Southern Governors and local school systes to stand firm against the guidelines.

During the current school year, the number of Negroes attending classes with whites in the South climbed from 2.3 per cent of the total Negro student population to about 6 per cent in the South's 1,942 school districts. But in Mississippi and Alabama, the figure remained below 1 per cent.

This brought sharp criticism from civil rights organizations. Subsequently the education office devised a 10-page set of guidelines in which it said Southern schools would have to desegregate faculties "substantially" and increase the number of Negro students in classes with whites.

At first there was little reaction, but as Southern whites realized that the office wanted to ultimately abolish dual school systems the resistance grew.

"A great many communities last year accepted the notion of having a few Negro children in white schools," said David S. Seeley, assistant United States commissioner of education.

"But the notion that the Negro and white schools will eventually disappear—that we'll just have public schools — is not yet accepted," he said.

Many school officials complain that, despite the assault on the South's dual school systems, the Government is doing little to end de facto segregation in the North.

And Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina and other Southern Senators are contending that the guidelines are illegal because they violate a section of the Civil Rights Act that says "racial balance" shall not be required in schools.

Federal school officials, however, hope that the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit will strengthen their position. In New Orleans on Tuesday the full nine-member court will hear a Justice Department appeal for uniform guidelines for school districts that are under court order to desegregate.

Some court-ordered plans now are less strict than the Office of Education guidelines, according to civil rights organizations, and thus make it advantageous for school systems to refuse to desegregate voluntarily.

Meanwhile, resistance to the Office of Education guidelines has spread to many school officials who supported the office's demands during the current school year.

In Alabama, for example, State Superintendent Austin R. Meadows defied Governor Wallace last year and worked with local school systems t bring about compliance. But this year, he is one of the office's bitterest critics, contending that the guidelines would "destroy local self-government of education."

In North Carolina, where many school superintendents complied cheerfully last yeafr, a Federal official reduced superintendents to laughter at a recent meeting by suggesting:

"If I were a superintendent, I would try to get some help from the P. T. A. [in building support for the guidelines]."

The superintendents said that many white parents were rebelling at the thought of Negro teachers for their students and the merging of white and Negro school systems.

And in Greenville, Miss., which has had the reputation of being one of the state's most moderate cities on race, the school board had voted not to comply with the new guidelines.

Office Is Criticized

"I get the feeling from reading the directives and listening to the Government representatives that they look on teachers as 'checkers' who can be moved around and assigned to any school regardless of criteria," the Southern Education Reporting Service quoted Superintendent Ben L. Bryan of St. Lucie County, Fla., as saying.

In trying to allay the criticism of state and local schoo officials, Federal officials have stirred criticism of themselves.

After a meeting in which Commissioner of Education Harold Howe 2d explained that the guidelines werre "flexible," State Superintendent Jack Nix of Georgia announced that the new guidelines would be easier "to live with" than he had initially thought.

This brought charges from the Southern Regional Council, a human relations and research organization, that Mr. Howe's office appeared to be "backing down."

Paul Anthony, the council's director, says the office brought problems on itself by accepting "only paper compliance from many school boards last year."

He said some school superintendents acted in "good faith" and sharply increased desegregation, only to discover that a neighboring county "had done very little and had gotten by with it."

The council also has expressed disappointment that Federal aid has been cut off to just 12 school districts for failure to comply with the current year's desegregation program. Under the Civil Rights Act, Federal funds can be denied any school district that does not desegregate.

The Office of Education says it is not "overly disappointed" that there are 135 holdouts, adding that the "real test" will come this summer. The office starts examining desegregation plans then to determine if "a substantial start" will be made.

HEARING ENDS

SCHOOL DESEG.

Uniform mix rules foreseen

BN 5/26/66

BY JAMES CHISUM, News staff writer

NEW ORLEANS, May 26—A U. S. Court of Appeals appears likely to adopt a uniform model for court desegregation of Southern schools. Comments from the judges on the bench indicate they think that some sort of uniformity is desirable.

The decree probably will follow fairly closely guidelines for voluntary desegregation established by the U. S. Office of Education.

But it is doubtful that the decree will move as fast and as far to integrate the schools as civil rights forces would like.

A Justice Department attorney Wednesday rebuffed a CORE appeal to dump "freedom of choice" plans for desegregation.

THE APPEAL came during hearings in which the Justice Department had asked the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals for a uniform decree. The uniform decree submitted by the Justice Department was concerned with the carrying out of freedom of choice plans.

David Norman, the Justice Department attorney, said such plans are recognized as "transitional."

"Our position today is that there's still going to be some kind of transition period, and therefore we do not talk about instantaneous integration," he said.

Instead, said Norman, the Justice Department is concerned more with the procedure of changing a school district from segregated to desegregated.

"WE'VE COME a long way, and we're going to speed it up," he said. The attorney said the deparment's policy has been that if a desegregation plan is to "lean on the student" (require the student to make the effort to go to a white school) it will be "ringed with all kinds of restrictions."

Before Norman's remarks, CORE lawyer Carl Rachlin asked the court to reassess freedom of choice desegregation plans and reject them. Experience has shown they don't result in desegregated schools, he said. He also declared the Justice Department's proposed decree is insufficient.

Turn to Page 8, Column 6

Mix

From Page 1

"They mean well. But they're not looking at reality," said Rachlin.

Norman agreed that freedom of choice plans, adopted by nearly all Southern school districts facing desegregation, allow a delay in integration of the schools. But the courts have agreed to a transition period, he said.

"IF THERE'S no longer to be a transitional period, then the courts should say so." he said.

The Justice Department's proposed decree and the Office of Education guidelines indicate at least some difference on the point of whether the results of desegregation plans are to be considered during the transition period.

The guidelines include statistics which the Office of Education said will be used to measure the effectiveness of desegregation plans.

The Justice Department's decree doesn't include the suggested proportion of teachers and students which should be in a desegregated system this year.

Rachlin spoke as a representative of Negro school children in the Jackson Parrish, La., school system. Others included in the two-day hearing were Jefferson County, Fairfield and Bessemer, Ala., and Caddo, Bossier, and Claiborne Parrishes in Louisiana and Clarksdale, Miss.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT and NAACP lawyers and others representing plaintiffs during the two-day hearing argued that extremely small numbers of Negro students enrolled in formerly all-white schools prove that desegregation plans must be altered.

A Louisiana legislator, representing Bossier Parrish, Wednesday said even small amount of integration there is significant.

"I know we shouldn't have the Ku Klux Klan and all that, Judge, but I'm facing reality... You've got a hundred years of tradition. When 31 students break across that barrier, that's significant," he said.

The attorney also pointed out that the systems in the state are already encountering difficulty in obtaining teachers, especially with desegregation of school staffs coming.

"YOU CAN'T order effective faculty desegregation. These people don't have to teach," he said. He suggested that the court "stay out" of faculty desegregation.

"It has to get in it. So just forget that argument," commented Judge John Minor Wisdom of New Orleans, one of three judges on the panel conducting the hearing. The others are Judge Home Thornberry of Texas and Judge Harold Cox of Mississippi.

Judge Wisdom on several occasions indicated a belief that "freedom of choice" plans of desegregation are inefficient in operation of a school system.

"It is difficult for me to understand why a Southern school district would prefer a freedom of choice plan over zoning except as a means of avoiding integration," he said.

There were indications that the court would prefer the Justice Department to go further than it did in the proposed decree. At one point, Judge Wisdom suggested to a Justice Department attorney that he submit supplements covering special classes for retarded children and kindergarten.

The court asked that supplementary briefs be mailed to all nine members of the federal Court of Appeals. This action and comments from the bench indicated a ruling may not come for some time.

SCHOOL DESEG

Court to Test Guidelines This Week

AS 6/23/66

NEW ORLEANS (UPI)—The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals will hear arguments this week for and against a sweeping Justice Department proposal that could end public school desegregation in the Deep South by next fall.

The government wants the court to adopt Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines for school desegregation, which call for total integration by 1967.

The court to a great extent already has used HEW guidelines in deciding its case, but the timetable has varied.

Eleven school boards in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia are defendants in the department's effort to speed up desegregation. All are desegregated or under court order to do so. But government attorneys and Negroes feel the pace has been slow.

The court's decision will be used as a guide by district courts in the four states plus Texas, Florida and the Panama Canal Zone, which comprise the 5th Circuit.

A three-judge panel will hear Tuesday the cases of the cities of Fairfield and Bessemer, Ala.; Jefferson County, Ala.; East Baton Rouge Parish, La., and the city of Monroe, La., Tuesday.

Wednesday, it will be Caddo, Bossier, Jackson and Claiborne parishes, La.; Richmond County, Ga., and Clarksdale, Miss.

Taliaferro Okayed on Integration

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 6/24/66

AUGUSTA, Ga. (UPI)—U. S. District Court Monday relieved State School Supt. Jack Nix as receiver of the Taliaferro County school syste mand agreed to a Taliaferro plan for complete school integration.

Jack Nix

The court also strongly chided the U.S. Office of Education for its refusal to grant funds for remedial work with Taliaferro Negro students.

"This is a small school system in a place far remote from Washington, and the court does not know why these funds have been withheld...," the court opinion read, adding that the Taliaferro students are being "irreparably hurt" by the lack of remedial opportunities.

The court based its dismissal of Nix as receiver on the fact that the Taliaferro County Board of Education had agreed to integrate completely its school system by opening only one high school and one elementary school for both Negro and white pupils.

All except one Negro school was closed down in Taliaferro County last fall when all white students transferred to neighboring Warren, Wilkes and Greene counties to avoid integration.

The court praised Nix, saying that he "has done all that he can possibly do toward carrying out the order of the court."

In a brief filed earlier with the court, Nix pointed out that Negro Taliaferro transfers were "earning considerably lower grades and have a much higher rate of failure than the white students." He told the court that federal remedial funds were denied for work with these Negro pupils.

COURT RULE ASKED FOR SCHOOL CASES

SCHOOL DESEG

U.S. Seeks Standard Guide for Southern Integration

NYT 5/25/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

NEW ORLEANS, May 24 — A three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals began hearing today a petition by the Department of Justice for a uniform decree to speed school desegregation in many Southern school systems.

It also heard arguments from lawyers for Negro plaintiffs that the petition did not go far enough.

Federal courts should require boards to desegregate student bodies by geographic zoning and to desegregate faculties through specific policies. The building of all-white and all-Negro schools should also be stopped, the lawyers said.

The hearing, which will continue through tomorrow, amounted almost to a seminar on how to abolish school segregation in the South.

Lawyers for 12 Alabama and Louisiana school districts listened with plain dismay. They argued that present desgregation plans were working splendidly and should not be tampered with. Some of the lawyers argued only a few years ago that no desegregation at all should be imposed on their districts.

The Justice Department had intervened in cases involving seven of the 12 districts to ask for a uniform desegration decree. There is a gap between some court-ordered plans and those put forth by executive policy and more advanced judicial policy.

The department wants the judges to set up a model decree based on the 1966 desegregation guidelines of the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Lawyers for some of the school boards suggested rather pointedly that the court would be abdicating its judicial responsibility if it simply adopted the guidelines.

The department lawyers denied it.

"We are asking the court," said David Norman, an attorney in the department's Civil Rights Division, "to look at what's sensible in the H.E.W. guidelines and require school boards to use them."

The cases, which involve all the school suits pending in the Fifth Circuit, are being heard by Judges John Minor Wisdom of New Orleans and Homer Thornberry of Austin, Tex., both of the Fifth Circuit, and District Judge Harold Cox of Jackson, Miss. Judge Cox is sitting temporarily on the court because of vacancies there.

The department wants the court to require all school districts that are desegregating under court orders to follow the so-called freedom of choice plans that most Southern districts are using.

In theory, freedom of choice means that a student can go to any school he wishes.

However, lawyers for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., argued today, as they have in the past, that freedom of choice does not work.

The plan puts the burden for desegregation on Negro students and parents, who are susceptible to intimidation, they contended.

Norman C. Amaker of New York, a lawyer for the fund, said:

"No reasonable man can expect them [Negroes] to apply in large numbers when the Klan is standing around trying to check the choice."

Mr. Amaker suggested that pupils be assigned to the schools nearest their homes, using attendance zones. He also suggested that school boards be required to fill all teacher vacancies with members of the other race until faculties are desegregated.

He said construction plans should be reviewed by district courts to stop the building of new schools for all-white and all-Negro populations.

William Q. Keenan of White Plains, N. Y., an attorney retained by the Congress of Racial Equality in a lawsuit against the school district of Monroe, La., asked the court to order a racial balance in the Monroe schools. That is the only way to assure equality of education he said.

He said free choice was not enough because of community pressures. Monroe, with a freedom-of-choice plan, has only five or six Negroes in previously all-white schools, he said.

"The school board gives white children a good education whether they want it or not." Mr. Keenan said. "It should do the same for Negroes."

The Justice Department petition made no specific recommendations on faculty desegregation, asking only for a general order removing race or color as a factor in hiring, assignment, promotion and dismissal.

The petition omitted one controversial section of the Office of Education guidelines. It said that a district was expected to double its percentage of Negroes in formerly all-white schools during the coming school year.

The Birmingham News Thursday, May 26, 1966

SECOND FRONT page

A Point of View

Dan Dowe

SCHOOL DESEG.

BN 5/26/66

NOT SAME TO ALL PEOPLE

Guidelines prompt different reactions

MONTGOMERY, May 26 — Like most issues, the problem of school desegregation guidelines means different things to different people.

To city and county educational officials, they represent the frustration of attempting to satisfy conflicting interests at the local and state level on the one hand, and at the federal level on the other—and still come up with something that will qualify for continued U. S. funds.

To many legal minds in the South, the new guidelines—especially those calling for faculty desegregation and a racial quota system of pupil assignment—represent a violation of specific prohibitions against such actions in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

STATE EDUCATIONAL officials fear the regulations adopted this year by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare will mean the end of Alabama's local school systems, since they take away the power of local boards to hire and assign teachers.

And to a once-removed gubernatorial candidate named George C. Wallace, the 1966 HEW guidelines have become a prime political issue that will keep things lively between now and the November general election.

Word has quietly filtered down from Washington that political motivations also exist at the national level—there will be no official backdown on the guidelines for fear of offending the Negro vote.

ON THE OTHER hand, Alabama officials both in Montgomery and Washington believe the new regulations will not be rigidly enforced, especially the two sections most objectionable to Alabama and other southern states.

At least one veteran member of the Alabama congressional delegation has sent word that school systems will continue to receive federal funds if they file Civil Rights Act compliance forms which omit the requirements for faculty desegregation and the quota system on pupil assignment.

However, some Alabama officials are warning that approval of the modified guidelines won't come immediately. They expect the U. S. Office of Education to voice loud threats that funds will be cut off unless faculties are desegregated, then quietly subside without taking punitive action against systems which have already made starts at desegregation of students.

Included in that category, according to State Superintendent of Education Austin R. Meadows, are 115 of Alabama's 118 school systems.

"AS FAR AS we know," Meadows said Wednesday, "the only systems not in compliance at present are Bibb County, Tarrant City, and Mountain Brook. Furthermore, Tarrant City and Mountain Brook didn't even attempt to qualify. They are not interested in federal funds."

The other Alabama school systems are either desegregating under court order or began permitting members of both races in their classrooms last fall under the 1965 HEW guidelines, or agreed to do so.

Most of the 115 systems which are currently receiving federal funds allowed Negroes to enter formerly white schools on a freedom of choice plan.

The proposals they submitted last fall call for further desegregation during the next school year, but don't include faculties.

WALLACE BACKED IN SCHOOL BATTLE

SCHOOL DESEG.

Alabama College Heads Help Fight U.S. Integration Plan

NYT 6/4/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 3 (UPI) — Eighteen university and college presidents of Alabama met with Gov. George C. Wallace today and endorsed his opposition to the Federal Government's school desegregation guidelines.

A statement, issued after the closed conference, urged resistance to the guidelines and said that the educators "are shocked and amazed by the illegal guidelines proposed by the (Federal) Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

Another meeting, between Mr. Wallace and superintendents of county and city boards of education, was called by the Governor for Monday. The president of Auburn University and the vice president of the University of Alabama met with Mr. Wallace earlier as did members of Alabama's Congressional delegation.

"These illegal guidelines, which go far beyond the letter and spirit of the law," the statement said, "Threaten the ultimate destruction of the public education system of the state of Alabama and the nation and are a further attack on states rights and local government by an irresponsible federal bureaucracy.

Opposition Advocated

"We go on record as opposing the so-called guidelines and urge all public officials who are affected in any way by this threat to our educational system to use every method at their disposal within the law to fight against attempted encroachment on the basic right of the people of Alabama and the United States to operate their own public school systems.

"We feel that these guidelines pose a very serious threat to academic freedom, as well as to the freedom of the individual."

The statement was signed by:

Dr. Houston Colege of Jacksonville State College.
Dr. John Deloney of Livingston State College.
Dr. D. P. Culp of Alabama College.
Dr. Ralph W. Adams of Troy State College.
Dr. E. B. Norton of Forence State College.
Dr. Fred Whiddon of the University of South Alabama.
W. Byron Causey of Alexander City State Junior College.
B. A. Forrester of Entreprise State Junior College.
James A. Glasgow of Northwest Alabama State Junior College.
Dr. Lathemn Sibert of William Lowndes Yancey State Junior College.
George H. Grimsley of George C. Wallace State Technical Junior College.
B. E. Lee of Patrick Henry State Jun College.
Woodfin Patterson of Jefferson Davis St Junior College.
Dr. E. R. Knox of Northeast State Junio College.
Dr. Carlton Kelley of John C. Calhoun Technical Junior College.
Dr. Walter A. Graham of Southern Union State Junior College.
Dr. Leroy Brown of Jefferson State Junior College.
A. D. Naylor of Gadsden State Technical Junior College.

Private Schools Checked

SCHOOL DESEG.

Jackson Clarion Ledger 6/3/66

McCOMB — A team of Justice Department investigators took depositions Friday about operation of a McComb area private school in a lawsuit filed by Mississippi Negroes.

Harry L. Marsalis, treasurer, and Harold A. Thompson, chairman of the board of directors of Southwest Mississippi Christian Academy near McComb were interrogated.

Lawyers on the opposite side from the federal attorneys were Earl Thomas of Jackson and Hardy Lott of Greenwood. Associated with them in the statewide case, but not present at the McComb hearing, is Semmes Luckett of Clarksdale.

Lot said the deposition hearing resulted from a plea by Mississippi Negroes for the federal court to enjoin Mississippi from paying tuition grants to parents of children attending numerous white private schools in the state. The Delta lawyer said the government intervened to handle the Negroes case Lott. Thomas and Luckett were employed as counsel for the several private white schools involved in the lawsuit.

Opening questions to Marsalis and Thompson, whose depositions were taken simultantaneuosly, related to any possible connection between what the federal lawyer called "the White Citizens Council" and

Continued On Page 8

SCHOOLS

Continued From Page 1

the private school at McComb. Both Thompson and Marsalis identified themselves as members of the Citizens Council.

When they were asked "What part, if any, did the Citizens Council play in forming the Southwest Mississippi Christian Academy?" both replied, "None at all."

Counties Lose Federal Funds

SCHOOL DESEG.

6/5/66 AJ

3 Georgia Systems, 15 Others Failed to Comply with Guidelines

The U.S. Office of Education announced Saturday it will move to cut off federal funds to three Georgia school districts for failure to comply with desegregation guidelines.

The action, affecting Sumter, Camden and Seminole counties, is the first under the tough new desegregation guidelines issued last March.

Education officials in each of the three counties indicated Saturday night they would not seek to comply with the new regulations and were willing to forgo a total of about $500,000 in federal financing.

At the same time the Office of Education said it will seek to stop the flow of federal dollars to 15 other school districts in Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

In addition, Harold Howe II, U.S. commissioner of education, sent a stiff telegram to Alabama's superintendent of education warning that the state will lose more federal education funds if school districts withdraw their voluntary assurances of compliance.

MR. HOWE said, "It has come to my attention that school districts in Alabama are being urged by state officials to withdraw voluntary compliance assurances . . ." If this is done, Mr. Howe asserted, "districts which are not in compliance will have federal funds for new projects deferred."

None of the boards of education in the three Georgia counties have signed Form 441B, the certification of intent to comply with the new guidelines.

"We feel that we are in compliance as much as anyone else in Georgia," said Sumter County School Supt. Edward N. Bailey. The county board has approved a freedom of choice plan.

Although Sumter schools were not desegregated this year, Mr. Bailey said a "good number" of pupils have been accepted for transfer next September, including Negro youths seeking transfer to previously all-white schools.

"In my conversations with Washington they keep bugging us with percentages," the Sumter superintendent added. "The figure 10 per cent keeps coming up and this is why we haven't signed."

"WE FEEL that the guidelines go farther than the law requires," Mr. Bailey asserted. "We don't think percentages should enter into it in any way whatsoever."

The loss of funds could amount to approximately $300,000 in the 1966-67 school year, the Sumter

Turn to Page 16, Column 3

COUNTIES

Continued from Page 1

official said. "We have already tentatively approved a budget for next year that did not include federal funds in it," he commented. Mr. Bailey said he could not say how many Sumter students have applied for transfers because "Washington has said they didn't want these numbers divulged to the press."

Seminole School Supt. N. P. Malcom said he had the same troubles with Office of Education statements about a quota of 10 per cent desegregated classroom attendance next year.

The Seminole County Board of Education did not sign the compliance form because "we knew 10 per cent here was impossible unless you had forced integration, and our board is not going to have anything to do with forced integration."

FREEDOM of choice in selecting schools was offered for the last two school years, but there was no desegregation in Seminole, Mr. Malcom stated.

If the federal allotment for 1966-67 was to have been in the same proportion as this year, the county stands to lose about $200,000, Mr. Malcom added.

"I've been working on that budget (for next year) this week," the Seminole superintendent stated. "The budget is not complete, but we are not counting on federal funds."

Dr. A. J. Bauknecht, chairman of the Camden County Board of Education, said Saturday night his group has made "no attempt" to comply with the new guidelines.

The board has met several times to discuss the compliance issue, but has never taken a vote, Dr. Bauknecht said.

"I believe it was the board's consensus that we were in compliance last year in a legal response to the civil rights law," the Camden board chairman commented.

Four Negro students attended Camden County High during the 1965-66 school year under a freedom of choice plan.

Camden stands to lose some $4,000 in salary funds and approximately $90,000 in other aid programs, Dr. Bauknecht said. "The board meets again Tuesday, but I doubt if there will be much progress (on compliance)," he added.

SO FAR 42 Southern school districts have lost federal funds because they did not comply with desegregation guidelines.

SCHOOL DESEG.

U.S. Education Office Violates Law, Nix Says

AC 6/11/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Office of Education is operating "in flagrant violation" of the law and is using "federal policemen to badger boards of education with a multiplicity of ambiguous guidelines," Georgia school Supt. Jack Nix charged Friday.

Nix testified before a Senate subcommittee, headed by Sen. Sam Ervin, D.-N.C., which is holding hearings on the 1966 Civil Rights bill.

The state superintendent also accused the Office of Education of discriminating against children in Taliaferro County by withholding federal funds after a U.S. district court had approved a desegregation plan.

Nix, who is seeking election to his first full term as state superintendent, said, "I believe the opinion of the majority of system superintendents and boards of education in Georgia is that the desegregation guidelines recently issued by the U.S. Office of Education are outside the scope and intent of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"In fact, the requirement for racial balance in the mandatory transfer provisions are in flagrant violation of the act itself."

Nix continued, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now a fact.

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

Nix Blasts Office of Education

Continued from Page 1

Our people are gradually moving into an acceptance of its intent. Eventually, if patience is manifested, its intent and Georgia's phiolosophy of public school education can be reconciled and effectuated.

MORE WISELY

"It does seem to me, though, that if the federal government is actually interested in the instruction of children, it could more wisely spend the available money for the instruction of children rather than for federal policemen to badger boards of education with a multiplicity of ambiguous guidelines."

Nix said the Office of Education does not follow the law when it "defers" new federal funds prior to a hearing on complaints of racial discrimination against school systems.

The superintendent said the federal officials refused to approve a court-ordered desegregation plan for Taliaferro County and withheld $74,000 from the system. "It seems to me this was an act of discrimination on the part of the U.S. Office of Education against the very children who were in most need of assistance."

BACKS ERVIN

Nix endorsed amendments proposed by Sen. Ervin to prevent the federal government from withholding funds before a hearing is held and to state specifically that racial balance is not required for schools.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe have said the guidelines do not call for racial balance.

Mrs. Frankie Freeman of St. Louis, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, cited several events in Georgia school systems as reason for passage of a stronger law to prevent intimidation of Negroes as a result of school desegregation.

FOUND FEAR

Mrs. Freeman told the subcommittee that the Civil Rights Commission has found "that fear, intimidation and harassment of Negro parents are still substantial deterents to desegregation of the South."

She said, "For example, in one county in Georgia, bottles, stones, toilet paper and paint were thrown at the homes of a family whose daughter was one of the first four Negro children to attend the county high school which formerly had been all white . . ."

Mrs. Freeman added, "The mother of a Negro student who selected a white school in Sumter County, Ga., was fired from her job as a maid within 24 hours after submission of the choice form . . .

"Evictions of Negro families enrolling their children in previously all-white schools have been reported in Thomas County, Ga., and Marigold, Miss.

"Parents of such children have been reported threatened with or actually subjected to, job loss in Baker County and Waynesboro, Ga., Rolling Fork, Aguilla and West Point, Miss., and Demopolis, Ala."

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Sounds funds warning

U. S. declares it will stand by guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

B'ham NEWS 6/11/66

BY JAMES CHISUM, News staff writer

U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II today stoutly declared he will stand firm on 1966 guidelines for school desegregation.

The commissioner denied allegations that the guidelines are illegal and said they're supported well by court decisions. He also denied charges that the guidelines are intended to promote "racial balance" or to take over the authority of local school boards to hire, fire, demote or promote teachers.

Howe warned that court-ordered desegregation may result in an interruption of the flow of federal funds to a school district as well as eventual integration.

And he said the children of a state where non-compliance with the guidelines is encouraged will suffer and so would the economy of the state in the long run.

HIS VIEWS WERE revealed in a speech before educators, civil rights workers and others at Birmingham's Tutwiler Hotel. The meeting, at which Howe was the keynote speaker, was sponsored by the Alabama State Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission.

Howe received a standing ovation when he was introduced to the predominately Negro audience. An extremely small number of white school officials were present, perhaps as few as two or three superintendents. An U. S. Civil Service Commission spokesman had said earlier that 19 Alabama local school superintendents had pre-registered.

Officials said the auditorium at the Tutwiler was furnished with 1,100 seats, all of which were filled within a short time after the meeting opened.

A news conference was scheduled by Howe during the day.

"I hope that there is no misunderstanding of our position," Howe told the assembly, continuing:

"The Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Education as one of its constituent agencies, are going to adhere to the proceedings and policies established in the law.

"My staff and I regard these matters as our legal responsibility, and we have the full support of Secretary John Gardner in this view.

Turn to Page 4, Column 4

The Birmingham News

U. S. stands firm on guides; warns of funds cutoff

From Page 1

"He approves of the requirements we have set forth in the guidelines and of the activities we have devised to enforce them.

"We are seeking always to be fair and just, but we are determined also to face up to the issues squarely and to take whatever action the situation calls for.

"We deeply regret the occasional necessity of curtailing the opportunities of young people by denying federal funds to school districts which refuse to comply.

"The over-riding principle, however, is that federal funds must not be used to support discriminatory practices."

THE COMMISSIONER conceded that court cases to test the legality of the guidelines haven't yet been decided. But, he said, the department was careful to follow the law and previous court decisions in preparing them.

"Health, Education and Welfare and Justice Department lawyers meticulously studied the law and researched an array of federal court decisions.

"They agreed that the principles and procedures embraced in the guidelines were based on firm legal ground found in the Civil Rights Act, court decisions and HEW regulations. I can assure you that a great deal of competent legal thinking went into their preparation.

"Subsequently two court cases have been filed specifically testing our contention that the Office of Education

Negro and white children in any particular school.

"The phrase 'correction of racial imbalance' refers to the bussing of children from neighborhood schools which have not been officially segregated but which—because of residential patterns—are 'racially imbalanced.' The Office of Education guidelines do not bear on this situation at all," he said.

The commissioner said the guidelines don't try to usurp the personnel authority of school boards.

"Let it be absolutely clear . . . that our 1966 guidelines do not require that every school must have a bi-racial faculty by next fall.

"THEY DO not establish a fixed formula for staff desegregation, nor do they tell school administrators what people they may hire and which they may fire.

"They do say this: That all personnel decisions . . . must be made without regard to race, color or national origin except to correst past discrimination. And they say there must be real and not merely token progress in staff desegregation," he said.

The portion of the guidelines requiring staff desegregation has been attacked as contrary to a section of the Civil Rights Act which says it won't apply to certain employment practices. Howe said the guidelines require faculty desegregation as a necessary part of desegregating the entire school system and not as a device to regulate employment.

"The desegregation process must involve faculty assignments or it simply will be

# of funds cutoff

From Page 1

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"Subsequently two court cases have been filed specifically testing our contention that the Office of Education guidelines accurately reflect the law in all of its implications.

"We face these court tests with complete confidence. While they are in process, we shall continue with the policies expressed in the guidelines unless a court ruling requires otherwise," he said.

HOWE SAID THE 1966 guidelines are based on principles set forth in the 1965 guidelines, which most Alabama school systems accepted, and merely call for the "normal second step."

The commissioner said the two basic requirements of the guidelines are that desegregation plans, of whatever type, must work and that in the case of free choice plans that there indeed be a free choice.

"In the guideline requirements covering free choice plans, certain percentages are cited for the transfer of students, the purpose being to give schools a suggested standard for meeting their legal responsibilities to desegregate."

" . . . They are simply an effort, based on numerous requests for guidance from local school authorities, to establish broad measures of progress for eliminating the dual school system and to indicate whether or not a free choice plan is working.

"Clearly such a plan is not producing desegregation if it continues to maintain Negro schools with all Negro students and white schools with white students.

" . . . IF A FREE choice plan does not approximate the minimum desegregation according to the percentage listed, that is a signal that we had better take a close look at this plan to determine whether it is operating freely and effectively," he said.

Howe said it is "just not the case" that the guidelines are intended to "overcome racial imbalance," activity prohibited by the Civil Rights Act.

"The guidelines do in fact require that reasonable progress be made, but nowhere do they require that there be any particular proportion of Negro and white children in any particular school.

"The phrase 'correction of racial imbalance' refers to the bussing of children from neighborhood schools which have not been officially segregated but which—because of residential patterns—are 'racially imbalanced.' The Office of Education guidelines do not bear on this situation at all," he said.

The commissioner said the guidelines don't try to usurp the personnel authority of school boards.

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The portion of the guidelines requiring staff desegregation has been attacked as contrary to a section of the Civil Rights Act which says it won't apply to certain employment practices. Howe said the guidelines require faculty desegregation as a necessary part of desegregating the entire school system and not as a device to regulate employment.

"The desegregation process must involve faculty assignments or it simply will be meaningless . . . I cannot imagine that anyone would quarrel with the statement that the existence of an all-Negro faculty in a school clearly signals that this school is intended for Negro students and therefore constitutes the practice of discrimination," he said.

"In our guidelines, we are not talking about fair employment practices. We are talking about eliminating segregated school situations, and that requires the elimination of the practice of making faculty assignments that place Negro teachers in one school and white teachers in another," he continued.

Referring to cases now being considered by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, Howe said "We expect that the rulings in these cases will leave scant comfort for those school districts which see court order compliance as the easy way out of meeting their desegregation responsibilities."

HE SAID any district, if it wishes, can wait for a court order before desegregating.

"Necessarily, however, it will find itself subject to withholding of all federal funds until it can get a court order operating as the result of a suit brought by local complainants," he said.

Howe said the clinging of school districts to segregation when it is clearly prohibited by the law of the land "threatens the opportunities of children to receive the best possible education."

"I might add that where such a position is encouraged on a statewide basis, the result is to create a threat of denial of opportunity to young people which is tragic — tragic in the limitations it imposes on the opportunities of individuals and tragic also because its long range influence would clearly work to diminish the prosperity and econmic opportunities of the state.

"I might also add that such a position makes it infinitely more difficult for responsible school officials to exercise local initiative in carrying out their responsibilities under the law," he said.

1966.

NEGRO EDUCATION: 'A DISASTER AREA'

SCHOOL DESEG

School Aides and Civil Rights Leaders Urge Integration

NYT 6/18/66

By M. A. FARBER

School officials and laymen from across the country were told yesterday that education for Negroes is "one long disaster area" that must be radically improved for the sake of whites as well as Negroes.

Civil rights leaders and educators, speaking to 350 persons at the Roosevelt Hotel, declared that the future of American democracy was threatened by the existence of segregated and second-rate education.

They exhorted school administrators attending a conference sponsored by the National Urban League and Teachers College of Columbia University to eliminate Negro colonialism in America" by quickly and effectively integrating the nation's school system.

Participating in the two-day conference, which ends today, are school superintendents, presidents of boards of education and Urban League members from 75 cities.

Dr. John H. Fischer, president of Teachers College, asserted that "the Negro child must be educated in a school where it is clear not only to him but to everybody else that he is not segregated and where his undisputed right to membership is acknowledged by his peers and by his elders of both races."

Dr. Fischer conceded that school integration "will be more effective when parallel improvements are made in the housing, the economic opportunities and the general condition" of Negroes. But, he said, "the absence of adequate effort elsewhere only increases the urgency that prompt and energetic action be taken by the school.

"Any school system that subjects part of its children to the repression and indignity of ghetto schools while others are given the stimulation and security of a sound school environment is only accumulating further trouble for the future," he warned.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, indicted the "school establishment itself" as "one of the great barriers to desegregation."

The Negro community, he said, "is skeptical of the school community."

He noted that every school in Watts, a Negro area of Los Angeles that was recently torn by riots, is on double session.

"People there act like savages because they haven't had an opportunity to act like human beings," he concluded.

Wilkins Is Scornful

Wilkins spoke scornfully of a situation where "kids are being taught French when they don't know English."

But he drew laughter when he reminded the audience of a cartoon in which two youths are crossing a campus and one asks the other, "Is you did your French?"

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, appealed to the current educators to "undo what your forefathers have done."

That Negroes will not acquiesce in delay was emphasized by Miss June Shagaloff, national education director of the N.A.A.C.P.

"The Negro Community," she said in a written statement, "will continue to demand—at the polls, at the negotiating table, in the courts and in the streets, if necessary—that the public school establishment stop marking time and do something of substance about its problems."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Howe Hits Integration Lag, 'Blind Faith in Gradualism'

Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON, June 18 — The nation's top education official said Saturday that American schools are "almost as segregated today as they were in 1954" and he criticized the "well-intentioned timidity" of school administrators.

It was the toughest and bluntest speech yet delivered by U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II since he took office six months ago.

Howe's speech inspired a standing ovation at the Columbia University conference at whcih he spoke. The New York forum was sponsored by the National Urban League and Columbia Teachers College.

He called upon school officials "to form a third front for racial equality in the United States" and scorned "gentlemanly discussions" and "a blind faith in gradualism."

"CONSIDERING the authority that we gentlemanly education officials have at our command to correct racial injustice in our schools, I feel that we have accomplished very little so far."

He said the educators should either "stop pretending we care about racial equality, or we should step down from our air conditioned podiums and start something definite in the way of a program."

There have been enough committee reports on the inequalities of segregated education to build a paper "tower of Babel," Howe continued.

"While we have gone on urging moderation, sweet reason, and bigger and better panel discussions, the schools throughout the nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954, when the supreme court decided that racial segregation was illegal."

School officials have both the leadership role and the knowledge to get the job done, Howe said. What they have often lacked is a "productive commitment." Something more is needed "than the grinding of our corporate teeth," he said.

"OUR WORDS have urged the nation to desegregate its schools. But our reluctance to act has said even louder, not yet.' Somehow we seem to have been lulled into a blind faith in gradualism, a mindless confidence that some morning, some year, a suddenly transformed electorate will decide that this is the day to integrate America."

It isn't going to happen that way, Howe went on. And there's no point in waiting for real estate salesmen to voluntarily set up open housing policies or waiting for "mayors and city councils to do the work they hired us to do."

TRIP STAMPED OUT

MIAMI, June 18 (UPI)—For a long time, John Duffy and his wife Dorothy carefully collected enough trading stamps to fill 1,228 books for an all-expense paid 21-day European vacation listed in the stamp company catalogue.

But when they went down to the redemption center the couple was told they couldn't have the trip.

The stamp company—Triple S. Blue Stamps, Inc., of South Hackensack, N.J.,—said the stamps were only good if the saver gets them himself through the purchase of merchandise. To save 1,228 books, the company pointed out, one would have to make $200,000 in purchases.

Duffy asked for and got a hearing before State Comptroller Fred Dickinson. The hearing was continued. The company said it wanted time to determine exactly how Duffy got the stamps.

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JULY 2—8:30 P.M.
All Seats Reserved. $2, $3, $4. Mail Order Care of Ken Stanton Music—Marietta, Ga.

EDUCATORS TOLD INTEGRATION FAILS

SCHOOL DESEG

Howe Says at Parley Here School Aides Must Risk Jobs in Drive on Bias

NYT 6/19/63

By M. S. HANDLER

School desegregation in the nation has proved a dismal failure, United States Education Commissioner Harold Howe 2d, told educators and school administrators of 76 cities here yesterday. The time has come, he said, for educators to put their own careers on the line to compel their communities to integrate their educational systems.

The two principal approaches to school desegregation, gradualism and activism, have failed to accomplish school desegregation, he said, and it is time for school officials to create their own "third front" for racial equality in American education.

The Commissioner delivered his assessment at the final session of a two-day conference of school administrators, co-sponsored by the National Urban League and Teachers College of Columbia University under a grant from the United States Office of Education. The conference was held at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Mr. Howe told the educators that after he had heard of the shooting of James H. Meredith in Mississippi, "I started to wonder whether civil rights was any place for a gentlemanly discussion.

"I am beginning to suspect that it is not; in any case, I have the feeling that those of us who think of ourselves as gentlemen should either stop pretending that we care about racial equality, or we should step down from our air-conditioned podiums and start something definite in the way of a program."

He continued:

"We have, to be sure, gotten

Continued on Page 53, Column 1

EDUCATORS TOLD INTEGRATION FAILS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

a fair amount of newspaper space and published enough committee reports on the inequalities of segregated education to bulid a paper Tower of Babel. Nothing is safer these days than denouncing bigotry. But I find myself puzzling over which is worse, honest bigotry or well-intentioned timidity.

"While we have go on urging moderation, sweet reason and bigger and better panel discussions, the schools throughout the nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954 when the Supreme Court decided that racially segregated education was illegal."

Mr. Howe said the small progress made in the South toward desegregation "has been offset by increasing de facto segregation in the cities in the North. "He said: The facts today are that a Negro youngster in an American elementary school has on the national average not much more than 15 per cent of his classmates from the majority white groups in; the Southern states the figure is nearer 5 per cent. White high school students can expect to have nine out of 10 of their classmates from their own white groups."

Moderation, Mr. Howe said, "has a great deal to be said for it, of course, especially by the moderates. I am reminded of the prayer that St. Augustine addressed to heaven when he was a young man. 'Oh, Lord,' he said, 'make me chaste. But not yet.'"

He continued:

"Our words have urged the nation to desegregate its schools. But our reluctance to act has said even louder, 'Not yet.' Somehow we seem to have been lulled into a blind faith in gradualism, a mindless confidence that some morning, some year, a suddenly transformed electorate will spontaneously and joyously decide that this is the day to integrate America.

"Well it's not going to happen. The majority of American whites display no likelihood of becoming enthusiastic about school desegregation and the changes it demands in the immediate future.

"Gradualism, no matter what we call it, has failed, and I think it is fair to say that those who continue to espouse it are fooling themselves and, in many ways, failing our nation. It seems to me time for school officials to form a third front for racial equality in the United States.

'A Sluggish Team'

"At one end of this civil rights movement today we have the gradualists, both white and Negro, a polite, sometimes sluggish team deeply respectful of the public and sometimes given to assuring each other that it is possible to make an omelet

Our words have urged the nation to desegregate its schools. But our reluctance to act has said even louder, 'Not yet.' Somehow we seem to have been lulled into a blind faith in gradualism, a mindless confidence that some morning, some year, a suddenly transformed electorate will spontaneously and joyously decide that this is the day to integrate America.

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'A Sluggish Team'

"At one end of this civil rights movement today we have the gradualists, both white and Negro, a polite, sometimes sluggish team deeply respectful of the public and sometimes given to assuring each other that it is possible to make an omelet without breaking eggs. At the other end are the activists, who have come to feel that violence is the only way to get anything done.

"The failure of the gradualists would seem at bottom to be fear, fear of rocking the boat. The failure of the activists is that w hile they know in general terms what they want to achieve and are willing to pay a heavy price for it, they have neither the position in society nor the professional knowledge of the means and importance of advancing racial equality within the framework of law."

Mr. Howe suggested two main avenues of approach to make the schools of the central city so good that they would attract, not repel people, and to use every possible device to include within each school a cross-section of the social and economic background of the metropolis.

"A student should meet America in school, not a segregated segment of it," he said.

He continued:

"There is no such thing as the perfect way to achieve school desegregation. We must simply bore ahead with the tools we have, and it won't be pleasant, and it won't be quiet, and it would be much nicer if someone else would share this work.

"We are in the midst of a struggle for excellent education for every American youngster, and we must use every likely tool we can devise. Local school administrators must consider such means as redrawing school district boundaries and consolidating with neighboring districts for educational purposes, even though political boundaries may remain unchanged.

"We cannot wait for mayors and city councils to do the work they hired us to do. And sometimes we must do work they don't want us to do."

The Tash Ahead

"The load we must carry is that of irritating a fair percentage of our white constituents, of embarassing some governors and mayors, of alarming some newspaper publishers and of enraging suburban taxpayers, who, in proportion to the means, are not paying as much for their good schools as paupers in the city are paying for their bed ones.

"And all this means that, finally, and most grievously, we must run the risk of being invited to resign. Unless all of us are willing to put our jobs and our integrity on the line, we should admit that American educators are no longer prepared to be the prime movers in American education.

"American education today is perhaps the hottest room in our national house. But we picked it out all by ourselves. To paraphrase a metaphor, first wrought by President Truman, I would say that we must either adjust ourselves to the heat or let somebody else take over the kitchen."

Report Hits 'Ineptitude' In DeKalb

SCHOOL DESEG.
AC 6/27/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A high-level, confidential report by the top Deep South official for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) accuses the U. S. Office of Education of using "scant" wisdom in enforcing Southern school desegregation.

The private memorandum written by William J. Page Jr., director of the regional HEW office in Atlanta, declared that any compromise on the new school guidelines will disable all federal desegregation efforts in the South.

The Office of Education, headed by Commissioner Harold Howe, is a branch of HEW.

"INEPTITUDE" CITED

One part of the memorandum said, "The ineptitude in handling the DeKalb County (Georgia) matter is unequaled in our experience."

Page wrote the two-page memorandum to top HEW officials in Washington after 18 Southern senators sent a letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson requesting him to use his executive powers to revoke school desegregation guidelines.

The regional director, contacted by telephone at his office in Atlanta, indicated that the memorandum was written before President Johnson rejected the request by the Southern senators.

Page refused to talk about statements in the memorandum.

"I'm dumbfounded that it got out," he declared.

ADDRESSED TO SECRETARY

Page's memorandum was addressed to HEW secretary John W. Gardner in Washington. It also was marked for the attention of Edmund Baxter,

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Guideline Handling In Dixie Assailed

Continued from Page 1

direction of HEW field coordination.

A reporter obtained a copy of the memorandum.

Page's memorandum began, "The regional staff and I are concerned about the possible outcomes of the 18 Southern senators' petition to abrogate the school desegregation guidelines.

"I wish to offer for your consideration the principal elements of a regional perspective. The senators are attempting to accomplish through pressure on the Executive Branch that which they cannot achieve in Congress.

"Unfortunately, they probably have a preponderance of Southern public opinion with them. But public opinion is changing and that positive shift should not be deterred by expedient response of the Executive Branch. The guidelines are legally sound and should not be compromised."

President Johnson said in his reply to Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, who wrote the letter sent by the Southern senators, that he thinks the guidelines are fair.

Page's memorandum continued, "Wisdom in their application is what we need most and have had in scant measure. For example, the ineptitude in handling the DeKalb County (Georgia) matter is unequaled in our experience.

"Local people and this regional office had attempted for a year to get this problem handled constructively by the Office of Education. Sadly, other performances nearly as ridiculous have occurred in other areas."

Local HEW officials this year refused to approve DeKalb County's desegregation plan as applied against the new guidelines, and they had attempted to negotiate a compliance agreement with School Supt. Jim Cherry.

Cherry, who runs the second largest school system in Georgia, objected to procedures used by local compliance officer Stan Kruger.

The DeKalb superintendent quit talking with Kruger and came to Washington, where he conferred for several hours with Howe in the commissioner's office.

Immediately after the long conference, Howe issued a letter that said the DeKalb problem arose from a misunderstanding and that the school system would be considered in compliance at that time.

Howe's letter to Cherry did not say what or who was responsible for the misunderstanding.

Page's memorandum went on, "Compliance cannot be achieved by efforts of personnel in Washington alone, regardless of their good intentions. They do not have and cannot get the local information and the sensitivity requisite to full compliance.

"Local people respond more positively to federal personnel stationed in the area than to personnel remotely stationed in Washington.

"Even if they could perform that function centrally, we cannot operate sensibly in the regional office — this one, particularly — without having immediate information and capacity for response.

"If any of the 2,000 school superintendents can negotiate his case with Commissioner Howe, why should 10,000 hospital administrators not have direct access to the surgeon-general?

"The senators' petition, and the general fulmination of protest, is as much a product of mishandling opportunities as it is reflection of the statutory requirement.

"Consideration of civil rights pervades everything we do in this region. If the school guidelines are compromised, we will

Continued from Page 1

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"Consideration of civil rights pervades everything we do in this region. If the school guidelines are compromised, we will be disabled for work in hospitals, and other grant-aided programs."

Page said he had intended the memorandum as a "private communication to my boss, and it was not intended to be made public."

The regional director at first refused to say when the memorandum was sent to Gardner.

A reporter pointed out that Page would be placed in the position of accusing the President even though he rejected the senators' plea if it should be assumed that his memorandum was written after Johnson sent his reply to Russell.

"I'm not aware that the President has answered," said Page. "I still don't know that he replied. This communication was sent some time ago. Soon after the petition (by the Southerners) was sent."

He added, "I can find out in five minutes when that was written, but I won't. I hope you won't assume it was after the President had given his reply. That would put your story off base.

"I don't second-guess the President and the Secretary (Gardner). Whatever the president and the secretary decided, we will comply with.

TH

N.E.A Directors Urge Merger With Negro Group in the South

SCHOOL DESEG. NYT 6/27/66

By M. A. FARBER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, June 26—The board of directors of the 986,000-member National Education Association today unanimously recommended a merger with the American Teachers Association, a Negro professional organization. Final approval for the unification is expected Tuesday from the N.E.A.'s delegate assembly.

The board's action, which follows several years of talks between the two teacher groups, came on the first day of the N.E.A.'s 104th annual convention. The convention will close Friday. The American Teachers Association, which has 32,000 members, sanctioned national ties with the N.E.A. at its own meeting here Friday, in effect dissolving itself. The organization, which draws its members from the South, will go out of existence with the unification.

Already about 90 per cent of its Negro teachers hold dual membership in the N.E.A., but until recently they could not belong to the N.E.A.'s all-white affiliates in 11 Southern states and had to maintain all-Negro state and local groups in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The situation changed markedly this year as the white affiliates in all 11 states but Louisiana removed bans against Negroes. What is more, plans for integration of the white and Negro groups in eight states have been received by the N.E.A. and well be examined this week by its executive committee.

The white state affiliates acted this year under orders from the national organization. The N.E.A. told the 11 state groups that they would have to open their membership rolls and also offer state merger plans by July 1, 1966.

A question no wbefore the National Education Association—one that could start considerable debate here this week—is what action to take against the state affiliates that have complied with only the first mandate or, in the case of Louisiana, neither mandate.

Some indication that the N.E.A. might not be so punitive as to suspend or expel state affiliates came this morning when Richard Batchelder of Newtonville, Mass., outgoing president, said that "more progress than was thought humanly possible" had been made with the Southern problem.

He pointed out at a news conference, in reply to a question whether the N.E.A. was dragging its feet, that "its been a long time since Abraham Lincoln and Boston has more de facto segregation than it had 10 years ago." Southern white groups, he said, had "agonizing decisions to make under tremendous pressure."

The impending unification of the National Education Association and the American Teachers Association was hailed as "a dramatic historic event" by Riago J. Martin, president of the Negro organization.

Educators' Group Weighs Integration Of Southern Units

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, June 28—The major concern at the convention of the National Education Association continues to be the rift between those who want quick racial integration of the association's Southern affiliates and those who are urging patience and restraint.

The association has separate white and Negro affiliates in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Leading the demand for integration of the affiliates by June 1, 1967, is the National Committee of Educators for Human Rights. But the hierarchy of the N.E.A. considers that date as unrealistic.

The committee is represented here by some 200 young delegates from large cities, suburban areas and the South.

At a news conference today, its president, Pat Tornillo of Florida, called it "an action group for N.E.A. legislation, attempting to bring change more rapidly than is normally done."

The group is not an official arm of the association, but a number of influential delegates and N.E.A. staff members contend that it could provide the impetus for sweeping alterations of association politics and programs.

The association, which is meeting at Convention Hall, represents 986,000 teachers.

The committee, which has chapters in 16 states, has sponsored strong resolutions calling for the elimination of de facto segregation in the North, for "human and professional" rights of teachers, and for integration of dual associations in the South.

Hawaiian Actor a Candidate

HONOLULU (AP)—Douglas Mossman, who played the part of Moki the security guard in the television series "Hawaiian Eye," is a Democratic candidate in November for the Hawaii State legislature.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

FEDERAL RIGHTS under SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LAW

CCR Clearinghouse Publication—Number 6 June 1966

TEACHER HELD KEY TO DESEGREGATION

SCHOOL DESEG.

Top U.S. Aide Calls School Administrators Too 'Timid'

NYT 7/1/66

By M. A. FARBER

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, June 30 — A top official of the United States Office of Education said here today that he did not "have much faith" that school administrators would lead the way toward desegregation of the nation's classrooms.

David Seeley, director of the office's Equal Opportunities Division, told 200 delegates to the National Education Association convention that administrators were too "timid" and too closely "attached" to local political authority to assume the necessary leadership. The teachers themselves will have to be in the vanguard, Mr. Seeley asserted.

His division oversees compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits the use of Federal funds for racially segregated facilities and programs.

The director called desegregation both a legal and an educational problem but said "it is the schools and educators that hold the key" to its solution. "What they do will decide whether we succeed or whether we just make a mess of ourselves," he said.

Slow Faculty Progress

Prior to Mr. Seeley's talk at the Barcelona Hotel, Eddie Morris of Kentucky State College reported that faculty desegregation in Southern public schools had proceeded slowly, where it proceeded at all.

Mr. Morris, a member of a study team from the N.E.A. and the United States Office of Education, said that Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida and Texas were "beginning to make an honest effort to comply with the Supreme Court decision of 1954."

But, he noted, "there is little faculty desegregation in these states."

In Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia, "there is little student desegregation and even less faculty desegregation" Mr. Morris said.

He charged that where Negro schools had been closed or reduced in size because of integration, Negro teachers had been dismissed from the school system or downgraded in rank and responsibility. The study team discovered 688 such cases between May and September 1965, he said.

Extremism Assailed

In another panel discussion today, extremism, from the Left or the Right, was roundly condemned.

Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead of Eugene, Ore., president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, declared that "the far Right, the radical Right, remains a clear present and persistent danger to schools and democracy."

"With insidious and subtle tactics it continues to infiltrate democratic organizations and seeks to capture strategic positions from which it can dominate and control our schools," Mrs. Moorhead said.

Last year, she noted, the P. T. A. lost some 80,000 members, and part of the reason, she added, was "the impact of the far Right's lie, distortion, hate and fear campaigns."

In another talk, Edwin W. Davis, associate secretary of the N. E. A.'s professional rights and responsibilities committee, scored "the two-headed monster of far Left and far Right."

Cogen Skeptical of Merger

CHICAGO June 30 (UPI)—The president of the American Federation of Teachers said today he is "a little skeptical" about an offer to merge with the larger National Education Association.

Charles Cogen told newsmen the offer by the retiring N.E.A. president, Richard Batchelder, two days ago to form "one common front for the improvement of the teaching profession" was a good idea—except for the suggestion that the A. F. T. "sever its ties" with the A. F. L.-C. I. O.

"We in the A. F. T. know that our affiliation with the A. F. L.-C. I. O. is a great asset in our pursuit of this objective," he said. "No organization dominated by out-of-classroom school administrators and standing aloof from the rest of organized society can possibly achieve it."

Business Executive Scores 'Suffocating' State Taxes

WASHINGTON (UPI) — State taxing bodies are "barraging manufacturers with indiscriminate taxes and suffocating amounts of paper work," a business executive told a special Congressional panel.

Werner N. Davidson, a director and secretary-treasurer of Caloric Corporation gas range and appliance maker, said in the last four years the number of returns his company has had to file increased from 999 to 1,363 and the cost of preparing the average return went from $70 to $110.

PA SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 19, 1966.

De Facto School Segregation Fought in Capital Suit

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 18 — A Federal appeals judge began hearing today a suit that lawyers described as the first major attack on de facto pupil discrimination in a large American city. The suit is against the public school system in the District of Columbia.

At root, the suit is an attempt to have the Federal courts declare that de facto school segregation is just as discriminatory and unconstitutional as the deliberate, legislated segregation struck down by the United States Supreme Court 12 years ago.

If the courts accept this argument, one possible remedy would be a merger of predominantly Negro urban school systems with those of the predominantly white suburbs. In some of the largest cities there are not enough white students left to accomplish citywide integration by any other method.

De facto segregation in schools is segregation that results from housing patterns. It exists particularly in big cities.

Significant Gain Seen

Spokesmen for the Negro plaintiffs—a group of 18 parents and children and one teacher—said that a victory in their suit would represent "an advance as significant for the country as Brown v. Board of Education."

Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kan., was one of the five original school desegregation cases decided for the Negro plaintiffs in the Supreme Court's historic opinion of May 17, 1954. The school board here was also a defendant in that decision.

The Court's ruling then held that legal and administrative manifestations of discrimination against Negroes in the public schools constituted an unconstitutional denial of equal protection of the law and a denial of due process of law.

In Hobson V. Hansen, the case begun here today, the Federal courts are being asked to declare equally unconstitutional the "denial on account of race and color . . . of educational opportunities, advantages and facilities . . . Equal to those afforded and available to white children."

The suit is based on the Fifth Amendment guarantee against the deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

The suit is expected to go to the United States Supreme Court for final determination.

The District of Columbia's school population of about 180,000 children is 93 per cent Negro, and the percentage of Negroes is increasing.

The 14-page complaint, filed last January by William M. Kunstler of New York, one of the country's most active civil rights lawyers, alleges that Dr. Carl F. Hansen, the Superintendent of Schools here, his staff and the city's school board, have "intentionally" discriminated against Washington's Negro students by means of the following:

Associated Press
Judge J. Skelly Wright is officiating in the case.

¶The controversial "track system" under which pupils here at elementary and secondary school levels are placed in groupings according to ability. The greatest controversy has surrounded the assignment of many disadvantaged Negro children to the "basic" track. The other groupings are "general," "college preparatory" and "honors."

¶Providing the city's few all-white or predominantly white schools with superior "plant, equipment, materials and curricula" and, in the case of some white schools, matching with public school board funds the private contributions of white parents for additional equipment and supplies.

¶Refusing to appoint and dismissing from "high administrative and policy-making positions in the District School System qualified Negroes, solely on account of their race and color.

¶Redrawing public school boundaries "so as to separate, segregate and exclude the infant by [Negro] plaintiffs . . . from those schools."

¶Refusing or Neglecting to demand from Congress, which governs this non-self-governing Federal enclave, adequate appropriations to stem "the decline of the quality of the . . . public school system . . . thereby purposely and wilfully creating racial discrimination and segregation in the public schools."

¶Failing, for all of these reasons, to prevent discrimination "based on economic poverty and deprivation."

Suburban Comparison

The complaint thus contends that white students here are receiving a better education under better conditions than ar Negro students.

The complaint also alleges that Negroes in Washington are receiving educational opportunities inferior to those offered in the contiguous school jurisdiction of Maryland and Virginia.

This was considered significant in view of the probability that a suburban merger remed will be sought by the plaintiffs if the suit is upheld in the lower court.

The suit here was originally brought by Julius W. Hobson, a Negro economist for the Social Security Administration and the leader of a militant Washington civil rights group called ACT.

His initial aim was to challenge the constitutionality of the school board itself on grounds that its members are appointed by the judges of the United District Court here rather than elected.

18 Judges Ruled Out

This contention remai nsin the complaint and has caused unusual judicial complications. Because all 18 judges of the District Court for the District of Columbia are defendants in Mr. Hobson's suit, none of them could try the case.

Instead, the suit is being heard by Judge J. Skelly Wright of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Judge Wright, a former Federal district judge in New Orleans, is regarded as a liberal.

In a lecture at New York University School of Law in February, 1965, Judge Wright declared that "it is inconceivable that the Supreme Court will long sit idly by watching Negro children crowded into inferior sl umschools while the whites flee to the suburbs to place their children in vastly superior, predominantly white schools."

Judge Wright suggested that the Court might require the merger of urban and suburban school systems to achieve an areawide racial balance.

In the opening testimony before Judge Wright today, Dr. Hansen acknowledged under questioning by Mr. Kunstler that at least 13 elementary schools here still had all-white teaching staffs.

Byrd School Case Conceded by U.S.

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 7/23/66

By ACHSAH NESMITH
Constitution Staff Writer

COLUMBUS, Ga.—Justice Department attorneys agreed Friday to a federal judge's order that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare could not require a school board to transfer Negro children to a white school against their will.

In fact, the Washington attorneys declared that if a school board did so it on its own "might" be a violation of the Civil Rights Act and HEW guidelines for school desegregation.

No one seemed more surprised at the statements than the usually stony-faced U.S. District Judge J. Robert Elliott unless it was gubernatorial candidate Garland Byrd, who filed the suit.

"We accomplished more than we'd hoped to accomplish," Byrd said of the consent order. He called it "a victory for all the people of Georgia."

"It plain guts the guidelines," he added later. Byrd said he had tried to keep his suit and candidacy separate but said he didn't think the victory would hurt his campaign any. His followers were so jubilant they almost burst with smiles.

"This will be the turning point," they said.

Although the immediate effect will simply be six fewer Negro students in previously all-white Taylor County High School than the board had planned, Byrd said the decision would have ramifications on bussing fights all over the country, and directly affect a number of Georgia systems immediately. Taylor County will have eight Negroes in previously white schools this fall, anyway, who asked for transfer.

Justice Department attorney Brian Landsberg disagreed with

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Byrd School Case Conceded by U.S.

Continued from Page 1

Byrd's assessment, saying unequivocally, "This doesn't have anything to do with bussing."

BYRD DISPUTED

Landsberg disputed Byrd's contention that a Justice Department official had told the Taylor County Board it would have to transfer some Negro students who had asked to remain in the all-Negro R. L. McDougald High School, or lose federal funds.

Byrd brought the suite contending such directives violated the Civil Rights Act.

Landsberg told the court such directives would have violated the act and HEW's own guidelines, but contended no such directives had been issued.

Taylor Schools Superintendent W. H. Elliston said in an interview afterward that the statements were made twice in his presence. The court never got to the point of evidence on whether the directive was or was not made, since both sides consented to an order declaring that such a directive would be illegal and Taylor County could not be penalized for not transferring Negro students who had asked to remain at McDougald.

Elliston said that last Spring the board sent out first class letters to all parents in the county asking them to state their choice of school for their children. He said that so far as he knew all answered.

WILL ADMIT 8

Of these five Negro elementary students and two high school students asked for transfers to the white school. After Byrd's suit was filed another Negro high school student asked to attend the white school. All eight will be admitted, Elliston said, but board plans to choose an additional six will be dropped.

No one seemed exactly sure how the number six was chosen. The board understood it would be required to force about 120 students to attend schools other than their choice, Elliston said, or face possible cut off of federal funds. They chose to try six to show good faith to HEW, he said. The county school's total program involves about $900,000, some $235,000 of federal funds.

The Justice Department consented to stipulations which formed Judge Elliott's ruling, but objected to making the stipulations the ruling, arguing that Byrd had no legal standing to bring the suit in the first place and that HEW officials had not done any of the things the stipulations agreed they could not do. Judge Elliott brushed these objections aside, and said he would leave the case pending to see what happened.

PRAISES BOTH SIDES

He praised the cooperation of both sides and expressed the hope there "will be no necessity for us to be getting together again."

Veteran Justice Department attorney St. John Barrett, who attended the hearing in Columbus Friday but did not take part in the arguments, said the ruling would not have any major effect because Taylor County had misunderstood HEW and made up a plan that was unique.

Byrd said Camden and Berrien counties would be immediately affected by the decision, and probably numerous others.

He promised that if elected governor he would order suits brought for every county in the state if necessary to preserve the freedom of choice method of desegregation. He hailed the decision as "our first victory against the federal government and Office of Education since 1954."

Is School Aid Losing Its Aim In the North?

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 7/24/66

By GERALD GRANT

Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON, July 23 — Have massive injections of federal school aid actually reinforced school segregation in the North?

This has emerged as one of the crucial problems in the administration of the new program of federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. It was raised this week at the National Conference on Education of the Disadvantaged, called by President Johnson to focus attention on the new legislation.

Prof. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University argued that the new federal money may be "self-defeating by acting to separate the poor and disadvantaged" from middle class children.

BECAUSE THE LAW required federal funds to be concentrated on schools in low income areas, a "great danger" exists that it may serve to further isolate children in the ghetto, Pettigrew said.

The professor pointed out that a recent study found that the key to upgrading education of ghetto children was bringing them into contact with children from middle income families.

The U.S. Office of Education study showed that the educational results of sending slum children to school with youngsters from different backgrounds far outweighed gains achieved through such conventional improvements as reducing class size.

Pettigrew, an adviser to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on northern school segregation, said the federal funds should be used to bring children out of the ghetto into educational parks that would be built in the suburbs.

If such long - range plans are no developed, he warned, the new federal aid program may go down as "unfortunate precedent in education."

WHILE THE U.S. Office of Education, which sponsored the conference, does not have the legislative authority to require that the new federal funds be used to chip away at de facto segregation, it has pushed such moves at the state level.

The federal office has been encouraging state departments of education to attach desegregation strings to the use of federal money. Under the law, the state agencies are charged with approving projects submitted by local scoool districts.

In particular, the federal agency has been supporting the approach that was developed in California. Wilson Riles of the California State Department of Education was invited to the conference to explain how the California plan works.

The California State Board of Education has empowered the department to veto projects that do not make some effort to deal with de facto segregation.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Georgians Urge Ouster Of Compliance Officer

AC 8/5/66

By REMER TYSON

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A group of angry Georgia school officials Thursday demanded that U.S. education Commissioner Harold Howe transfer his chief civil rights compliance officer for three Deep South states.

W. Stanley Kruger, director of the equal education opportunity program in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, was described by one of the Georgia educators as "the hatchet man."

Fulton County School Supt. Paul West said he and other educators believe actions by Kruger have been "disruptive for the Office of Education in Georgia."

"We asked him (Howe) to transfer him (Kruger)," said West. Jack Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia School Boards Association, and W. L. Robinson, president of the Fulton County school board, attended the Washington conference with Howe.

West said, "I told the commissioner that it is plainly understood that Mr. Kruger is the

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

HEW Told To Oust Official

Continued from Page 1

hatchet man in Georgia. That's exactly what he is."

The demand for Kruger's transfer came after Fulton County school officials received a letter from the civil rights compliance officer casting doubt on whether the system is qualified for federal funds under 1966 desegregation guidelines.

Fulton County has submitted to the Office of Education a desegregation plan which West said affords students the right to pick their own schools.

Kruger notified Fulton County on July 13 that the number of Negroes enrolled in the previously all-white schools in the system falls "substantially short of that expected in eliminating the dual school system."

West said Kruger pointed out in his letter that additional steps may be taken to make free choice plans effective in bringing about desegregation. But if a community did not give more support to its plan in the future such action "would be a futile gesture," the letter said.

Kruger's letter stated, according to West, that Fulton County educators should seek "further arrangements with parents and civic groups and state and local officials to limit opportunities for intimidation."

West, who along with Acree and Robinson had conferred twice previously with Howe in Washington since April, said the Fulton County system had attempted to comply fully with the guidelines.

The superintendent contended that Fulton County has gone beyond requirements in complying with the new regulations.

West said the system had opened up all 12 grades to Negro students this year rather than eight grades in last year's free choice plan. Fulton County sent out forms to all students 30 days ago to permit them to choose their schools for the coming year, said West.

He said the choice of schools will be open to pupils until Aug. 9. Thirteen Negroes were enrolled in previously all - white schools last year. This year 183 Negroes already have been approved for attendance at white schools.

"We have an increase of 1,216 per cent," West declared. "I don't think that's bad. Then we get this lethal letter from Mr. Kruger."

West said Howe assured them they would not receive any more letters of similar nature from Kruger, although the education commissioner said Kruger's letter could be interpreted in several different ways.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Byrd Predicts Riots If Guidelines Rule

AC 8/6/66

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

Garland Byrd, one of seven candidates for governor predicted Friday there will be riots in Georgia if federal school guidelines are enforced this fall.

He declared that the "school situation is going to be chaotic" and that if the "illegal guidelines" are enforced there will be riots, demonstrations on the school grounds and a rebellion on the part of students and parents."

Byrd made his remarks in a speech at the Atlanta Press Club and during an interview afterwards.

Byrd said he felt Gov. Carl Sanders should call a special session of the Legislature immediately to appropriate $10 million to supplement schools systems which might have federal funds cut off this year in the event they do not comply with the guidelines. Byrd said if he were governor now he would do this.

He also said Gov. Sanders should instruct Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton to file a class action suit on behalf of all school systems in an effort to get the same results he did with his suit for Taylor County.

Byrd contends that the Taylor schools, as a result of his suit, will not have to achieve any degree of racial balance but can proceed with a "freedom of choice" plan.

Byrd further said the guidelines could result in the "most

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

Byrd Sees Rioting on Guidelines

Continued from Page 1

active political revolution" in the South.

Byrd also lambasted one of his opponents, former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

"It appears that he has made a deal with the gambling element of this state," Byrd declared. He added that Arnall "has made a deal obviously with those who want to get rid of Col. (Lowell) Conner," director of the Department of Public Safety.

Arnall first had been quoted as saying he would fire Conner if he is elected governor, but later explained that he had said he would ask that Conner be relieved of his duties.

Byrd further said that any drive by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to implement the new school guidelines will "guarantee my victory in the primary without a run-off."

He felt that the outcome of his suit against the guidelines was "the turning point in my campaign."

Byrd added that he was "thoroughly convinced . . . that we cannot maintain a program of quality education" under the federal guidelines which call for further school and faculty integration this fall.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Wallace Considers Aiming New Law At U.S. Guidelines

A.C 8/13/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace, reportedly seeking another major showdown with the federal government over school integration, said Friday he may ask for a state law "to protect the integrity of the school system."

PLANS MORE DEFIANCE
Gov. George Wallace

He called members of the legislature in for closed-door conferences.

Wallace made the comment to newsmen while reports spread through the legislature that significant new developments were impending in the battle over school desegregation guidelines laid down by the U.S. Office of Education.

The governor said he may make a statewide television appearance to explain the proposed legislation if any is introduced.

It was learned that a bill has been tentatively drafted providing for use of state funds to reimburse city and county school boards for federal money lost for refusal to comply with the guidelines.

The suggested bill, which may be rewritten several times before it is complete, also would take away the authority of the local boards to deal with the federal agency and put it in the governor's hands.

NEW CONFRONTATION

Wallace, who stood in the doorway at the University of Alabama three years ago to dramatize his battle against federal intervention, was described by some legislators as determined to touch off a new confrontation over the desegregation guidelines drawn up by

Man, Boy Team Up, Get $2,174 Loot

Police Friday were search-

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

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His dramatic appearance at the University in 1963 failed to keep two Negro students out. They were enrolled under the protection of federalized National Guardsmen.

There were unconfirmed reports that the governor talked of the possibility of trying this fall to block the assignment of Negro teachers to previously white schools under the guidelines which require faculty as well as pupil integration.

Sources at the Capitol said Wallace may ask the legislature for the power to control distribution of state school funds, bypassing city and county school boards which, under present law, determine how the money is spent.

That would enable him to take money away from boards which comply with the guidelines and give it to those which refuse.

SENATORS' PLEDGE

Wallace summoned a small group of opposition senators to his office for a lengthy meeting Thursday. They reportedly told him they would not fight his proposed plan. Then word went out to House members to see the goveronr Friday after the lower chamber recessed for the weekend.

The legislature has been in special session since July 26, primarily to dip into an estimated $85-million surplus in the special educational trust fund and use $44 million of it to supplement the budgets of all schools for the coming year.

There were reports that the governor also might ask the legislature to use part of the remaining surplus to reimburse defiant school boards for federal money lost because of their refusal to comply with the guidelines.

Wallace contends the guidelines violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and suits an pending in federal court to test them. He has urged school boards repeatedly to resist the guidelines until their legality has been decided.

Man, Boy Team Up, Get $2,174 Loot

Police Friday were searching for a man and a small boy in connection with the theft of a money box containing $2,174 from an apartment building rental office.

Melvin Watkins of 92 Marion Place NE was preparing the money for a bank deposit when a man knocked at the office door and asked for change for $1, Det. T. S. Townsend said.

After the man left, a small boy appeared at the office and said he had placed some clothes in a machine at the washerette, the machine didn't work and he couldn't get the clothes out.

Watkins locked the office and started for the washerette. The boy exclaimed: "Oh, I forgot to bring washing powders. I'll run home and get some."

Watkins found nothing wrong at the washerette. He found plenty wrong when he got back to the office. Townsend said a door glass had been broken, the telephone pulled from the wall and the money box containing the deposit was missing.

30 School Systems Still Not Qualified

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 8/13/66

By JOE BROWN

Federal officials said Friday they still have not received proper guideline compliance forms from about 30 of the 50 Georgia school systems that had their federal funds for new projects deferred about a month ago.

Officials said there is no way of determining the exact number of systems not in compliance since the forms are being processed by several different offices.

However, only two systems in the state have actually been deprived of federal school funds, say officials. These are Toombs and Glascock. Both failed to file compliance pledges last year as well as this year.

Systems on the deferred list are continuing to receive federal funds for programs that were in existence before the guidelines were issued this spring.

State School Superintendent Jack P. Nix said Friday he does not believe that more than 10 or 12 of Georgia's 195 systems will fail to comply by the time school opens this fall.

Only six other systems beside

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30 Systems Facing Loss Of Funds

Continued from Page 1

Toombs and Glascock have failed to file a compliance form, Nix said. They are Effingham, Randolph, Seminole, Terrell, Camden and Vidalia.

The guidelines require integration of teaching staffs this fall and further desegregation of student bodies.

Under the guidelines, funds for all new activities are withheld from the offending system. After a hearing funds could be cut off completely.

Most of the systems that are not in compliance filed amended compliance forms.

Federal officials say no amended forms will be accepted from any system.

Gov. Carl E. Sanders Friday was urged by Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer to direct the state attorney general to take the matter to federal court.

"HEW is obviously exceeding the purview of the law and badgering Georgia schools as a political foootball. This matter needs to be litigated to the fullest," Geer said.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Howe Says Guides Are Not Affected

AJ 8/15/66

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15 (UPI)—U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II denies that enactment of the Callaway amendment would affect the much-debated school desegregation guidelines in any way.

The amendment that Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway, R-Ga., tacked onto the 1966 civil rights bill in the House had been hailed as portending "destruction" of the guidelines.

But Howe says that even if the amendment stays in the bill and the bill passes the Senate and becomes law, it would merely forbid doing something the guidelines do not do.

The amendment, at least, renews a debate that has raged in the South for months, stirred hundreds of school officials to anger and drawn the ire of Southern congressmen.

They say the question is whether the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids federal funds for school systems that discriminate racially, also authorizes Howe to require certain "racial balances."

If it does, the Southerners say, the federal government could destroy "neighborhood schools" that are blamed for de facto segregation by requiring that Negro students be bused to schools in white areas and vice versa.

The 1964 act says: ". . . Desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

But scores of Southern school officials and congressmen have accused Howe of doing just that, and cite the 1966 guidelines themselves as their proof.

The key words come in the guidelines for so-called "freedom of choice" plans for meeting desegregation requirements in systems that have substantial numbers of both white and Negro students:

"The single most substantial indication as to whether a free choice plan is actually working . . . is the extent to which Negro or other minority group students have in fact transferred . . .

". . . The commission will, in general, be guided by the following criteria in scheduling free choice plans for review:

"1. If significant percentage of the students, such as 8 per cent or 9 per cent, transferred from segregated schools for the 1965-66 school year, total transfers on the order of at least twice that percentage would normally be expected.

"2. If a smaller percentage of the students, such as 4 per cent or 5 per cent, transferred . . . a substantial increase in transfers would normally be expected such as would bring the total to at least triple the percentage for the 1965-66 school year . . ."

That, say the guidelines foes, amounts to requiring transfers to correct racial imbalance as specifically forbidden by law. Howe and his attorneys flatly deny it, saying the percentages mentioned are mere clues to effectiveness of desegregation.

The argument wound up in a federal district court in Georgia recently and a judge entered an order forbidding the government to "force" transfers of six unwilling Negro pupils.

The government attorneys consented to the decree, saying no one was doing that anyway. It was, they said in effect, a misunderstanding.

To this legal whirlpool, the Callaway amendment would add these words: "Nothing in this title shall be construed to authorize action by any department or agency to require the assignment of students to public schools to overcome racial imbalance."

Bama Educators Warned After Blast at Wallace

AC 8/20/66

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (UPI)—Leading Alabama educators Friday blasted Gov. George Wallace's proposals to sidestep federal desegregation guidelines and were promptly warned they would "regret this day."

The 23,000-member Alabama Education Association (AEA) including representatives of classroom teachers, local school boards, principals and Auburn University and the University of Alabama, joined in opposition to Wallace's legislation.

Sen. Jimmy Clark, an administration leader, rose on a point of personal privilege in the Senate to return the educators' fire.

WARNS EDUCATOR

"They are going to regret the action they have taken because they have flaunted themselves in the face of the wishes of the majority of the people of Alabama," Sen. Clark angirly proclaimed.

"For a long time there was no confidence in school administration in this state. They have come a long way since then.

"But today, they have started toward their downfall. They will regret this day."

There was no comment from the governor.

In the AEA action, Wallace met the most serious opposition from educators he has faced during his administration. School leaders frequently have bucked him but never so strongly.

SOCIALIST PLOT

Wallace went before a statewide radio-television audience and the legislature Thursday night to explain his proposal and denounce the guidelines as a socialist plot.

The governor asked the legislature to pass a bill which would replace with state funds all federal money lost through defiance of the guidelines. The measure also would nullify any compliance agreements signed by local boards and would establish the legislature as a commission to deal with future guidelines questions.

Wallace told the federal government it could keep its money and "they know what they can do with it."

gitive

Early Bird communication satellite as "Canada's most-wanted fugitive" after police said a gang looted more than 370 safety deposit boxes at the Montreal branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia in July 1961.

A member of the gang, Jacques Lajoie, testified LeMay directed by walkie - talkie from a building across the street as burglars cut a hole in the cemet floor of the bank's vault.

A Fort Lauderdale, Fla., man recognized the Early Bird picture as a man who was living on a 43-foot sailing yacht off the Florida coast.

"I seldom make mistakes. How did you get me?" asked LeMay as officers boarded the boat to arrest him.

"Isn't that something," he said when he was told about the Early Bird picture.

Force planes sprayed Dallas Friday to kill a mosquito infestation which has caused an epidemic of encephalitis. Three persons had died and there were 65 other confirmed cases.

Health officials said the peak of the epidemic was yet to come.

The three planes flew about 500 yards apart to cover areas of the city infested with the deadly culex mosquito.

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Sunday, August 21, 1966

"Overcoming Fear and Anxiety"

Trap, Kill 213 Cong

SAIGON (UPI)—Australian troops outnumbered about three to one broke out of a Viet Cong trap and killed 213 of the enemy in what was described Friday as the biggest Aussie battle since World War II.

An armored force, its noise muffled by driving monsoon rains, sliced into a Viet Cong battalion with guns blazing just as it was closing in Thursday night on Delta Company, 6th Battalion of the Royal Austra-

Negro Bo
As Insurr

By MICHAE

Municipal Court Judge T. C. law Friday and ordered a Negr over to the Fulton County Grand tion.

Little overruled objections by defense attorney Howard Moore that the Georgia statue, which can carry the death penalty, had been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Johnny C. Wilson, 19, was ordered held on the insurrection charge after he was identified by police officers and Army personnel as one of the demonstrators who had attempted to force their way into 12th Army Headquarters Thursday.

Wilson, along with Larry Fox, 21, and Robert B. Moore, 21, was also found guilty and sentenced on charges of resisting arrest, creating a disturbance and failure to obey an officer's command. Little sentenced the defendants to 30 days on each charge, to run concurrently, and also ordered them held on $500 bond for criminal court on charges of assault and battery.

Judge Little said the evidence presented at the day-long hearing showed a "complete disregard for federal authority." He said there was resistance to both state and federal authorities and an intent to prevent citizens

14 Vetoed School Systems Okayed by U.S., Nix Says

By JOE BROWN

State School Supt. Jack P. Nix said Friday that 14 of the approximately 50 Georgia school systems that previously submitted unacceptable federal school desegregation guidelines compliance forms have now been approved by the U.S. Office of Education.

Another seven systems, he said, have also been ruled to be in compliance with the guidelines. These seven systems, as well as submitting acceptable forms, have passed a federal inspection and judged to be in compliance.

The 14 systems had previously submitted amendment compliance forms which the U.S. Office ruled unacceptable. And payments for new federal programs were deferred. These systems have now submitted unamended forms

Nix said because these forms may be submitted to any one of several offices for processing there is no way of knowing hoy many systems have still failed to pledge compliance.

He predicted however, there will be no more than 10 or 12 of Georgia's 195 school systems that will remain in defiance.

The guidelines require desegregation of teaching staffs this fall and further integration of student bodies.

Nix said systems that are again eligible for new federal funds are:

Candler, Cobb, Clinch, Emanuel, Franklin, Gainesville, Griffin-Spalding, Heard, Laurens, Lowndes, Thomaston, Upson, Meriweather and Rome.

Systems he says the U.S. Office of Education has ruled are in complete compliance are: Thomasville, Trion, Chatooga, Crisp, Floyd, Catoosa and Chattahoochee.

Drive to Clear Up Guidelines Considered Here by 8 States

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 8/20/66

By The Associated Press

A spokesman for the Georgia School Boards Association said here Friday night that representatives from eight Southern states have agreed to consider a united drive to clarify federal desegregation guidelines.

Jack K. Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia association, said representatives of similar associations from the other states met here Wednesday.

He declined to name the other seven states involved "because they have to go back home and check with their official boards, and I told them that they would not be put on the spot."

Acree said the representatives agreed however that a problem common to all the states was "preservation of local government particularly as refers to our educational units."

"The federal government with its multiplicity of programs is beginning to exercise so much pressure that these people honestly feel that even the soundest of local units of administration are in danger of being so pressured that they will just become ineffective," he said.

And, he added, "We don't know what to expect in the future."

He said the Georgia association previously has decided "to seek a clarification of the exact intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 either by court action and/or through legislative action."

Acree said the association then decided to invite other Southern and border states to join in the effort if they wanted.

"We felt like we needed an interchange of information with regard to conditions, developments and plans for stabilizing the educational program in all our dealings with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare," he said.

He said the persons attending the meeting felt that a court test probably would be necessary to clarify the meaning of the civil rights law.

However, he said the test suit would not necessarily have to be filed in Georgia.

"On receipt of a copy of the Georgia plan last Friday, Gov. (Robert) McNair of South Carolina announced that the state would file such a suit."

He said the Georgia group outlined its program of action at the request of local boards across the state and after several Georgia educators met with U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II three times. He said the meetings with Howe were "futile efforts . . . to change the practices and trends emanating from his office."

Talks Resume In Paper Strike

NEW YORK (UPI)—Negotiations in the 118-day World-Journal-Tribune newspaper strike resumed Friday and a newspaper guild official predicted the corporation would not publish its first newspaper until Sept. 12 at the earliest.

Mediators held separate talks with representatives of the publishing firm and 10 newspaper unions.

Kruger Is Called Most Hated Official

SCHOOL DESEG

Atlanta Constitution 8/22/66

By ED ROGERS

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The U.S. Commissioner of Education has been publicly called the nation's "most hated bureaucrat" because of his role in the federal drive against school segregation.

But in the states of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, Commissioner Harold Howe II has a close rival in his regional enforcement officer, a former math teacher named Stanley Kruger.

In fact, Kruger has attracted so much ire of the school officials and congressmen of the three states that some of them have even spoken fondly of Howe in making comparisons.

This occurred recently when Dr. Paul West, superintendent of the Fulton County schools in the Atlanta area, returned from a trip to demand that Kruger be transferred.

HATCHET MAN

"We have deepest respect for the commissioner and we sympathize with him that some of his associates are so highly confused," West told reporters. He called Kruger a "hatchet man."

This was no isolated blast. There is a growing list of complaints that Kruger has "demanded" certain results that higher officials later said were not necessary.

The chain of events reached into a federal courtroom when Kruger was charged with demanding the transfer of six Negro children, against their will, to a white school in Georgia.

Attorneys for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which operates the education office, denied any such demand was ever made and that ended the case.

SOUGHT HIM OUT

With so much controversy spiraling around Kruger, a reporter last week sought him out at his office in a weathered "temporary" World War II building off Washington's mall.

Kruger turned out to be a blond, stocky, neatly dressed and quiet-speaking Illinois native of 37, who discussed the Kruger controversy as detachedly as if he were another person.

Kruger had these theories as to why he is far more controversial than his counterparts in other regions:

—There has been turnover among all the others.

—Not withstanding Alabama's Gov. George Wallace, school officials in his state possibly feel more assurance that their congressmen some day will overrule Kruger.

HELPED ON GUIDELINES

—Kruger helped draft the 1966 guidelines

Kruger offered these further defenses of Kruger:

—He feels obligated to tell local school officials what will be expected of them and, on their request will offer specific numbers or percentages of transfers that would be acceptable.

—This explains the accusations that his "demands" exceeded those of his superiors, he said. They were not "demands" but "acceptable alternatives," he said.

—Before the 1966 guidelines controversy arose, he dealt amicably with the same state and local officials on technical procedures of obtaining federal school funds.

EMOTIONAL CONTENT

He said his personality has not changed. The "emotional content is low" in the subject of school finances, he explained.

When asked if he had made a single misstatement of federal policy or of what the law requires in all of his dealings with southern school officials, Kruger said:

"I don't think so. I am extremely confident that I did not."

But West claims Kruger received at least one rebuke.

West said he protested about "a lethal letter—I know of no other word to call it — "from Kruger and Howe assured him he will get no more letters like that.

Wallace's Plan Wins Educators

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 8/23/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP)—Gov. George Wallace won the support of the state school board and 14 junior college presidents Monday for his new plan to defy federal integration guidelines.

First the state board and then the junior college presidents adopted statements endorsing Wallace's stand on the eve of the first showdown in the legislature.

They came as two legislative committees—Ways and Means in the House and Finance in the Senate—prepared for a joint public hearing starting at 9 a.m., Tuesday on the administration-sponsored bill which would:

—Prohibit city and county school boards from complying with the guidelines and nullify any compliance agreements previously made.

SUBSTITUTE FUNDS

—Allocate state funds to reimburse part of the federal funds which might be withheld from school boards which defy the federal desegregation regulations.

The pledge of support, along with those earlier from Presidents Ralph Adams of Troy State College and John Deloney of Livingston State, helped offset the opposition expressed earlier by officials of the Alabama Education Association and other school leaders, including spokesmen for the University of Alabama and Auburn University.

But two more organizations took a stand meanwhile against the pending bill. They are the Alabama League of Women Voters and the Alabama Division of the American Association of University Women.

THREATS CHARGED

In a resolution which accused federal officials of using "threats, intimidation and pressures," the state school board endorsed Wallace's plan.

It is "in the best interest" of Alabama's educational system, the resolution declared, for local boards "to refuse to abide by any illegal guidelines and to refuse to be abused, intimidated and coerced" by representatives of the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

The state board said the guidelines, which require faculty as well as pupil integration, would "seriously impair the education system of this state."

(Copy) SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

1105 Barton Street
Columbia, South Carolina
29203

To: All South Carolinians interested in equality of education opportunity

From: Hayes Mizell, South Carolina Field Representative,
American Friends Service Committee

Date: August 30, 1966

As we begin the 1966-1967 public school year in South Carolina, it is apparent that there is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding concerning school desegregation and compliance with the 1966 "Guidelines". In some cases, this state of confusion has been enhanced by certain inaccurate statements which have been promulgated by political leaders as well as school officials themselves. As a result, many South Carolinians are unsure of the realities of the school desegregation situation in their own districts as well as in the state as a whole.

We felt that it might be helpful to you to have accurate and specific information concerning certain aspects of school desegregation. Enclosed you will find "Questions and Answers About School Desegregation in South Carolina". This attempts to briefly respond to and clarify many of the questions most commonly asked about school desegreation. Also enclosed is Federal Rights Under School Desegregation Law. This booklet answers many questions about the 1966 "Guidelines", and this might also be helpful to you.

We hope that you will give careful attention to this material and that it will be of service to you. I will be happy to send additional copies on request. Perhaps you will want to distribute them to members of your civic group, education organization, parents group, or church. If you have any further questions or problems, please do not hesitate to contact me.

HM: sm

Enclosures

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ABOUT

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

1. I have heard a lot about the "Guidelines". What are they?

The correct name for the "Guidelines" is the "Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964". The "Guidelines" were issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in March, 1966. A school district must meet the requirements of the "Guidelines" to be in compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI provides that: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

2. Can I get a copy of the "Guidelines"?

An exact copy of the "Guidelines" can be found on pages 11 through 21 of the accompanying booklet, Federal Rights Under School Desegregation Law.

3. Who is responsible for administering the "Guidelines" and determining whether or not a school district is complying with the "Guidelines"?

The final responsibility, of course, lies with John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, most of the day-to-day administrative responsibility is assumed by the U.S. Office of Education headed by Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education. Within the Office of Education there is a division known as the Equal Educational Opportunities Program (EEOP), and it is primarily this office that reviews performance data, investigates complaints, and attempts to get school districts to comply with the "Guidelines". David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner for Equal Educational Opportunities Program, has directed Title VI enforcement efforts in the Office of Education since the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed.

4. I have read about a Dr. Kruger and Mrs. Price in the U.S. Office of Education. Who are they?

The Equal Educational Opportunities Program is divided into geographical divisions of responsibility. Dr. W. Stanley Kruger is director of area number two which includes South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Mrs. Suzanne D. Price works under the supervision of Dr. Kruger, and she is the chief of the South Carolina state team; that is, those persons who work only with South Carolina school districts on matters relating to compliance with the "Guidelines".

5. Where do I write or call if I want information about my school district or if I want to report a complaint?

You should first go to your local school authorities. If they do not give you the information you believe you are entitled to, or if they do not cooperate with you in handling your complaint, you should then contact Mrs. Price. Her address is: Mrs. Suzanne D. Price, Acting Chief, Area II South Carolina State Team, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Temporary S--7th & Jefferson, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20202. Mrs. Price can be reached by telephone at (202) 962-4339.

6. What happens if a school district does not comply with the "Guidelines"?

The school district is not in compliance with Title VI and thereby risks losing the federal funds it receives for various programs.

7. Exactly what is the process by which a school district loses its federal funds?

(A) When a field review, complaint, compliance report, or any other information indicates a possible violation of Title VI, an investigation is ordered. If any violation of the "Guidelines" is found, information, persuasion, and conciliation will be used to secure the elimination of the prohibited discriminatory practices. During this entire process, names of complainants will be kept confidential to the extent possible.

(B) If informal efforts at persuasion fail to correct the situation, formal means for resolving violations of Title VI regulations are available.

(C) The school district is formally cited for non-compliance with Title VI.

(D) The school district is given an opportunity for a fair hearing.

(E) The hearing examiner makes his report to the Secretary of HEW.

(F) The Secretary of HEW makes a report to the education committees of each house of Congress.

(G) If the Secretary of HEW recommends that federal funds to the school district be terminated, the order is not final until 30 days after the Congressional committees are notified.

(H) The school district can then appeal the final order to the federal courts.

8. I have heard that some districts did not submit HEW Form 441-B or submitted an altered HEW Form 441-B? What is this form?

HEW Form 441-B is a statement of assurance that the school system will abide by the requirements of the "Guidelines". All school districts were to have submitted HEW Form 441-B by April 15, 1966, or "commitments of funds for new activities will be subject to deferral." (See page 12, section 181.7 of the accompanying booklet.)

9. Which South Carolina school systems did not submit Form 441-B this year?

Calhoun County School District #1 (St. Matthews)
Georgetown County School District
Marlboro County School District
Orangeburg County School District #7 (Elloree)

10. Didn't some South Carolina school districts refuse to accept federal funds last year?

Yes. Among them were: Calhoun County School District #2 (Cameron)
Clarendon County School District #2 (Manning)
Lexington County School District #1 (Lexington)

11. Will these school districts be able to maintain a segregated school system since they aren't receiving federal funds?

No. All three of these districts have been or are presently involved in federal court litigation which could prevent these systems from operating on a segregated basis. A school district must desegregate whether or not it receives federal funds. (See page 5, section II, questions one and two, of the accompanying booklet.)

12. Which South Carolina school districts are presently operating under federal court order?

Charleston County School District #20 (city of Charleston)
Clarendon County School District #1 (Summerton)
Darlington County School District
Greenville County School District
Orangeburg County School District #5 (city of Orangeburg)
Sumter County School District #2 (county, except city of Sumter)

13. What is the present status of these court order districts?

On August 26, 1966, United States District Judges J. Robert Martin, Robert W. Hemphill, and Charles E. Simons, Jr. handed down a new court order for these districts. The order said that, "The school board is constitutionally required to give Negro students the means by which to attend integrated schools. The means can best be met through a system of free choice of schools." The court orders require desegregation of faculty, school programs and facilities, and school bus transportation. Other requirements closely follow the administrative procedures suggested in the 1966 "Guidelines". The orders also stated that, "It is the constitutional obligation of school boards during the time that school systems are being desegregated, that they provide Negro students with an education equal to that provided white students." A hearing will be held on September 1 to inform the court order school districts how the new orders should be implemented. A copy of the court orders can be obtained for a fee by writing to Clerk, United States District Court, U.S. Court House, Columbia, South Carolina.

14. What is the purpose of the percentages required by the "Guidelines"?

The percentages required by the 1966 "Guidelines" are merely for the purpose of determing how satisfactorily a school system is progressing toward the elimination of the dual school system. The Office of Education is able to determine a school system's progress by looking at how many Negro children have transferred from the "Negro school" to the desegregated school. In order to do this, they divide the number of Negro children who will be attending desegregated schools in the district into the total number of Negro children enrolled in the district. The resulting percentage is an accurate measure of the progress a school system is making in moving towards the abolition of segregated schools. The percentages which are required <u>are not</u> to determine how many Negroes are going to school with whites, or to determine if a racial balance is being achieved. Perhaps you will want to write to Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20202, and ask for a copy of his May 24, 1966, letter to Senator Fulbright. This letter answers many of the misunderstandings about the "Guidelines".

15. How much pupil desegregation will there be in South Carolina for the 1966-1967 school term?

For the average school district about 5.1% of all of the Negro students enrolled in the district will be attending desegregated schools. This means, for instance, that in a district where there are 1,619 Negro students enrolled in the schools, 83 of these will be enrolled in desegregated schools. It is estimated that there will be a total of 219,044 Negro students enrolled in 95 school districts this year. Of this number, only 11,163 will be attending desegregated schools. To give you a better idea of the degree of desegregation, there are 15 school districts which fall within the 1% - 2% range; 10 that fall within the 2% - 3% range; 17 that fall within the 5% - 6% range; 9 that fall within the 7% - 8% range.

16. My school superintendent says that our school system has offered a proper freedom-of-choice, but not enough Negroes have chosen to attend the desegregated school, and it is therefore impossible for our system to meet the percentages required by the Office of Education. Should we be subject to the requirements of the "Guidelines" if we have honestly acted in good faith but have not gotten good results?

The 1966 "Guidelines" clearly state that it is the responsibility of the school system to adopt a school desegregation plan which will end the dual school system. There is no requirement that your system must use the freedom-of-choice plan. Indeed, you may utilize any plan you devise just so long as it effectively moves your system toward the goal of eliminating the dual school system. Perhaps the freedom-of-choice plan is not the best method for ending the dual school system in your district. Your superintendent, school board, and community should understand that in order to abolish the dual school system, it might be necessary for your school district to adopt another type of plan. Indeed, it is likely that if your present plan is determined to be ineffective by the Office of Education, you will be required to adopt another plan in the future. (See page 13, section 181.11 of the accompanying booklet.)

17. Is freedom-of-choice effective in eliminating the dual school system?

In some communities it is true that freedom-of-choice is the best method for eliminating the dual school system. Generally, however, it does not seem to be very effective. This device still places the burden on the Negro parent or child, since they must make the decision to attend the desegregated school, and obviously if they do not make such a decision, for whatever reason, then the schools will not be desegregated and the dual school system will not be abolished. In some places in the South, the Negroes are intimidated and harassed by whites in an effort to keep them from making the choice to attend a predominantly white school. For other Negroes, they hesitate to send their children to a desegregated school where they may be socially isolated and where the opportunities for leadership recognition and involvement in extra-curricular activities are not as great as in the Negro school. Some parents are reluctant to send their children to a non-racial school because of their fear that they will be the victims of physical or economic reprisals. Too, nearly three hundred years of servitude and segregation has stripped many Negroes of the initiative required to make the choice to send their children to desegregated schools; such inertia is sometimes evident in entire communities. If your school system has a freedom-of-choice plan, it is the responsibility of your school officials to gain the support of the community for the plan and to make every effort to aid in the removal of the above-mentioned factors which tend to inhibit the number of choices made by Negro parents.

18. Last year my school district had 47 Negro students attending desegregated schools. This year there will be 140 Negro students attending schools across racial lines. Is this sufficient progress for the Office of Education?

This year there will be a total of 3,811 Negro students enrolled in your school district. Therefore, only 3.8% of the total number of Negroes enrolled in your district will be attending desegregated schools in 1966-1967. If your school system is supposed to be moving toward the abolition of the dual school system by 1967-1968, your present rate of desegregation doesn't represent very satisfactory progress. The "Guidelines" require your school district to have 12% of the total number of Negroes enrolled attending desegregated schools. Keep in mind that the goal is to abolish the dual school system, and progress is measured by how well you are moving toward achieving that goal--not by comparing the amount of desegregation now with that of the past.

19. Does the 1964 Civil Rights Act require racial balance in the schools?

No. In fact, the 1964 Civil Rights Act says: "'Desegregation' means the assignment of students to public schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but 'desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

20. Do the 1966 "Guidelines" require racial balance in the schools?

No. There is positively no mention in the "Guidelines" of racial balance, quotas or percentages to achieve racial balance, and there are no requirements for racial balance to be achieved.

21. What is this about South Carolina challenging the 1966 "Guidelines" in court?

Governor McNair has indicated that the State of South Carolina will bring a suit in the name of a school district to challenge the legality of the 1966 "Guidelines". It has not been announced which school district will cooperate with the State in bringing the suit. Governor McNair has said that both "federal demands for the racial 'balance' in classrooms and faculty integration will be contested."

22. Are there possible political implications in this decision to challenge the "Guidelines" in court?

Apparently. At the state Republican convention in March, the GOP passed a resolution calling for a court test of the "Guidelines". Republican gubernatorial nominee, Joseph O. Rogers, Jr., then began using the 1966 "Guidelines" as a political issue and called for a court test of the "Guidelines". Governor McNair was therefore put in a position of either having to challenge the "Guidelines" and deny Mr. Rogers of a campaign issue, or do nothing and allow Mr. Rogers to use this as a political issue and attack the Governor for agreeing with the "Guidelines". Governor McNair contends that by challenging the "Guidelines" in court, he has removed this issue from the political arena.

23. Are the "Guidelines" illegal?

This has yet to be determined in the federal courts, but it is generally agreed by HEW lawyers that the "Guidelines" will stand up in court. The "Guideline" requirements are based on federal court decisions in school desegregation cases, and they require nothing that has not also been a part of these decisions. Since these provisions have been handed down previously by federal courts in individual cases, it would not seem that they are illegal. Perhaps you will also want to write to Commissioner Howe and ask for a copy of his May 20, 1966, memorandum "Authority for the 1966 School Desegregation Guidelines".

24. I have read that the "Guidelines" have not been approved by the President even though this is required. Is this true?

The President does not have to approve the "Guidelines" as such. He did have to approve the Regulation on which the "Guidelines" are based, and this has been done. The "Guidelines" do have White House support, however. (For the approved Regulation, see 29 Federal Register 16298; 45 C.F.R., Subtitle A, part 80.)

25. Were Southern educators asked to discuss the "Guidelines" with the Office of Education as they were being formulated?

Yes. The Office of Education sought the opinions of a number of educators and superintendents before the "Guidelines" were published. This is one reason the "Guidelines" were not published until March, though they were to have been out by January.

26. What are the "Guidelines" requirements for faculty and staff desegregation?

If there are 8 schools in your district, there should be 8 teachers involved in faculty desegregation. This does not mean that there has to be one teacher desegregating the faculty in each school. There might be several white teachers in one Negro school while another Negro school in the district might not have any faculty desegregation at all. (See page 13, section 181.13 of the accompanying booklet.)

27. My superintendent says that the Negro teachers are not as well qualified as white teachers and if we integrate the faculty, my child will be taught by a poor teacher. Is this true?

There are good teachers and poor teachers, well-qualified and poorly qualified--both Negro and white. Your child is already receiving an inferior education because he attends a public school in South Carolina. Lack of school accreditation, lack of a compulsory school attendance law, low teachers' salaries, lack of a state tenure law for teachers, the lack of free textbooks for all twelve grades, and the lack of leadership by political and community leaders all combine to contribute to the lack of quality education available to our children. It is obvious that there are Negro teachers who are not as well qualified as whites--you do not segregate and deprive a racial group and then expect the highest quality. It should also be apparent that there are a large number of white teachers who are also not of the best quality. We must be careful not to allow whatever problems might be created by faculty desegregation to be used as an

excuse for not desegregating our faculties at all. We must also be careful not to focus our attention on this one problem when there are so many problems in education which we continue to ignore. If there are problems in any area of education, we must attempt to deal with them in a rational and progressive way. If there are poor teachers, Negro and white, and for whatever reasons, it is the responsibility of the school system to upgrade these teachers and for us as citizens to promote legislation and policies which will enable our schools to hire more and better teachers, Negro and white.

28. How can we improve the quality of our teachers?

There are many, many federal programs which your school district can utilize to upgrade your teachers and to permit them to earn credit toward advanced degrees. Many of these programs involve in-service training for teachers, and they can be conducted in your school during the week or on weekends. For other programs, the teachers must go to another city for the summer, or perhaps even take a year's leave of absence. Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act makes funds available to local school boards for in-service training of teachers. Since many of the state's teachers will be teaching disadvantaged children, there are other programs which are available along this line. In-service teacher training for special programs to better help disadvantaged children may be supported by a local Community Action Program funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. It may also be supported under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In-service training may also be accomplished under the National Defense Education Act, Title XI, which provides specifically for retraining teachers of the economically deprived. The National Science Foundation has various programs for upgrading science teachers. There are other programs which provide for training in such specialities as counseling, guidance, working with the handicapped, and the arts and humanities. Don't let anyone tell you that teachers can't be improved. The materials are available, the money is available, and consultants are available. It is up to you and your school system to utilize these resources. Perhaps you will want to write for the booklet, Education: An Answer to Poverty. This can be obtained without charge from the Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506, or the Publications Distribution Unit, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 20202. This booklet describes a number of programs for the disadvantaged, but the appendix lists "Sources of Government Funding" and gives a brief description of what is available and where to write for specific information.

29. Will there be much desegregation of faculties in South Carolina schools this year?

As of the first of August, it was reported that 75% of the state's school districts plan no full-time classroom teacher assignments across racial lines. Perhaps this will change as school districts begin to be cited for non-compliance with Title VI.

30. My superintendent says that he cannot find any white teachers who are willing to teach in the "Negro school". Can he be expected to desegregate his faculty under such circumstances?

Yes. Many superintendents are apparently asking their teachers where they want to teach. It is hardly within the framework of the traditional employer-employee relationship for the employer to leave it up to the employee to do only what he or she wants to do. Perhaps your superintendent lacks the proper administrative skill if he finds himself in this kind of situation. Has he contacted the Peace Corps to see if there are any returning Corpsmen who would be willing to do this? Has he explored the possibility of requesting members of the Teachers Corps to teach in the all-Negro school? Has he really looked for people in your own community who might be willing to do this? Has he really tried to find a teacher in his system who will desegregate the faculty of the school of the opposite race? Perhaps you will want to write the U.S. Office of Education for the May 31, 1966, memorandum, "Suggestions for School Officials Starting Faculty Desegregation".

31. My superintendent says that he has not heard from Washington whether or not our school district is in compliance. Why is this?

Letters from the U.S. Office of Education are going out very shortly, perhaps by the time you receive this, to 600 school districts in the South which have met the requirements of the "Guidelines". Those school districts which are in some form of non-compliance will receive letters soon thereafter. The Office of Education is under-staffed and has had difficulty coping with complaints, performance data, and investigating evidence of non-compliance. They have been furthered delayed by school superintendents who have sought clarification in regard to the "Guidelines" and, in many instances, by superintendents and U.S. congressmen who have pressured them to make exceptions to and weaken the "Guidelines". It is also necessary to realize that in the federal government, it is no simple matter to draft these letters and then clear them with numerous officials. In any case, however, the "Guidelines" are quite clear about the requirements, and no superintendent should have any doubt as to whether or not his district is in compliance. In too many instance it appears that the superintendent and school board have done the absolute minimum and are now willing to gamble as to whether or not their school district will be judged as being in compliance.

32. My superintendent says that he is being "harassed" and "intimidated" and is under "tremendous pressure" from the Office of Education. Is this true?

Your school district is probably in some form of non-compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the requirements of the "Guidelines". The Office of Education is interested only in your school system abolishing the dual school system and complying with the 1966 "Guidelines". They do not want any school district to lose its federal funds, and they are making every attempt to get your school district to comply with the law. The Office of Education has no desire to recommend that a school district's funds be withheld without first giving the district every opportunity to comply with the law in good faith. The law is clear. It is the responsibility of your school officials to devise a plan which will make substantial progress toward eliminating the dual school system in your district. It is unfortunate that the Office of Education must expend time, energy, and tax-dollars to try to get your school superintendent and school board to assume their rightful responsibilities.

33. People from the Office of Education have been in my school district asking questions and talking with people. What are they doing?

These people are probably investigators. They are investigating complaints which have been made to the Office of Education by people in your district, or they are trying to find out why more Negroes did not transfer during the freedom-of-choice period. They will make a report to the Office of Education, and this will be used to determine if your school district has complied in good faith with the "Guidelines" requirements or perhaps to determine if another plan other than freedom-of-choice would better promote the abolition of the dual school system in your district.

34. The school officials in my district say that they have been notified that our school district has not met the requirements of the 1966 "Guidelines", but they will not take any further steps to meet the "Guideline" requirements. What will happen?

HEW will begin very shortly to start proceedings to cut off funds for the school districts which have the worst performance records. Perhaps your district is one of these. If not, you can still be assured that sooner or later HEW will get to your district. Your district will be given every opportunity to comply, and if it still refuses to do so, its federal funds will be terminated.

35. My superintendent says that if our federal funds are cut off, then the Negro school will be denied many of the programs it is operating with Elementary and Secondary Education Act money. Won't this hurt the very people you are trying to help?

Your superintendent is trying to place the blame for the termination of federal funds on HEW. It is not their desire to recommend that federal money be withheld from your district, and they certainly want every child to receive the full benefit of any programs which are available. HEW is only doing what is necessary to see that the law is enforced. It is your school officials who are unwilling to comply with the "Guidelines" and who apparently are willing to sacrifice federal money for needed programs. It is clearly their responsibility to take actions which the law requires, and if they refuse to do so, then they must also assume the responsibility for the termination of federal funds and the subsequent cut-back in programs operated with such funds. If your officials are sincere in their desire to provide a quality education for all of the school children of your district, then they should comply with the law and even try to get more federal funds so as to improve the educational system of your schools.

36. My neighbor says that the federal government has practically taken over the local school systems. What about this?

The federal government has taken only those steps which it has been forced to take by the inertia of the local school boards. We no longer live in the early years of the Twentieth Century when school boards had absolute control over their schools and when there was discrimination, inferior education for all, low school attendance; and widespread poverty was the order of the day. Much of the improvement in education is because of the federal government. The "Guidelines" this year are more stringent than last only because last year's "Guidelines" were violated in letter and spirit by so many school officials. As all adults should realize, it is much easier to go ahead and do the right thing.

All in all, however, the federal government has very little control or influence on local school boards. Perhaps you would be interested in ordering the booklet, Survey of School Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, 1965-1966, which tells of some of the problems in school desegregation last year. This report is available without charge from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. 20425. We would hope that school officials will comply with the law this year to the extent that such a booklet and more stringent "Guidelines" will not be necessary next year.

37. Aren't we moving too fast in the area of school desegregation?

No. It has been twelve years since the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown et.al. vs. Board of Education of Topeka et.al. Very little school desegregation has taken place since that time, and one generation of school children has attended segregated schools during these twelve years. Furthermore, there have been a number of federal district court and federal appeals court decisions since that time which have called for more progress in eliminating the dual school system.

38. Are the Negroes satisfied with the way things are?

No. On August 7, 1966, over 400 Negro community leaders from all over South Carolina attended a conference at the Wade Hampton Hotel. This conference was sponsored by the South Carolina Voter Education Project, and the group passed an eight-hundred word resolution calling on HEW to require school districts to abandon the freedom-of-choice system and devise some other plan which would abolish the dual school system by September, 1967. You can obtain a copy of this resolution by writing to the South Carolina Voter Education Project, 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

39. Is the Office of Education only concerned with desegregating the schools in the South? What about the de facto segregation that exists in the Northern cities?

The Office of Education is interested in eliminating all segregation in the schools of this country. So far it has focused its attention on the South because it is here that segregation in the schools is often perpetuated by law and by local administrative decisions which often have the force of law. In the North, segregation in the schools has occured because of the presence of large ghettos, shifting housing patterns, and immigration of minority groups into urban areas. The problem of de facto segregation is much more difficult because it is so massive and complex. The Office of Education is working on this problem, however, and is seeking solutions to it. The Office of Education has also just issued a summary report of their study, Equality of Educational Opportunity. This was a nation-wide study, and it is available for 30¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Ask for the publicaion by name and by number, OE-38000.

40. What can I do to help our school officials abolish the dual school system in our school district?

First, let your school superintendent and school board know that you are interested in getting on with the business of eliminating our dual schools. Let them know of your interest in education and your willingness to cooperate in whatever way possible to provide equality of educational opportunity for all of South Carolina's children. Discuss this with your friends and your business and club associates. Get the facts. Don't rely just on your local newspaper to find out what is going on. Communicate with your superintendent on a regular basis--even if he is generally uncooperative. Order and read materials which give you the facts and tell you what can be done in your community. Meet with others who have common interests in this problem and discuss what you can do together to bring about change in your school district. Seek out leaders of the opposite race and get their opinions and help; try to work together. Utilize the resources of organizations in your community and state that are interested in school desegregation and equality of educational opportunity for all.

41. Where can I get more information about what is really going on in South Carolina, get help, or find out what I can do?

Write or call:

M. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee
1105 Barton Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29203
telephone 253-0577

AC 8/31/66 SCHOOL DESEG.

2 Sumter Whites Integrate Negro School

AMERICUS, Ga. (UPI)—The only two white students in Georgia to transfer from a white school to a Negro school this year are doing fine, according to the leader of the commune-like farm where the boys live.

"They're quite happy in their decision," said the Rev. Clarence Jordan. "They have no regrets."

Jordan is leader of the Koinonia Farm 13 miles southwest of Americus.

The two boys, David Whittkamper, 16, and Lenny Jordan, 13, were the only two white students to request transfer to a previously all-Negro school under the federal desegregation guidelines, the State Department of Education reported.

More than 11,800 Negroes transferred to white schools as school began in most of Georgia this week.

One other high school student and three elementary school students from the farm elected to go to predominantly white schools.

"We left it up to them (the children) and we support them in their decision," Jordan said.

The two boys spent their second day among the 327 Negro students in Sumter High School Tuesday.

Jordan said they are not only the sole white students in the school but are the only white students on the bus which transports them there.

"I understood that buses were to be integrated, but there is still a white bus and a Negro bus on the road by the farm every morning," Jordan said.

Young Jordan and Whittkamper live in an environment that has specialized in being different. Jordan, a Baptist minister, founded Koinia in the 1940s and it has been a source of controversy in Sumter County since.

The members of the farm live and work together as one big family unit which is composed of individuals and entire families. All of them are white, but in the past the farm has been integrated.

During civil rights demonstrations in Americus, city officials charged that civil rights workers stayed on the farm. The farm has been raked by bombings and shots fired into homes, and at one time there was an economic boycott against the farm's products.

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

12 YEARS AFTER HIGH COURT RULING

Desegregation Speed Is Very Deliberate

By HAL COOPER

NEW YORK, Sept. 3 (AP)—A dozen years after the U.S. Supreme Court ban on school segregation, most Negro youngsters in Southern states and in many big northern cities return this month to classrooms predominantly or wholly black.

An Associated Press check showed that:

—Despite pressure from the federal government, including threats to cut off educational aid funds, substantially less than 10 per cent of Negroes are expected to attend classes with whites in most of the South.

—In northern metropolitan centers with huge, densely concentrated Negro populations, hardly a dent has been made on the problem of "de facto segregation," arising from racially unbalanced neighborhoods.

IN THE SOUTH, thousands of Negro children will be admitted to previously all white schools for the first time. The percentage has been moving up from year to year. But, says Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP):

"It appears that this year is going to be little if any better than last in spite of the efforts of the federal office of education.

"The federal guidelines are making little or no difference so far as boards of education are concerned. We are still going to have to go back to the courts."

In many northern cities the integration picture appears to have become more complicated, if anything. Some municipal authorities who have tried and discarded such devices as busing Negro students to white schools, seemed to regard the problem as insoluble under prevailing conditions.

THE EXODUS of white families from cities to suburbs continues. More and more white parents who stay in the cities are sending their children to private schools. The proportion of Negro students in the public affiliated office of integration and intergroup relations, said 40 per cent of the city's children attend private or parochial schools. Virtually all of these children are white.

"It is conceivable," said Pollack, "that the majority of white children in Philadelphia go to private and parochial schools."

What will happen if the big cities find themselves with too few white pupils remaining to make genuine integration possible — a state of affairs already approaching in Washington.

Dr. Laurence G. Paquin, superintendent of public instruction in Baltimore (116,800 Negro pupils, 73,950 white) made this wry observation:

"THE SCHOOLS cannot be fully integrated without white children."

Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington, D.C., Urban League, suggests that the District of Columbia (84,280 Negroes, 8,385 whites in the elementary grades) exchange students by bus with schools in the mainly-white suburbs.

"Integration is important because of its learning and teaching value," said Tucker. "But at no cost do we want to sacrifice quality education."

Carl F. Hansen, Washington's superintendent of schools, insists children do best attending schools close to their homes.

"We're in the business of educating children," says Hansen. "To move them out for sociological purposes is destructive of the process. The mechanism for moving people out of poverty should be education, not buses."

New York City, which expects a school enrollment of about 1,091,625 this year, has been in turmoil over integration for years and has tried a series of futile experiments.

The enrollment breaks down into 28.4 Negro, 19.8 per cent enrollments of 90 per cent or more.

Associated Press Wirephoto

INTEGRATED FIRST GRADE BUT THE PROBLEMS ARE MANY AND YET UNSOLVED

Proportion of Negro Students in Public Schools Is Rising as Whites Are Studying Elsewhere

In 1960 the city started an open enrollment program permitting pupils from schools with a high percentage of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to transfer to schools in predominantly white neighborhoods. Another experiment has been to "pair" Negro and white schools, busing pupils from one to the other.

THE LATEST New York idea, effective this school year, is to keep the first four grades of elementary schools on a neighborhood basis while placing fifth through eighth grades on an open enrollment basis.

Dissatisfaction among parents of both races led to citywide school boycotts by Negro pupils in February and March, 1964, and by whites in September of the same year.

White parents organized as the "parents and taxpayers coordinating council" set up two private schools in Queens rather than accept the pairing plan.

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He says Negro school facilities are inferior to those in white areas, substandard teachers are assigned to predominantly Negro districts and there is overcrowding and de facto to locate new schools in areas where integration is feasible — that is, where concentrations of the two races live fairly close together.

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of the 148 public schools, but 81 per cent are concentrated in only 25 schools.

The Milwaukee United School Integration Committee, a civil rights group, accuses the school board of fostering de facto segregation by insisting in general that children attend neighborhood school.

This group and other proponents of integration urge the busing of Negro students to white schools and the construction of schools in racial border areas.

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from communities which do not correct the condition.

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The service declined to estimate how many more would be admitted to previously all-white schools this year. The most optimistic guess by other educational observers was that the number might double.

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In many northern cities the integration picture appears to have become more complicated, if anything. Some municipal authorities who have tried and discarded such devices as busing Negro students to white schools, seemed to regard the problem as insoluble under prevailing conditions.

THE EXODUS of white families from cities to suburbs continues. More and more white parents who stay in the cities are sending their children to private schools. The proportion of Negro students in the public schools rises explosively.

Based on latest available figures, in Boston 50 per cent of public school enrollment is Negro, in Chicago 51 per cent, in Philadelphia 57 per cent, in Detroit 58 per cent, in Baltimore 61 per cent, in Washington, D.C., 90 per cent.

Joe Pollack, spokesman for Philadelphia's school board — affiliated office of integration and intergroup relations, said 40 per cent of the city's children attend private or parochial schools. Virtually all of these children are white.

"It is conceivable," said Pollack, "that the majority of white children in Philadelphia go to private and parochial schools."

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New York City, which expects a school enrollment of about 1,091,625 this year, has been in turmoil over integration for years and has tried a series of futile experiments.

The enrollment breaks down into 28.4 Negro, 19.8 per cent Puerto Rican and 51.8 per cent other races. The snag is that the Puerto Ricans and Negroes are concentrated in specific areas, particularly in Manhattan, where their children constitute about 70 per cent of total school student bodies.

Of the city's 900 schools, 201 have Negro and Puerto Rican enrollmerts of 90 per cent or more.

In 1960 the city started an open enrollment program permitting pupils from schools with a high percentage of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to transfer to schools in predominantly white neighborhoods. Another experiment has been to "pair" Negro and white schools, busing pupils from one to the other.

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Chicago, another center of uproar over de facto school segregation, has so far insisted that in general students must attend neighborhood schools.

Negroes outnumber whites 258,835 to 249,478 in school enrollment, and in heavily populated Negro areas many schools are for all practical purposes segregated.

TRANSFERS are permitted from overcrowded high schools, generally Negro, to those with room available, generally white. But the city provides no transportation.

Benjamin C. Willis, superintendent of Chicago schools, was under fire for years from civil rights groups that accused him of fostering de facto segregation. He has resigned and will be succeeded on Oct. 1 by James F. Redmond, former superintendent of schools in Syosset, N.Y. Civil rights leaders are maintaining a wait-and-see attitude toward the new head man.

Cleveland, which has 83,430 Negro schoolchildren out of a total of 154,500, is using a $300,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Education to set up an integrated special training program in a five-story warehouse.

In Cleveland, 91.5 per cent of pupils presently attend schools with enrollments predominantly — 80 per cent or more — Negro or white.

School Superintendent Paul W. Briggs, defending the neighborhood school policy, says schools must be built "where the children are found and where the schools are needed."

Briggs says that what the Negroes want is "not bussing, but quality education — the best way to get the Negro out of the ghetto is to give him the tools . . . a good education."

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He says Negro school facilities are inferior to those in white areas, substandard teachers are assigned to predominantly Negro districts and there is overcrowding and de facto segregation.

"We can't seem to escape the prison of the ghetto, and education is at its heart," he said.

Philadelphia sought to counter complaints about poor teaching in predominantly Negro schools by permitting instructors to transfer voluntarily to promote racial balance in faculties. The response was poor and some authorities now advocate a mandatory transfer system.

Cliff Brenner, an aide to Richardson Dilworth, president of the Philadelphia school board, said special efforts are being made to locate new schools in areas where integration is feasible — that is, where concentrations of the two races live fairly close together.

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Burton Gordin, executive director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, says:

"Many, if not most, Negro students attend inferior schools.

"They are inferior in terms of the buildings, which are usually older and inadequately equipped. They are inferior in terms of the teaching staff, which oftentimes has a higher proportion of inexperienced or substitute teachers, educationally unequipped to do the job."

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The law defines a racially imbalanced school as one where more than 50 per cent of the students are non-white. It empowers the state board of education to withhold state aid from communities which do not correct the condition.

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JOE GERSON

"THE RIGHT PERSON"

House of Representatives

FULTON COUNTY AT LARGE

DEMOCRAT . . . DISTRICT 123 · POST 2

Guidelines Director Kruger Reassigned in Dispute Here

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

9/9/66 AC

Georgia's controversial officer in charge of enforcing school desegregation guidelines has been removed from his job, according to an announcement in Washington Thursday night.

Stanley Kruger was reassigned from his post as area director of the school desegregation program in Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.

His new job is to head a unit for the grant and institute program, which gives federal technical help and grants to aid in desegregation of schools.

A regular replacement for Kruger has not been named but John Hodgdon will act as area director, Education Commissioner Harold Howe II said.

Kruger, a former math teacher, was called a "hatchet man" by Fulton School Supt. Paul West, who went to Washington to demand his transfer earlier this year. There have been continuing complaints that Kruger, who helped draft the 1966 guidelines, has demanded more than the law.

The announcement that Kruger was being transferred, came as Commissioner Howe made public a new grassroots approach to the problem of bringing schools and colleges into compliance with the 1964 civil rights act.

Howe said that for the first time personnel of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities will be assigned to work out of regional offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Also, a unit of the office of general counsel of the department will be established to work with the equal opportunities office to coordinate procedures related to enforcement and litigation and provide legal counsel in connection with complaints and investigations.

Howe said staff personnel are being placed in the field in order to expedite action; reduce the number of requests coming to headquarters, many of which could be handled more quickly near the site of action; make more staff available for consultation; cut down travel time, and establish closer relationships between the office staff and school authorities and officials.

Lovett School Plans to Lift Racial Bars

AJ 9/2/66

SCHOOL DESEG.

Lovett School has ended its long-standing policy of admitting only white pupils and will begin to consider applicants without regard to race or religion in 1967.

The private school which touched off a segregation controversy when it once refused admittance to a child of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., announced the new policy in a letter to the parents of children in the school.

James M. Sibley, chairman of the school's board of trustees, wrote that "subject to limitations of space and facilities, those applicants deemed best qualified (three criteria were listed) will be admitted without regard to race or religion.

"Some three or four years ago," he pointed out, "your trustees took a position which was controversial but one which the board believed at the time to be in the best interests of the school."

He added, "Neither then or now have we allowed our personal views, opinions or prejudice to interfere in any way with the action that we considered wise for the school."

After the King child was refused admittance in 1963, the school also turned down applications of two other Negro children.

The Episcopal Church then severed some ties with the school, although it remained an Episcopal-oriented institution.

Sumter Says U.S. Has Tagged All Funds for Negro Schools

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 9/14/66

AMERICUS, Ga. — Sumter County School Superintendent Ed N. Bailey said Tuesday that all federal funds which the government is threatening to withhold from the county school system have been designated for Negro schools.

Bailey and Alfred L. Evans of Atlanta, an assistant state attorney general, will attend a hearing Wednesday before officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington.

Bailey says he will argue that the school system has complied with federal requirements and that each pupil was given sufficient time to apply to attend the school of his choice.

The system was integrated last fall and has 40 Negro pupils in former white schools and two white pupils in former Negro schools.

The Negro pupils are attending former white schools at Plains and Leslie.

The white pupils are members of families who live at Koinonia farms, a communal farm southwest of Americus.

Bailey said that if the federal money is withheld, it would result in considerable curtailment of programs in Negro schools which were established last year.

He said that of $281,000 in federal money last year, the spending included:

—Two additional air-conditioned classrooms at each of the county's four Negro schools, about $60,000.

—Modern electronic remedial and reading laboratories at each of three Negro elementary schools, about $15,000.

—New science laboratory, including equipment, at Sumter High School, about $35,000.

—An audio-visual materials library in each of the four Negro schools, about $86,000.

—Establishment of a music program in the Negro schools, about $30,000.

—Free meals daily to children whose families have an income of less than $2,000 annually, approximately $26,000.

Bailey said, "Not only did students have the right to execute the freedom-of-choice plan during a 30-day publicly announced period this summer, but we also extended the transfer period for an additional 30 days to try to make sure that any student wishing to go to a different school this fall might have a choice."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Guides Probe by House Wins a Tentative Okay

AC. 9/21/66.

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A group of Southern congressmen, including Georgia Rep. John J. Flynt Jr., watched in delight Tuesday as the House Rules Committee gave tentative approval to a proposal to investigate the new school desegregation guidelines.

The committee voted 8 to 3 in favor of a resolution to set up a five-member panel to study the legality of the new guidelines and look into the way they are being enforced.

But the committee members agreed to take a second, presumably final, vote on the measure Wednesday after it was pointed out that four Democratic members were absent and could not vote.

It was expected that the measure would win approval again Wednesday, despite the fact that all four absent Democrats are liberals who would probably vote against it.

One of them, Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri, reportedly will be out of town all week.

Another Democrat, Rep. Thomas D. O'Neill of Massachusett

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Genuine L

Guides Probe Gets Tentative Okay

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

mas D. O'Neill of Massachusetts would be placed on the calendar before congress adjourns.

The resolution to investigate the new guidelines was introduced last April by Rep. George W. Andrews, D.-Ala.

An almost identical measure was introduced two weeks ago by Flynt, but it will be superceded by the Andrews proposal.

A basic of objective of the Andrews panel would be to determine whether the revised guidelines issued last April by the U.S. Office of Education conform with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Rules Committee deleted from the Andrews resolution a provision that would have temporarily rescinded the guidelines until the panel could report on its findings.

In presenting his proposal to the committee, Andrews said federal compliance officers have "gone on a wild spree" in enforcing the guidelines.

The Alabaman said he thought Southern school administrators were acting in good faith and "should not be required to go farther than the law indicates."

Andrews said the Department of Health, Education and Welfare feels "the only way to integrate in some areas is to bus students, and some districts have been ordered to do so."

Flint, citing the example of the Griffin school system which he has used frequently before, charged that compliance officer James H. Rich showed him at least four sets of instructions he gave school officials, none of which was alike.

"About the only thing these instructions had in common," the Georgian cracked, "was that they were in the same handwriting."

Later, Flynt said he didn't mind a bit that the Rules Committee voted on Andrews' resolution instead of the one he had introduced last month.

"I didn't know Rep. Andrews had introduced such a resolution," Flynt said. "But if it does the same thing as mine, then I'm all for it."

The guidelines, which have drawn heavy criticism from Southern congressmen and school administrators, received a series of attacks at Tuesday's session.

"Talk about Mussolini and Hitler," said Rep. W. J. Bryan Dorn, D.-S.C., "you have the blueprint right here in the guidelines"

Rep William M. Colmer, D.-Miss., warned that some day federal departments will "not only select faculties, but will prescribe books to be issued . . . if brakes are not applied."

WATCHES IN DELIGHT
Rep. John Flynt Jr.

But Rep. Carl D. Perkins, D-Ky., chairman of the House Judiciary education subcommittee, said he didn't think HEW was that bad after all.

"Sure," Perkins conceded, "U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe has gone overboard in some instances, but none of us is infallible. There are bound to be some errors in such a large program."

Perkins, whose subcommittee has jurisdiction over educational policy, said he would do all he could to correct any injustices.

U.S. INQUIRY ASKED ON RIGHTS RULINGS

SCHOOL DESEG.

House Panel Votes Study of Guidelines for Education

9/21/66

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — The House Rules Committee called today for a Congressional investigation to determine whether the United States Office of Education exceeded its authority in fixing guidelines for school desegregation.

By a vote of 7 to 4, the committee approved a resolution to create a special committee of five House members to conduct the inquiry.

Opponents of the measure maneuvered immediately, however, to bring about a reversal of the action. A motion to reconsider the vote was made. It will be pending when the committee meets again.

In any event, the resolution must be approved by the House itself before a special committee can be established.

The Rules Committee acted at the request of several Southern Democrats who contended that the Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, had "gone far beyond the law" in seeking compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Charges by Andrews

Title VI prohibits Federal financial aid to programs in which racial discrimination is practiced.

The Southerners' chief spokesman at a Rules Committee hearing, Representative George Andrews, Democrat of Alabama complained particularly of the application of Federal guidelines to bring about the racial integration of school faculties.

Representative Andrews also charged that Office of Education officials had ordered some school systems to transport pupils from one section to another to correct racial imbalance.

He testified that these and other activities "indicate that the bureaucrats downtown [in the Capitol) have gone on a wild spree, and they are demanding that school authorities knuckle under and comply with guidelines that go beyond the law."

Mr. Andrews is the author of the resolution calling for the inquiry and would serve as chairman of the special committee if Speaker John W. McCormack follows the usual procedure in setting up such a panel.

Also testifying for the resolution were Representatives W. J. Bryan Dorn of South Carolina, Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi and John J. Flynt Jr. of Georgia, all Democrats.

Representative Carl Perkins, Democrat of West Virginia, testified that an education and labor subcommittee, which he heads, intended to make its own study of the matter. He argued, however, that the Office of Education had done a good job, on the whole, in administering Federal aid to schools.

The Rules Committee chairman, Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, urged Mr. Perkins to sponsor an amendment to pending school-aid legislation restricting the commissioner's authority in school desegregation.

Mr. Perkins replied that the present law's provisions for court appeals provided adequate relief from any illegal administrative actions.

Four Rules Committee members, all of them Democrats who usually support the Administration, were absent when the Andrews resolution was approved.

If all of them should vote against it when the committee reconsiders, the resolution would be rejected, 8 to 7.

On today's ballot, the resolution was supported by Representatives Smith, William M. Colmer, Democrat of Mississippi, and the committee's five Republican members.

To conform with procedure under which members on the losing side cannot move to reconsider, Representatives John Young, Democrat of Texas, changed his vote from "No" to "Aye" and then offered a motion for reconsideration.

The opponents, besides Mr. Young, were Ray J. Madden of Indiana, James J. Delaney of New York, and Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts.

The absentees were James W. Trimble of Arkansas, Richard Bolling of Missouri, B. F. Sisk of California and Claude Pepper of Florida.

3 REFUSE TO TESTIFY FOR TROT INQUIRY

Three owners of harness racing horses, one being a driver also, refused yesterday to sign waivers of immunity before testifying to a Brooklyn grand jury investigating a possible scandal involving the Roosevelt, Yonkers and Monticello tracks.

The three, who sought more time, were Benny Alaimo, Nicholas Seminara and George Sziklai, a driver-owner. When District Attorney Aaron E. Koota insisted that they sign waivers yesterday, their lawyer, William Sonenshine, applied to Supreme Court Justice Hyman Barshay for relief.

Justice Barshay ordered the three to report to the grand jury tomorrow and either waive immunity or refuse to do so. Refusal could mean the revocation of their racing licenses by the State Harness Commission.

Twenty-nine drivers, owners and track personnel did testify briefly during the day. Assistant District Attorney Irving P. Seidman announced that more than 20 men will be called to testify today.

Southern Governors' Unit Scores School Guidelines Enforcement

SCHOOL DESEG. 9/22/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

GILBERTSVILLE, Ky., Sept. 21 — The Southern Governors Conference passed a resolution today attacking the Federal guidelines for speeding school desegregation.

The resolution said the guidelines policy of the Office of Education was "clearly contrary to and goes beyond certain provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

It asked Federal authorities to keep the guidelines from exceeding the intent of Congress.

Several Governors of Upper South and Border States were absent or abstained from voting. The resolution was watered down considerably from an earlier version backed by most of the Deep South Governors.

Copy for Johnson

Copies of the resolution were to be sent to President Johnson, the House Rules Committee, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Federal Commissioner of Education.

The Rules Committee voted yesterday to send to the floor a measure to create a five-member investigating committee to explore charges that the guidelines exceed the 1964 act.

The guidelines, under which the Office of Education has pushed public school desegregation to record levels in the South this fall, have become a political issue in many parts of the region.

A measure of the concern the issue has aroused is apparent in the fact that the Southern Governors Conference, which ended here today, considered the resolution. The conference in years past has tried to avoid racial and other controversial subjects.

Offered by McNair

The resolution was offered by Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina and promoted enthusiastically by Govs. John MacKeithen of Louisiana, Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi and George C. Wallace of Alabama.

In its first verison, the resolution strongly attacked the Office of Education's enforcement of the guidelines, accusing it of "assuming guilt until proof of innocence."

The earlier version called on the President and other Federal officials to stop "harassment and intimidation of school district officials in the absence of substantiated evidence that they are not complying." It also called for a Congressional investigation of the education office's enforcement practices.

Gov. Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, the only Republican in the conference, who had left before the vote today, complained earlier that Federal officials had tried to require Enid, Okla., to put at least one Negro teacher in each of its 22 schools even though Enid has too small a Negro population to supply that many teachers.

'Clearly Contrary'

The resolution as adopted today read in part:

"Whereas the revised statement of policies for school desegregation promulgated by the Office of Education of the U.S Department of Health, Education and Welfare in March, 1966, is clearly contrary to and goes beyond certain provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and

"Whereas administrative practices implementing these policies are inconsistent with the best interests of a quality educational opportunity for all our young people, which should be the high purpose and goal of this nation and the several states:

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Southern Governors Conference that those in authority are urged to take immediate steps to require that the statement of policies for school desegregation not exceed the intent of Congress as expressed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and those charged with the administration thereof act in conformity therewith."

Govs. Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky and Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri abstained from voting. One negative vote would have killed the resolution because the Governors operate on a unanimity rule.

Governors Bellmon, Frank C. Clement of Tennessee and Charles L. Terry Jr. of Delaware had left before the vote. Gov. John Connally of Texas did not attend the conference. Gov. J. Millard Tawes of Maryland, conference chairman, did not vote.

Governor Breathitt was elected chairman of the conference for the coming year. Governor Johnson was elected vice chairman. Next year's conference will be at Ashville, N.C.

AC 9/27/66

Senators Question Legality of Guides

SCHOOL DESEG.

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The powerful Senate Appropriations Committee said Monday it thinks the new federal school desegregation guidelines may be illegal, and called on Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner to re-examine them.

In a blistering report attached to this year's HEW appropriations bill, the committee said it believed the revised guidelines "contravene and violate" the legislative intent Congress had when it passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The committee also sharply criticized the actions of federal field representatives sent to Southern states to investigate civil rights compliance in schools and hospitals.

FIRST BY PANEL

Monday's report was the first major criticism of the new guidelines by any standing committee of Congress. The House Rules Committee is considering a resolution to investigate the guidelines, but so far has taken no action.

Significantly, only eight of the 27 members of the committee are Southerners. The rest are from Northern or Mid West states not directly affected by the compliance guidelines.

Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, the ranking Democrat on the Appropriations Committee, said he strongly supported the committee's statement on the guidelines.

NOT HEW FUNCTION

The report stated clearly it was not the function of HEW to promulgate "onerous education guidelines which contravene the legislative intent of Congress."

And it scolded the U.S. Office of Education, the HEW branch which issued the controversial guidelines, for claiming they had a legal basis in Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

To support its contention, the committee pointed to a transcript of debate on the Senate floor just before passage of the 1964 act, in which it said sponsors of the bill "interpreted the language and purposes of Title VI in no such manner."

The transcript quoted the then Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey as saying that Title IV of the bill precluded the Office of Education from using Title VI as a basis to require that local school districts act to relieve racial imbalance.

The committee members also said they had received "numerous complaints" about the actions of civil rights compliance officers during visits to Southern schools and hospitals.

Taken together, they said, the reports had "indicated an attitude of harassment rather than helpfulness."

"It has never been intended," the committee lectured, "that funds appropriated . . . be used (by HEW) to go about the country harassing people who have shown every indication of abid-

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Senators Question Guidelines

Continued from Page 1

ing by the letter and intent of the Civil Rights Act."

The report also told HEW that its field representatives should "achieve the image of ambassadors rather than inquisitionists."

Field investigators should be "carefully selected, thoroughly indoctrinated and rigidly supervised," the report stated.

The guidelines have been under constant fire in recent months from Southern congressmen and school administrators.

The House Rules Committee is now considering a resolution proposed by Rep. George W. Andrews, D-Ala., to set up a five-man select committee to investigate the legality of the guidelines.

The committee first approved the resolution by a vote of eight to three last week, but then rescinded its action to settle a jurisdictional dispute with the House Education Committee, which says it has power on this matter.

Georgia Rep. John J. Flynt Jr. has introduced a similar resolution which was superceded by the Andrews measure.

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe is expected to testify at public hearings to be conducted by the Rules Committee later this session.

House to Inquire Into Steps to Force Integration

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

and that the President felt that the guidelines policy was the best policy.

Among those who expressed concern were Representatives H. Allen Smith of California, senior Republican on the Rules Committee; B. F. Sisk, Democrat of California, and Harold D. Cooley, Democrat of North Carolina.

Mr. Cooley called the busing situation in his home district "deplorable and intolerable."

Only yesterday, Mr. Cooley an nounced a grant of $219,000 from the education office for the school system in Rocky Mount, N. C. The last paragraph of the release put out by Mr. Cooley read:

"Approval of the grant seemed to indicate that the system has now been fully cleared for continued Federal aid under the Civil Rights Act, since the Office of Educaton is not now granting any new program funds to units other than those who are regarded as in compliance."

In a related development, Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate majority leader, called in reporters to explain his statement yesterday that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had gone "too far" and "too fast" in compelling integration.

Mr. Mansfield said he must have misunderstood newsmens' questions yesterday, but "I assume the responsibility for the misunderstanding."

He also handed out a statement saying that he thought desegregation of schools was not going too fast—"if anything, it is too slow," with scarcely 10 per cent of formerly segregated schools being integrated" even on a token basis."

The Democratic leader said he was not advocating a slowdown in hospital integration. But he stood by a Senate amendment passed yesterday that would put patients of the same race together when necessary for their physical well-being.

The White House reaction to the Congressional furore over the desegregation guidelines and Mr. Mansfield's statements was both cautious and firm — neutral on Mansfield but endorsing H.E.W.

When the Presidential press secretary, Bill D. Moyers, was asked if Mr. Johnson was disappointed by the Senate's Democratic leadership, he replied:

"He knows that Senators are independent and have their own opinion."

Questioned about the guidelines, Mr. Moyers said this afternoon that the "President feels the guidelines policy is the best policy." He said that Mr. Johnson had already asked the health department Secretary, John W. Gardner, and the Justice Department to "assure that this law is implemented fairly, with justice to all concerned."

Mr. Movers added that President Johnson felt Mr. Gardner was "carrying out the law to the best of his ability."

There were other important actions on Capitol Hill involving education. The Senate Labor Committee passed two huge Federal education bills totaling $10.6-billion — about $3-billion more than the President had requested.

One $6.2-billion measure would extend the elementary and high school Federal aid program for two more years. The committee also sent a $4.4-billion higher education bill to the Senate for debate.

HOUSE TO INQUIRE INTO GUIDELINES FOR INTEGRATION

SCHOOL DESEG

President Defends Policy—Desegregation 'Too Slow,' Mansfield Now Asserts

9/30/66

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — A Congressional investigation into methods used by the Government to compel integration in schools and hospitals was pledged today by Representative Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn.

Mr. Celler, a liberal Democrat, promised the investigation for "immediately after the elections" on Nov. 8. He said that Southerners would be fairly represented on a panel drawn from the House Judiciary Committee, which he heads.

He made his commitment before the House Rules Committee, which had been planning its own investigation. The chairman of the Rules Committee is Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a racial conservative.

Mr. Celler argued that his committee, not the Rules Committee, had jurisdicvtion over such an investigation because it had shepherded all civil rights law to passage in the House. Many of the Rules Committee members agreed with him.

Republican Support

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Republican Support

Representative William M. McCulloch of Ohio, the senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee, also said that its inquiry would be thorough and just.

Mr. Celler declared that the investigation panel "will be representative of both North and South."

"There will be proper representation of the So th," he said. "It wouldn't be fair otherwise."

At today's hearing, Southern Representatives devoted most of their time to attacks on new guidelines for enforcing desegregation and on Harold Howe 2d, the United States Commissioner of Education. Mr. Howe was roasted in absentia today. He will be grilled in person tomorrow at another Rules Committee meeting.

His actions were called "unwarranted, illegal, high-handed, tyrannical." His employes in Washington and the field were described as "arrogant and downright insulting," and the guidelines were excoriated as "harsh and exacting."

Administrative Law Seen

Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans on the committee agreed that the Office of Education had gone beyond the intent of Congress and was making civil rights laws rather than interpreting those passed on Capitol Hill.

Men of both parties complained that Mr. Howe's office had violated a specific prohibition in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by attempting to force racial balance in schools through busing students.

The White House reaction was, in sum, that it recognized the independence of Senators

Continued on Page 30, Column 5

State's School Boards Plan New Rally to Hit Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 10/1/66

By United Press International

The Georgia School Boards Association (GSBA) said Friday a meeting by representatives of 11 Southern staes will be held Nov. 2 to map further plans to combat the federal school desegregation guidelines.

GSBA executive secretary Jack Acree said "substantial progress" had already been made to make the federal government clarify the guidelines.

Acree said GSBA would not take part in any move to undermine the 1964 Civil Rights Law but felt that the department of Health, Education and Welfare is "reading a lot into the law that isn't there."

HEW's office of education said the civil rights law gave it authority to adopt the guidelines which are designed to force school desegregation at a fast pace.

Acree said a progress report would be made at GSBA's annual fall district meeting beginning Oct. 31.

Acree said South Carolina Gov. Robert McNair has announced the intention to file a court suit on the guidelines.

Acree warned that in the meantime local school officials should refuse to conduct any business with HEW officials except at regular meetings with the minutes recorded.

He charged HEW officials have refused to give specific information to local school officials on the guidelines. He also charged HEW officials were "ineffective and inefficient."

Attacked in House On U.S. School Guidelines

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Education Chief Defends Policy as Southerner Calls Him 'Misfit'

10/1/66

By HAROLD GAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 30—The United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, denied under sharp questioning today by Southern critics on the House Rules Committee that he had overstepped his authority in his efforts to effect school desegregation.

As he testified, L. Mendel Rivers, Democrat of South Carolina, attacked the commissioner in a 10-minute speech on the House floor.

"This man talks like a Communist," Mr. Rivers declared. "That's why some of us who know him call him the Commissar of Education. The President should fire him."

Mr. Rivers called Mr. Howe "a misfit," "an idiot" and "ignorant."

William F. Ryan, Democrat of Manhattan, rising to Mr. Howe's defense, said he was "shocked" that a responsible member of the House would describe as a "Communist" a public official who was trying to carry out the mandate of Congress.

"I had thought that the days of McCarthy and McCarthyism were gone," Mr. Ryan declared. "It makes me shudder."

As Mr. Ryan spoke, Mr. Howe was facing his critics in the elegant green and gold chamber of the House Rules Committee across the hall.

The hearing, under the chair-

United Press International Telephoto

Harold Howe 2d, U.S. Commissioner of Education, after he testified before the House Rules Committee.

Continued on Page 15, Column 3

Howe Attacked in the House on School Guidelines

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

manship of Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, opened on an acrimonious note. Mr. Smith, irritated by the crush of newsmen and visitors who jammed the small room, declared the open hearing closed to all but members of Congress and the press.

Then Mr. Howe's opening statement was delayed by a committee member, Ray J. Madden, Democrat of Indiana, who challenged the panel's right to conduct the hearing. Mr. Madden noted that it had been indicated yesterday that the House Judiciary Committee, which has legislative responsibility for civil rights, would hold hearings on the school desegregation guidelines in November. Many members of the Rules Committee had agreed yesterday that the Judiciary Committee, headed by Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, had jurisdiction over such an inquiry.

"This is nothing but a wildcat hearing in absolute violation of House rules," Mr. Madden charged. "This is nothing more than a propaganda meeting, a Roman holiday. It's inexcusable."

Mr. Smith ruled Mr. Madden's motion to suspend the hearing out of order.

Court Decison Cited

Permitted to read his opening statement, Mr. Howe said that the revised guidelines for desegregation issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare this year were intended "to eliminate dual school systems for whites and Negroes, systems being operated in violation of the 1954 Supreme Court [Public School desegregation] ruling."

The guidelines, he insisted, "do not mention and do not require racial balance or the correction of racial imbalance." He had not sought, he declared, to "establish racial balance."

Mr. Howe said his department's legal responsibility was to adhere to the procedures "and policies established in the Civl Rights Act of 1964 and supported by the decisions of the Federal courts."

Mr. Smith, speaking in a soft voice that nevertheless betrayed irritation, said:

"We have had a lot of complaints about attempts to cure imbalance, about your field people particularly. How can you do anything about this in light of Title IV — the opening paragraph of Title IV — of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits you from doing this?"

Mr. Howe replied:

"We are not about such an enterprise; we want free choice to take effect. We are not engaged in any way so far as I know in establishing procedures for balance."

Mr. Smith retorted:

"If you don't know about the efforts of your department to correct imbalance you're the only one in the United States who doesn't."

Section Defines Term

Title IV covers desegregation of public education. The opening paragraph declares that "'desegregation' means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but 'desegregation' shall not mean this assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

Mr. Howe, puffing a pipe and replying calmly to Mr. Smith's questions, said the main purpose of the desegregation guidelines was to help school districts comply with Federal law so that they could continue to get Federal school aid.

Mr. Smith insisted that field representatives of the Office of Education were "harassing and hammering school people, telling them they've got to get some Negro children in white schools."

Busing Plan Spotlighted

Mr. Howe replied that there might have been a few such instances but that "in a very high proportion of cases" the field agents were following procedures authorized by law or Federal regulations.

"We are dealing with an area of tension and disagreement and occasional hostility," he said, "and in such a large system there may have been some mistakes."

John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, said he was concerned that neighborhood schools might be wiped out by a vast school busing plan Mr. Howe's office is studying. He pressed Mr. Howe on the importance of a draft bill proposing special Federal aid to cities that move toward better racial balance in schools.

Mr. Howe acknowledged that such a bill had been drafted for consideration within his department, but stressed that it was still in the idea stage and that he, too, was concerned about the loss of neighborhood schools. He said the bill "had no great standing with us in any official sense."

Mr. Howe denied that any busing that might be involved in such a plan was intended to be compulsory. However, he added that the Federal Government had a responsibility to try to help cities solve the educational problems created by the existence of segregated neighborhoods.

He also insisted that the Office of Education was not now engaged in any school busing programs. All such programs now in existence, he said, are arranged locally on a voluntary basis.

Mr. Howe was asked to return when the committee resumes its hearing next Tuesday.

Asked after today's session for Mr. Howe's reaction to Mr. Rivers's attack on the House floor, an aide said that the commissioner was somewhat puzzled because he had never met Mr. Rivers.

HOWE EXPLAINS

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Why Guidelines Upset the South

AC 10/3/66

By ART PINE

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The federal school desegregation guidelines, long considered foolproof political tinder in the South, this week touched off a blaze in the nation's capital.

Tuesday, Southern congressmen on the House Rules Committee will complete the second half of the investigation of the controversial guidelines which they began last week. When they are through, the House Judiciary Committee has promised to conduct a similar probe, this time a little less fiery, after the Nov. 8 elections.

Even before the House began its hearings, a Constitution reporter visited the Rules committee's star witness, U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe, to ask him why the guidelines seemed to spark so much resentment.

INTERVIEW EXCERPTS

The same questions asked of Howe were then put to his top civil rights compliance officer, Assistant Commissioner David Seeley. Here are excerpts from those interviews:

Q. Southern school officials have complained that your field representatives seem arrogant and often give conflicting answers on how to comply with the guidelines. How do you explain that?

Howe: There's a lot of tension involved in the administration of these policies. We're asking people to do things that go against many of their convictions.

In a couple of instances, we've been at fault. Some of our people in Oklahoma gave an interpretation that was not correct, and we called them back. I've apologized in some cases.

We took on some young people to work as field representatives this past summer. We gave them intensive training, but they're still temporary employes and they bring all their own ideas with them.

MANY 'EXAGGERATED'

Just the same, we've investigated all the complaints and most are vastly exaggerated. By and large, I think we've done pretty well.

I don't think our people are totally uninformed about Southerners.

Seeley: Sure, some of them can be overzealous. We're all human. There are differences in judgment. But in practical terms, it doesn't make any

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Why Guidelines Upset South Is Told by Howe

Continued from Page 1

difference whom we send down. The message they bring with them is just not palatable to the school officials. And the school people just transfer their distaste for the message on to the compliance officers.

Q. The 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits you from requiring racial balance. Yet your compliance officers frequently demand that school systems meet a certain percentage of desegregation before their freedom-of-choice plans are considered successful. What do you actually expect?

NO LABELS WANTED

Howe: We're asking school officials to do what's possible so that schools won't be identified as a "Negro" or "white" school. Since Negroes and whites live pretty well interspersed in most Southern communities, a free-choice plan that is really working properly will result in some movement of children.

The guidelines don't say anything about racial balance or imbalance, nor are we trying to construe them that way. The guidelines are essentially a gradual approach to the problem of desegregation. They allow the continuation of all-Negro schools temporarily in the South.

The percentages we've thrown into the picture are not there for racial balance. They're there to give us some measure of whether a free-choice plan is working. They aren't very demanding. There's some evidence that the school systems which are taking responsibility have no insuperable difficulty following the guidelines.

A ROUGH MEASURE

Seeley: The percentages just give us something to use as a rough measure of reasonable progress.

There's no fixed-and-fast formula for what constitutes progress. Last year, 100 school districts with freedom-of-choice plans had accomplished absolutely no desegregation. That wasn't very reasonable.

Actually, the guidelines are flexible and fairly lenient. It's hard to see how less could be required.

Q. One often-heard complaint

ON THE STAND
Harold Howe

ever, seems to be getting that topic on the agenda of the local school board.

If school superintendents would find a way to get the board to discuss the searching question of how to acomplish desegregation sensibly, this would help a great deal.

It would certainly be a more constructive attitude than asking "What is the least we can get away with?" A freedom-of-choice plan for desegregation just won't work without a constructive attitude.

Seeley: To bring about desegregation requires at least as much work with the community as passing a bond issue does; as we see it, under our system of local control of public schools, there's no escape for the school board itself to take this on.

SOME ELECTED

Q. What about the plight of the local school superintendent? In many Georgia communities, he's an elected official. By asking him to work actively for desegregation, aren't you asking him to risk his job?

Seeley: We're very sympathetic with that problem, and whenever possible we try to help the superintendents work it out. But if they can't we have no choice.

We don't accept the view that desegregation means allowing Negro parents to take on the burden of removing the "dual" school system — that is, the system where there are identifably

we issued them, and naturally we contend they are legal.

EXPECT NO UPSET

If the guidelines were declared illegal in federal court, then we'd have to appeal the decision or adjust our policies. It would depend on the specific situation. But I don't expect that to happen.

SEELEY: In many respects, the guidelines are an exception to department regulations. They allow special gradual plans of desegregation. If there were no guidelines, there would be no gradualism. So, in a way, any attempt to abolish them is self-defeating.

Q. You've already said what you think school superindendents should do to improve relations with your office. What could you do on your end of the line?

Howe: Part of our problem has been that our staff is too small for this job. We've had to deal separately with 2,200 individual school districts. We very much need a larger activity and more funds.

I'm interested in working out a plan by which the states could take over administration of these provisions. This would take some of the workload off our shoulders, and also permit more to be done at the local level.

In that case, perhaps we could provide grants to help pay for this, if it is legally possible, for those states which are willing to assume the responsibility. We'd find ourselves then dealing primarily with state officials, and so would local school boards.

ATLANTA EXPANSION

We also need to give local school officials more help—perhaps to set up a special center where they can receive long-term help. We'd like to expand the regional facility in Atlanta, as well.

I'd hope that centers like these could be staffed by Southerners. And we need to get more Southerners as compliance officers. And if any local school systems want to begin demonstration projects, we'd be interested in doing what we can in this regard. Perhaps through funds under Title III (of the Civil Rights Act).

Q. So far, your major emphasis has been in the South. Will you be concentrating at all on desegregating Northern schools?

Howe: It's much more difficult to find how the Title VI of the Civil Rights Act applies to the North, since we don't confront the "dual" school system there.

Most of the Northern segregation crew grew not from public decisions, but from private practices, such as real estate patterns and economic differences.

POSITIVE APPROACH

We're trying hard—and not too successfully — to work out a basis in the North. But I suspect that in the North as well as in the South, what we've got to do is provide a positive approach.

Q. Some people have dubbed your office the "Office of Integration." Do you sometimes feel that's an accurate description?

Howe: Oh, we still manage to do a lot about education—like running a $3.5 billion program, for instance, and conducting research.

The reason for this image we've received is that the guidelines are the part of our program which seem to get the most publicity. The heat is in the guidelines, but the light is on the other side.

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The percentages we've thrown into the picture are not there for racial balance. They're there to give us some measure of whether a free-choice plan is working. They aren't very demanding. There's some evidence that the school systems which are taking responsibility have no insuperable difficulty following the guidelines.

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Actually, the guidelines are flexible and fairly lenient. It's hard to see how less could be required.

Q. One often-heard complaint is that compliance officers seen to base their judgments on the 441B compliance form school boards are required to submit. Is that all they use to declare a school system ineligible for federal funds?

Howe: No compliance officer has any business saying to superintendents that they are out of compliance. The compliance officer can suggest he thinks there are some problems in the way a free-choice plan is working. But only a federal examiner at an official hearing may declare a school system out of compliance.

We received several hundred forms which school systems had changed by adding amending clauses of some sort or other.

In each case, we've had to determine whether they were in compliance.

ONLY 39 SYSTEMS

Naturally, we've had to send some back.

All told, however, we've only cut off federal funds from 39 of the 1,772 school systems in the South. I don't think that's very harsh. Our effort is to keep as many people in compliance as we can.

Seeley: The 441B form isn't the final basis we use to determine whether to begin deferral proceedings. We've deferred funds (the last step before an official hearing to cut off existing money) in 74 school districts which have filled out their 441B forms correctly. The reason was that on closer look we found they were not actually in compliance.

At the moment, our administration system is getting after the worse offenders first. We'll be checking into the others later. In the meantime, before a school system takes its case to a federal examiner, about all the superintendent can do is take our word for it that he's not in compliance. It's just like speeding if the speed-limit sign says 60 m.p.h. and you do 75, you take the risk of being caught.

Q. Your compliance officers often use the terms "desegregation" and "integration" interchangably. But in the South, one means complying with the law, while the other often connotes promoting race-mixing. Are you asking school superintendents actually to "promote" integration?

MAKES THEM MAD

Howe: I agree that it's a mistake for us to use the term "integration." It makes people mad. They're never quite sure what it means. All we're asking for is some constructive way to help people get used to one another. The touchest job, how-

choice plan for desegregation just won't work without a constructive attitude.

Seeley: To bring about desegregation requires at least as much work with the community as passing a bond issue does; as we see it, under our system of local control of public schools, there's no escape for the school board itself to take this on.

SOME ELECTED

Q. What about the plight of the local school superintendent? In many Georgia communities, he's an elected official. By asking him to work actively for desegregation, aren't you asking him to risk his job?

Seeley: We're very sympathetic with that problem, and whenever possible we try to help the superintendents work it out. But if they can't we have no choice.

We don't accept the view that desegregation means allowing Negro parents to take on the burden of removing the "dual" school system — that is, the system where there are identifably Negro and white schools. That burden belongs to school officials. What school people in Georgia should be doing is pleading with their state political leaders to help them out by making speeches and laying some groundwork.

The superintendent has a tough time complying with the guidelines; the state leaders are against it. And the general political action in Georgia has not given support to statewide activities of desegregation.

NIX'S STAND

I think your state school superintendent, Jack Nix, honestly believes the guidelines are illegal. If he wants to believe that, I can't blame him for fighting us, but it isn't helping local officials any.

By contrast, Florida and Mississippi have established state activities to help local school systems carry out the guidelines.

Howe: We must set this question in a larger context. Southern political leaders have made so many strong statements that have only made the superintendents' job tougher.

But one thing I don't think we've succeeded in getting across: The obligation to desegregate is a local obligation.

Q. Supt. Nix isn't the only one who's been questioning the guidelines recently. Several senators and congressmen have also said they thought the guidelines were illegal. What would you do if the courts ever declared them so?

HOWE: The whole business is talked about more as a political matter than a legal matter. We made every effort to check the legality of the guidelines before

to be done at the local level.

In that case, perhaps we could provide grants to help pay for this, if it is legally possible, for those states which are willing to assume the responsibility. We'd find ourselves then dealing primarily with state officials, and so would local school boards.

ATLANTA EXPANSION

We also need to give local school officials more help—perhaps to set up a special center where they can receive long-term help. We'd like to expand the regional facility in Atlanta, as well.

I'd hope that centers like these could be staffed by Southerners. And we need to get more Southerners as compliance officers. And if any local school

successfully — to work out a basis in the North. But I suspect that in the North as well as in the South, what we've got to do is provide a positive approach.

Q. Some people have dubbed your office the "Office of Integration." Do you sometimes feel that's an accurate description?

Howe: Oh, we still manage to do a lot about education—like running a $3.5 billion program, for instance, and conducting research.

The reason for this image we've received is that the guidelines are the part of our program which seem to get the most publicity. The heat is in the guidelines, but the light is on the other side.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

U.S. Education Chief Denies Any Bid to Control Schools

AC 10/5/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe denied Tuesday that the federal government is trying to take over local control of public schools, and blamed Southern political leaders for giving the people that impression.

Howe concluded testimony before the House Rules Committee, which he began in a session last Friday, as the committee fell one vote short of the quorum needed to decide what it would do next.

Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith, D. Va., said he would call another meeting Wednesday afternoon to vote on a resolution to set up a select panel to investigate the guidelines.

The Rules Committee had invited Howe to appear as a witness in its consideration of the proposal, which was introduced by Rep. George W. Andrews, Democrat-Alabama.

Howe told Rep. James H. Quillen, R-Tenn., that there was "certainly no attempt in these guidelines to take over local control of public schools, "and that his office had "never even considered it."

The commissioners said the only time his office exercised any control over local school districts was in cases of alleged discrimination.

Then, Howe said, "We are in the uncomfortable position of having to administer Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

It was in the administration of Title VI, Howe said, that the "impression has been created that there is a centralization of federal authority in overall education."

The commissioner said he thought much of the bad feeling the public has toward the controversial guidelines was sparked by "statements by other persons, often in high authority, who have used that to their own political advantage."

Actually, Howe insisted, "In our whole program we are trying to avoid federal control."

Then he told the congressmen of a plan under which he hoped some day to turn over administration of civil rights compliance to state authorities.

"If the job is done by the state," Howe said, "the staff then would be more acceptable to local school officials than some of our own field investigators apparently have been."

But, Howe pointed out, "We're going to have to look at this pretty carefully. It presents some real problems for the state school superintendents, particularly if he's an elected official."

The commissioner said his idea of a state administered program was simply preliminary, and he wasn't even sure whether it would be legal to give federal funds to state authorities to help them administer the program locally.

Meanwhile, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., who wrested jurisdiction over the guidelines back from the Rules Committee last week, announced Tuesday

BLAMES SOUTHERNERS
Harold Howe

he had appointed a seven-member subcommittee to look into the guidelines.

Celler asked the House to appropriate $50,000 to pay for the investigation, which he promised would be "non-political" and not held until after the November elections.

The Rules Committee had ceded jurisdiction to Celler last week, but went ahead with its own inquiry anyway.

Celler's appointments include Rep. Peter W. Rodino, D-N.Y., who is expected to be chairman of the subcommittee, Rep. Robert T. Ashmore, D-S.C.; Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis.; James C. Corman, D-Calif.; William C. Cramer, R-Fla.; Charles M. Mathias, R-Md., and Clarke MacGregor, R-Minn.

Liberal Rep. Ray J. Madden, D-Ind., again charged that the House testimony amounted to "nothing but a political inquisition."

And Rep. James J. Delaney, D-N.Y., told the committee, "There's no need for either our select committee or the judiciary subcommittee investigation. We've done all that in here today."

Questioned by Smith on the legality of the guidelines, Howe said they were sanctioned by federal court decisions handed down since 1964.

"Well," said Smith pointedly, "we can't investigate the federal courts so I guess we had better drop that subject."

Howe said he "certainly wouldn't call the guidelines law," however. "They are administrative aids," he said, "and nothing else."

A Justice department attorney also testified that the guidelines "do not have the force of law."

Howe told Smith the controversial guidelines were "simply a statement of how the commissioner will implement the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

When the 1964 act was passed, said Howe, then-Commissioner Francis W. Keppell had intended to use department regulations which are more stringent than the guidelines.

But, Howe said, "Local school superintendents asked for guidelines on how to proceed so we drew these up. They actually allow desegregation to come about more slowly."

Earlier, Rep. William M. Colmer, D-Miss., asked Howe if he hadn't been "an overzealous reformer."

"I'm just apprehensive," Colmer said, "that with your administration of the law that you are not able, because of your background or what, to be objective."

The Mississippian admitted to Howe, "If I were in your place, with my background, I would be subject to the same criticism."

Colmer told Howe he should administer the law without leaning either to the right or the left. "I think you lean to the left," said Colmer.

"Aren't you a bit disturbed," Colmer asked the commissioner, "that because of your zeal in this racial thing you have allowed yourself to become an overzealous reformer instead of merely an administrator?"

Howe replied: "I think I've had a little assistance in turning myself into this image of an overzealous reformer." His allusion was to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

HOWE BIDS STATES ENFORCE BIAS BAN

SCHOOL DESEG.

Astonishes House Panel by Urging Less U.S. Control

10/5/66

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4—Harold Howe 2d, the United States Commissioner of Education, astonished a Congressional committee today by suggesting that states take over from the Federal Government the enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in school systems.

Mr. Howe, who has been attacked by Southern States' advocates in Congress as a man who "talks like a Communist" or a "dictator" and as the "commissar of education" and "a foul blot on the escutcheon of decency," issued his offer of decentralized control almost casually before the House Rules Committee. Its chairman is Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, an 83-year-old racial conservative.

The Commissioner said he intended to have his lawyers explore this "very healthy" approach of dispersing the obligations to carry out Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This section bans discrimination in any program assisted by Federal Money.

"I would hope to decentralize the responsibility for the enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act if we can find a way for the states to assume their responsibilities," Mr. Howe said.

"Have you ever made this statement publicly before?" Representative James J. Quillen, Republican of Tennessee, asked.

"No, but I have discussed it with my staff," Mr. Howe replied.

"Operation of Deceit"

Earlier, Mr. Quillen described the Office of Education, as "an operation of deceit" that withheld funds from some school districts while "deviously" giving money to others. He called the guidelines for desegragation issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare this year "the most dictatorial communiqué" he had ever read.

Of his decentralization suggestion Mr. Howe said, "I don't know about the legality of it," nor "if we could farm out our responsibilities under Title VI to the states."

During a hearing recess he told reporters that his office would have to maintain surveillance to make sure that states met minimum antidiscrimination requirements.

"That might be easier than riding herd on 2,000 systems," he added.

He was referring to school systems in 17 Southern and Border states.

The Office of Education has not attempted to bring about school desegregation outside th states that have a history of legally enforced segregation. The agency's position is that it does not have authority to use Title VI to correct racial imbalance that does not result from an overt school segregation policy.

Accordingly, the office has accepted pledges of compliance from those school districts that have never openly proclaimed a policy of segregation.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Howe explained that it was a "tremendous" problem to try to administer the antidiscrimination program "in a way that the local people find acceptable."

He had suggested during the hearing today that there be an "optional" agreement between a consenting state and Washington. He also had hinted that the Federal Government might provide "additional funds" so the state could hire the staff necessary to enforce the discrimination ban.

Asked whether he would allow a state such as Georgia to take over enforcement of antidiscrimination policies in the schools, he said the Federal guidelines would have to be adopted by any state agency.

He said there would have to be "minimal safeguards" that would include a complaint process with recourse to Washington. He said Negroes looked to the Federal Government for recourse, not the states.

A high official in the Office of Education said the decentralization idea had been under discussion for more than six months.

He added, "Nobody over here seriously thinks that any Southern states with the possible exception of Florida" would want to take on the job. But he indicated that it might give the office a better means of enforcing Title VI in Northern states.

During the hearing recess, Mr. Howe said:

"I haven't had a chance to talk to any state officials about such a possibility. It might be that some states would prefer not to get involved. But if a state did wish to, I can see a very constructive relationship developing."

Lands Proposal

Representative Quillen, who had earlier hotly accused the Commissioner of having "frandiose plans for federalizing our elementary and secondary schools," apparently believed that Mr. Howe was about to turn control unequivocally over to the states.

"An astounding admission," he said in the hall outside the hearing room. "the only good thing that came out of the meeting."

This was Mr. Howe's second and last day before the Rules committee, which is trying to determine whether it should establish a panel to investigate school desegregation policies.

Representative Ray J. Madden, Democrat of Indiana, called the hearings "nothing but a political inquisition," a "side shoe," a "farce" and a "filibuster" by Southern members.

The hearing ended in a closed session, but lack of a quorum prevented the committee from voting whether to ask the Hous to set up a panel.

Associated Press

FAVORS STATE RULE: Harold Howe 2d, U.S. Education Commissioner, suggests states take over enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in the schools.

SCHOOL DESEG.

U.S. Won't Use School Aid To Bus Pupils, House Told

AC 10/6/66

By MARJORIE HUNTER
(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The House was assured Wednesday that federal officials will not use funds in the administration's school aid bill to force racial balance by busing pupils.

The assurance was given as the House opened debate on a $5.8 billion two-year extension of the landmark program of elementary and secondary school aid enacted last year. Final action is not expected until late Thursday or Friday.

The Senate, too, opened debate late Wednesday on its own costlier version of the proposed school aid legislation. The Senate bill calls for $6.2 billion over two years.

BOTH EXCEED SUMS

Both the Senate and House versions far exceed sums sought by President Lyndon B. Johnson in the current fiscal year.

Under the House bill, the authorization for this year would be about $2.2 billion, about $500 million more than the President had sought. The Senate version would authorize $2.7 billion for this year.

The school busing question was raised in the House by Rep. Paul Fino, R-N.Y., and Rep. Horace Kornegay, D-N.C.

Noting that the bill would authorize federal funds for "pupil transportation services," Fino suggested this could lead to forced busing of pupils to achieve racial balance

Rep. Carl Perkins, D-Ky., floor leader for the bill, denied that there was any such intent.

"All we're saying here is, if a local education agency wants to spend money on transporting pupils it can," Perkins said. "The federal government can't force local agencies to bus pupils."

Rep. Hugh Carey, D-N.Y., said that the reference to pupil transportation services "has nothing to do with integration or forced busing."

CRIPPLED COVERED

The money would be available to transport handicapped and crippled children, he said.

Under the bill, the bulk of the money would go to school districts serving children of low-income families. Funds also would be earmarked for supplementary educational centers, purchase of books and library materials, and for the older program of aid to schools in areas crowded by children of federal employes and servicemen.

Pushing their drive for adjournment, Democratic leaders had hoped for a final House vote on the school aid bill Thursday.

But the drive bogged down when southerners, teaming up to help a colleague, forced five time-consuming quorum calls, requiring the clerk to call the roll of members. Each quorum call takes about 25 minutes.

The Southern strategy of delay, it was learned, was designed to head off consideration Thursday of a bill opposed by Rep. Basil Whitener, D-N.C.

The plan had been to take up the bill—calling for an agency to extend rapid rail system into District of Columbia suburbs—immediately following the school-aid measure.

Whitener has a speaking date Thursday in Chicago and wants to postpone the rapid-rail bill until his return.

SCHOOL DESEG.

Congress Approves School Aid

10/7/66 AC

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Senate and House passed companion bills to extend the federal school aid program Thursday, along with amendments that dealt a sharp blow at federal school guidelines.

The measures, which will be resolved by a joint conference committee later, included amendments that would:

1. Prohibit the U.S. Office of Education from deferring new funds from school districts without first asking a federal examiner to conduct a hearing to determine whether they are in compliance.

BUSING COVERED

2. Prohibit the commissioner of education from requiring school districts to turn to busing to relieve racial imbalance before they can qualify for federal funds.

Deleted in both houses was a provision that would have required the commissioner to give "special consideration" to applications for grants from districts which cannot meet educational needs because some of their schools are racially imbalanced.

The Senate version, which calls for a $6.2-billion program, was passed 54 to 16, opposed mostly by Southerners and Republicans, who said it allowed too much federal control over schools.

HOW THEY VOTED

Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell voted against the bill; Sen. Herman E. Talmadge voted for it.

The House passed a $5.7-billion version of the bill, 237 to 97, three hours later after wading through 22 amendments.

Reps. Phil M. Landrum and Charles L. Weltner voted for the House proposal.

Voting against it were Reps. Howard (Bo) Callaway, Elliott

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Both Houses Okay School Aid Bills

Continued from Page 1

Hagan, Maston O'Neal and J. Russell Tuten.

Earlier, both houses rejected a GOP motion to recommit the bill with instructions to reduce the amount of money authorized.

The Senate defeated 23 to 47 a series of amendments by GOP Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, R-Ill., which would have cut $472 million from the bill.

Later, the House downed 150 to 185 a motion by Rep. Harold R. Collier, R-Ill., to cut $343-million.

Most of the debate in both houses, however, centered more on the controversial guidelines than on the budget.

Russell, in an exchange with Oregon Sen. Wayne Morse, said he couldn't support the bill because he did not think it was specific enough "to end the very definite confusion in the Office of Education."

The Georgian said that in his opinion, "having seen how the Office of Education operates, unless there is a provision in a grant application relating to busing or ending racial imbalance, the grant will never be approved."

Morse assured Russell that his Labor and Public Welfare Committee would "ride herd" on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, especially on the role played by Education Commissioner Harold Howe.

"I have already served notice on Commissioner Howe," Morse said, "that we will give him an opportunity in a hearing to explain some of the complaints that have been made."

Morse's hearing will be the third in which Howe will have been involved in this session of Congress.

The commissioner appeared last week before the House Rules Committee and is scheduled to present his case to a House Judiciary subcommittee after the November elections.

Howe also was castigated in the House Thursday when Alabama Rep. George W. Andrews announced he would introduce an amendment to prevent him from cutting off funds to overcome racial inbalance.

Rep. Hugh L. Carey, D-N.Y., who explained that existing laws forbid Howe to do this anyway, jumped to his defense.

"Don't let this bill become involved in election year jitters," Carey warned.

The amendment did not pass.

Also rejected was a proposal by Rep. Albert W. Watson, R-S.C., which would have barred expenditure of any federal school funds until Howe was dismissed from office.

Georgia's Rep. Callaway said he voted against the measure "so as not to strengthen the club Howe has over our heads."

The Pine Mountain representative said he considered a vote for the bill a vote for Howe. "I'm not for Howe and not for the guidelines," Callaway said.

Wilkins Critical of School Aid Change

SCHOOL DESEG. NYT 10/8/66

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., criticized yesterday an amendment to the school aid bill as "the latest and perhaps most devastating blow in the current campaign to destroy the civil rights advances of the last few years."

The Southern-sponsored amendment, passed in the House of Representatives on Thursday, would require a hearing before the Government could withhold funds from school districts that violated desegretation guidelines.

In a statement issued from his New York City office, the director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said that the amendment "would make it impossible for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, without protracted hearings, to withhold funds from schools that discriminate."

He added:

"It is an extension of the ongoing attack on the school desegregation guidelines and on Commissioner of Education Harold Howe 2d."

Mr. Withins, who also spoke for the 83-organization Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which lobbies for rights legislation, called upon Congress, President Johnson and the American people for support.

He asked that Congress "defend their own laws and reject the crippling amendments of the last two weeks," that Mr. Johnson stand behind Mr. Howe and that the nation as a whole "recognize that nothing can create more disrespect for law than the vilification of public officials trying to uphold it."

The amendment, approved by a 113-to-63 nonrecorded vote, could be reversed by a roll-call vote.

Mr. Wilkins said that the recent attacks on Mr. Howe were aimed at getting rid of the commissioner because he had outspokenly called for compliance with the law.

Mr. Wilkins attacked as "thoroughly baseless" the recent statements that the Department of Health was too harsh in its administration of the guidelines and was moving too fast.

"When after 12 years only 8 per cent of the Southern schools are desegregated, no one can say we are going too fast," Mr. Wilkins said.

"And no one can say H. E. W. has pushed desegregation too vigorously, when despite widely documented violations, it has withheld funds from only 89 of 7,000 hospitals and 37 of 1,800 Southern school districts."

The civil rights leader predicted that if the amendment stood, it would bring about unwanted reactions from elements of both the Negro and white community.

"Its own [Congress's] abuse of the legisltive process can only feed unrest and disillusionment among Negroes and spur the bigots of the North and the South to new excesses," he said.

The Administration had sought a $1.75-billion extension for the current fiscal year of the year-old program of aid to elementary and secondary schools.

The Senate passed on Thursday a bill that would authorize $6.4-billion for the next two years. Still in debate, however, is the House version, which is expected to authorize $5.8-billion over the same two-year period.

In a related matter, a spokesman for Mr. Wilkins declined to comment yesterday on the activities of militant young N.A.A.C.P. officials in Milwaukee, pending a special meeting between Mr. Wilkins, officials of the Fraternal Order of Eagles and the youts on Oct. 19th.

The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council has picketed the homes of officials who belonged to the all-white organization.

In recent days, council members have been sitting in cars outside the homes of police officials. They say that the police have been maintaining a similar and unnecessary watc on their headquarters.

CONGRESS ERODING INTEGRATION LAW

SCHOOL DESEG.

Repeal of Curb on Federal Aid Feared by Officials

10/9/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 — There is concern within the Administration that the most far-reaching desegregation law — Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — is in danger of repeal.

Bit by bit, both houses of Congress have been chipping away at Title VI, which is intended to prohibit racial discrimination in any federally assisted program. This has had an adverse effect on enforcement.

"Now when we call on Southern school officials for compliance, they just laugh at us," an official in the Office of Education saidi. "They feel they have the rest of the country on their side now."

On Thursday, the House voted, 220 to 116, to require a hearing in advance of any Office of Education move to delay Federal funds to any school district suspected of practicing discrimination.

Segregation for Health

Earlier, the Senate had voted by a substantial margin to let physicians decide whether a patient should be assigned to a segregated hospital room for his health or well-being.

Both houses agreed to cut the appropriation for civil rights enforcement by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by $927,000. These actions are subject to approval in conference committee.

In addition, the department and the Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, have been under fire by members of Congress from both the South and the North, who say the administrators are going beyond the law in the enforcement of Title VI.

Some officials within the department believe that damage to Title VI so far is more psychological than substantative.

The House Amendment on schools, for instance, could be harder on the school districts than on the Federal Government. The Government would have to terminate funds sooner for noncomplying districts rather than to delay funds and work with the districts to achieve compliance.

But some Administration officials believe Congress is not yet through with Title VI.

"We believe there will be more attempts to weaken it," one official said. "A lot of people would like to see it re-

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But some Administration officials believe Congress is not yet through with Title VI.

"We believe there will be more attempts to weaken it," one official said. "A lot of people would like to see it repealed or gradually eroded away."

New opposition to Title VI, as heard almost daily on Capitol Hill, is making a difficult enforcement task even harder, a spokesman for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said.

Title VI has been called the atomic bomb of civil rights. If it were invoked in regard to every Federal dollar, as it could be in all but a few cases, it could be felt in almost every fabric of the society.

For various reasons, the Administration has attempted to enforce it only in selected programs, chiefly schools, hospitals, and the Federal agencies.

Further, Title VI is not popular in the bureaucracy. Because it carries the power to withhold funds, it gets in the way of agencies that are trying to pursue their goals by making Federal grants.

Officials Cite Distractions

Many officials say privately they wish it did not exist. It involves them in the emotional area of race relations that they would rather avoid. And it distracts them from what they consider to be their major concerns.

The Office of Education is committed to integrated education as one of its goals. But there are those in the office who feel that civil rights problems have interfered with its major job of building quality schools, whatever the racial balance.

This week, Commissioner Howe proposed before the House Rules Committee that enforcement of Title VI in school desegregation be delegated to the states. He said this could be incorporated into general state administration of Federal education programs, if the states wished to assume that responsibility

The Federal standards and guidelines would have to be maintained, Mr. Howe said, and it is presumed that most Southern states would decline to take on the desegregation role. Nevertheless, some of the complaints about Federal control would be removed.

Enforced Only in South

Title VI has been enforced only in the South and border states, which have a history of segregation by law or official pronouncement. The Office of Education has made no attempt to enforce Title VI outside the South since last year, when it deferred funds to Chicago and was overruled by the White House.

The reason for the general assault on Title VI is that Southerners have mounted a campaign against it, and many Northerners are sympathetic for the first time.

Constituents voice complaints of "Federal control," and Congressmen are sentive to increased white resistance to attacks on neighborhood schools.

The main charge is that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is intent on achieving racial balance, while the law is aimed only at removing racial barriers.

In the Nation

Desegregation or Integration?

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8—When the Federal Government, many decades ago, first began to intervene in the processes of the free enterprise economy, it was to prevent some of that economy's most flagrant abuses—for instance, through the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Gradually the intervention became more active until today, through its budgeting and taxing activities, the Government plays a positive—if not always successful—role in guiding and shaping the economy as well as correcting its abuses.

Something like this evolutionary process of Federal action also has been going on in the struggle to achieve Negro equality in American life, and not everyone is happy about it. Ever since the Supreme Court handed down the Brown decision in 1954, formally opening the Negro revolution, there has been debate on the question whether the Government's responsibility was to correct demonstrated injustices and abuses or whether, beyond that, it had an active role to play in creating conditions of social and economic equality. Should it, for instance, only prevent the segregation of Southern schools, or should t force their integration?

Debate Is Revived

This debate is being revived, and sharply, by a number of legislators, Southern and otherwise, who believe that the Office of Education and its Commissioner, Harold Howe, moved beyond the intent of Congress in an intent to achieve integration.

In fact, the Federal Government long ago passed the point of limiting its responsibility for Negro welfare to correcting legal injustices perpetrated in the South and elsewhere. It has not always had the success desired, and the scope of its programs, measured in dollars, has not matched the need; but the principle by now is embedded in numerous laws.

The antipoverty program, whatever its deficiencies, perhaps deserves historical recognition as the first Federal step in this direction. This plan for broad-scale community and Federal attack on social and economic ills was not presented or advertised as a program to assist Negroes but as one to help the poor achieve self-sufficiency and self-respect; in fact, many white persons are reached by it but almost all Negroes are potentially to be aided. The intent was to provide education, job training, jobs, decent housing—in short, not only to push open doors of opportunity previously closed but to help the Negro and others walk through to a better life.

The School Act

The Elementary and Secondary School Act, similarly, is not specifically a Negro program; but its primary aim is to improve the quality of schools and education in ghettos and poorer neighborhoods and the major benefits therefore are bound to fall on Negroes. If and when President Johnson's "demonstration cities" program gets off the ground, it, too, will be, in effect, a massive intervention primarily on behalf of Negroes.

Not only were such programs judged here the best way to attack the problem, they also have the advantage of quieting some of the latent opposition that, it is now clear, exists toward the idea of singling out Negroes for special, visible assistance—for instance, in the "busing" of students. They helped keep large responsibilities in communities and neighborhoods; and they provided Federal funds to finance the ideas, the energies, and the will power of local governments and groups that had been financially helpless to cope with their own problems.

On the other hand, the Government has not in every case found it wise to go beyond the idea of preventing abuses. After the Voting Rights Act of 1965, for instance, the Justice Department was criticized for not moving on a broader scale to get Southern Negroes on the registration books.

Katzenbach's Position

Attorney General Katzenbach took the position that it was his responsibility to open up the registration books and give everyone who wanted it a chance to register and vote; it was not his obligation to conduct major Federal registration campaigns among Negroes. Once opportunity was guaranteed, he argued, Negroes would benefit more, and more lastingly, if they accepted responsibility themselves, if they organized their own drives and motivated their own people. First results seem to have vindicated this attitude.

In Wilcox County, Ala., for instance, where Federal Examiners were appointed, it is estimated that well over 3,000 of about 3,600 newly registered Negroes voted in a primary last May 3. In another primary in Claiborne County, Miss., where a drive led by Charles Evers had resulted in registering 2,805 Negroes, 86 per cent of them voted; and in West Feliciana Parish, La., perhaps 1,300 out of 1,500 newly registered Negroes went to the polls.

Thus, the real question is not one of principle, but of strategy and tactics. It was never possible that the Government could merely "prevent segregation" without taking on the positive job of bettering the whole place of Negroes in American life. For segregation results no more from laws than it does from conditions, and to attack the laws but not the conditions would be to fight half a battle with half an army.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

South Stiffens Against Race Guidelines

10/17/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 16—A South Carolina school board thought the United States Office of Education was bluffing earlier this year when it handed down its guidelines for school desegregation.

But the county school superintendent took the office at its word and, after a bitter fight, persuaded the board to shuffle white and Negro teachers in 11 classrooms and put more than 200 Negro pupils in classes with whites.

Now the superintendent is afraid of losing his job. Recent attacks from Congressmen on the Office of Education and its desegregation policies, the superintendent confided recently, are convincing the school board that it was right all along and could have gotten by with far less desegregation.

Many other school boards in the South are coming to precisely the same conclusion, and thus the outlook for 1967 is for a noticeable decrease in the pace of school desegregation.

"I was just talking to a P.T.A. group" said Morris Clarey, superintendent of schools in Edgecombe County, N. C., "and I told them I saw a ray of hope. I thought this thing [desegregation] was going to slow down so we could live with it."

Already, an official of the Office of Education says, Congressional attacks have emboldened Southern school officials to stiffen their resistance to the office's desegregation "guidelines."

"Now, when we call on Southern school officials for compliance," he added, "they just laugh at us."

In Atlanta, Eugene Patterson editor of The Atlanta Constitution and a member of the United States Civil Rights Commission, said he also "is beginning to see a danger that the steady advance of desegregation may be interrupted."

"We may find ourselves struggling to maintain what desegregation we've got," Mr. Patterson went on, "and even fighting against a regression."

Congress entered the dis-

Continued on Page 42, Column 1

South's Resistance to Desegregation Stiffening as Attacks on Federal Guidelines Mount in Congress

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

pute between Southern school officials and the Office of Education after widespread complaints that the office was exceeding its authority under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In recent days, Congress has cut enforcement appropriations for the office. The House, meanwhile, has voted to require a hearing in advance of any office attempt to delay Federal funds to any school district suspected of discrimination.

All of this, of course, indicates considerable sympathy in Congress for the white South, which insists in the main that the only thing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires it to do is to give parents a choice whether they want their childen to attend predominantly white or Negro schools.

Southern school officials contend, too, that if they have to go beyond freedom of choice, this would give the South far more integration than is the case in the North.

What's more, they warn, if the office can "dictate" the rate of desegregation in the South, it can do it in the North—a thought that has stirred some Northern sympathy, despite the office's open concession that it has no power to correct "racial imbalance" in Northern schools.

The South used the freedom-of-choice plan last year. And while the percentage of Negro pupils in classes with whites climbed from about 2.5 per cent to 6 per cent in the South as a whole, the plan resulted in a fraction of 1 per cent in such Deep South states as Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Associated Press

Enforcement of desegregation guidelines in Southern schools—like this one in Louisiana—is slowing down as school officials increase their opposition to United States Office of Education directives. Parental resistance to integration has also been a factor.

After the Office of Education digested the figures early this year, it announced its guidelines. They said, in effect, that if Southern school districts were going to use freedom-of-choice plans they would have to make them work—that is, produce a "substantial start" toward abolishing dual school systems (one for whites and one for Negroes) in the South.

The fact that substantial numbers of Negro parents do not choose to send their children to predominantly white schools does not mean that they do not want them to go, the office added. In many instances, the Negroes may be afraid of violence, or of losing their jobs or simply afraid of angering whites by upsetting the status quo.

A survey by the Human Relations Council of Mississippi shows that such fears may not be unrealistic. After talking with a cross-section of Negro parents who sent their children to predominantly white schools last year, the council found that 28 per cent were "pressured or fired" by their employers, 7 per cent lost their housing, 22 per cent lost their credit at the bank, 5 per cent reported a cutback or an outright loss of welfare assistance, and 47 per cent said they were intimidated by threatening phone calls, flaming crosses or direct physical assault.

As the office of education sees it, the civil rights act of 1966 outlaws discrimination in schools. And in as much as dual systems are "discriminatory on their face," Southern school districts are violating the act—and thus are ineligible for Federal school funds—unless they are making "definite progress" toward merging the school systems.

A Feeling of Welcome

Thus, Southern school districts cannot meet their obligations just by sending out "freedom of choice" letters, the office says. They have to make Negro parents feel welcome, and if community pressure is heavy on Negro parents, then the school district ought to remove the "burden" from Negroes, and assign them to white schools, whether they choose white schools or not.

How much progress does the Office of Education expect? It said in its guidelines that school districts with 8 to 9 per cent desegregation in academic 1965-66 ought to double that figure in the current school year and that school districts with little or no desegregation would be expected to catch up with the leaders.

In addition, all school districts would be expected to start desegregating their faculties.

Publication of the guidelines, which the office insisted were flexible, touched off a torrent of protest in the South. Senator Sam Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, set the tone when he complained that the office could not use percentages without violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which while forbidding discrimination in schools also says that its provisions are not to be used to correct "racial imbalance."

A recent series of interviews with Southern school officials indicates, however, that most were far less concerned about percentages than about the insistence of the Office of Education on faculty desegregation—at a beginning rate of about one teacher of the opposite race in each school.

"White people just don't want their children taught by Negroes," a school superintendent in Georgia complained. "And white teachers don't want to teach in Negro schools."

Tempers flared again when the Office of Education began writing, telephoning, and sometimes visiting individual school boards to speed the pace of pupil and faculty desegregation. Many Southern school officials began complaining of "undue interference" and "heavy-handed pressure" from the office.

How much pressure was applied?

In general, the office has concentrated its pressure on school districts that had less than 1 per cent of its Negro students in classes with whites last year.

In Edgecombe County, N. C., an area in the state's "Tobacco Belt" where segregationist feeling runs high, seven Negroes out of an enrollment of 5,000 Negroes and 2,500 whites attended desegregated classes last year.

Negroes liked their own schools and were not much more interested in desegregation this year, Edgecombe Superintendent Clarey said, and teachers were even less interested in being transferred.

The, during the summer, a team of six Office of Education representatives visited the county. Mr. Clarey and his board asked them how many Negroes they wanted in white schools and were horrified when the team said 800 might be a "fair" number.

After the team returned to Washington, it wrote Mr. Clarey and his board a letter suggesting that they might merge a white school with a Negro school. This also shocked Mr. Clarey—even more so, he said, because the team from Washington got the name of one of the schools wrong.

Mr. Clarey and his school board never did agree to 800 Negro pupils or to school mergers, but they did send "freedom of choice" letters out twice, and concurrently with the second letter they had Negro principals talk with some Negro students in an effort to get them to transfer. Finally, about 80 students enrolled this fall for clases with whites.

Mr. Clarey said he has left "some openings" for faculty desegregation, but so far has been unable to find teachers who are willing to make the change.

Looking back on his dealings with the office, Mr. Clarey said the Federal team was "polite," but did not understand Southern problems and was "completely brainwashed into believing that the salvation of America depends on total integration."

In Tarboro and Rocky Mount city school districts, which both abut the Edgecombe County school district, school officials felt less pressure from the Office of Education, primarily because more Negro students attended classes with whites last year than was the case in Edgecombe.

W. O. Fields, superintendent of the Rocky Mount school system, which had 140 Negroes in classes with whites last year, said he had received letters and a telephone call from the office, but that no specific figures had been mentioned for desegregation. Mr. Fields continued using the freedom of choice plan, and this year has about 250 Negroes in classes with whites.

"Up to now they [Office of Education officials] have not hindered us especially," Mr. Fields said. "I do not know what will happen tomorrow."

The Tarboro system had 53 Negroes, out of a total enrollment of 1,600 Negroes and 2,400 whites, in classes with whites last year. This year it has 88 Negroes in classes with whites, and has desegregated eight teaching posts—five in Negro schools and three in predominantly white schools.

Although Superintendent C. B. Martin received a telephone call from the Office of Education saying that he ought to merge a white and Negro grade, he refused to go beyond "freedom of choice." Even so, he says, he has not "felt bothered by Washington up to this point."

In Washington, David Seeley, Assistant Commissioner of Education, acknowledges that his staff has made mistakes—such as confusing the names of schools in Edgecombe County—but says this is because his staff is "too small" and thus has too little time to devote to a specific school district.

And some of the staff members, he said, are young and inexperienced. One staffer, he said, wrote a letter to a Georgia school board telling it that it "shall do this and that."

"I admit," he said, "that the letter made it sound as if we were a Federal dictatorship."

"We stay away from ordering anyone to do anything," he went on, "but we do cajole. It is better to cajole a school district, than just to cut off its funds."

DR. KING CLARIFIES HIS RACIAL STAND

MOVEMENT

Says He Backs Only Part of Black Power Statement

10/17/66

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 16 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. clarified his position today on the civil rights controversy over black power.

He said that he had endorsed the four major principles contained in a statement of principles repudiating black power concepts isued last week by several Negro leaders, including the heads of the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

But he said he had not endorsed the entire manifesto and declined to sign it because he feared it might be interpreted by the press and public as an attempt to "excommunicate" from the civil rights movement such black power-oriented organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

In recent days, Dr. King has said that he both supports and does not support the statement issued by the Negro civil rights leaders. A week ago, he said he was going to meet with advisers to determine whether he should repudiate the student committee and CORE.

Won't Repudiate Groups

He held the meeting but said today that he did not want to be part of any repudiation attempt.

The statement, titled "Crisis and Commitment," was published in an advertisement in The New York Times on Oct. 14 but did not carry Dr. King's signature. The statement, by implication, repudiated black power concepts. It was signed [illegible] Negro lead-

No Sign of Reprisals Is Found in Gallashaw Case

The New York Times (by Barton Silverman)

William H. Booth, Human Rights Commissioner, with Mrs. Aluvita Dean at news conference

William H. Booth, the City Commissioner on Human Rights, said yesterday that he had found no evidence that "threats or reprisals" had been made against families involved in the Gallashaw case.

"There have been rumors in this community about threats, about fear and about people moving out," Mr. Booth said. He spoke at a news conference at the "little City Hall" at 715 Riverdale Avenue, in the East New York section of Brooklyn, near where 10-year-old Eric Dean was killed during racial tension last summer.

Ernest Gallashaw, 17, who had been accused of murdering young Dean, was acquitted Thrursday night in State Supreme Court, Brooklyn, after an eight day trial.

Mr. Booth said yesterday afternoon that he had met with Mrs. Aluvita Dean, the mother of the Dean boy, and with Mrs. Ernestine Gallashaw, on Friday and found no ill feeling between the two women.

Booth had announced that both women would appear at yesterday's new sconference. Mrs. Gallashaw did not appear, although Mr. Booth said she had told him she would.

As she stood next to Mr. Booth yesterday, tears appeared in Mrs. Dean's eyes when she said that she intended to move from the community.

"I am not afraid of anyone," she said. "Nothing else can happen to me now that my son is dead. I am moving because this area has too many memories of the death of Eric. Not because of fear."

Staff members of Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron E. Koota have been making plans to relocate the Dean family and families of other prosecution witnesses, but have refused to comment on the plans.

[illegible] STUDIED

day. He said the review board [illegible] affected

board's supporters must vote "No."

Panel Votes Guidelines Changes

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 10/19/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senate-House conferees approved a diluted substitute to an anti-guidelines amendment Tuesday, which would allow the U.S. Office of Education to continue to defer funds for new school projects, but force it to begin hearings within 60 days.

Sen. Javits

The conferees overwhelmingly rejected an amendment which Rep. L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., had added to the school aid bill, which would have prevented the government from deferring funds until a hearing showed a school district was not complying.

The substitute, offered by Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N.Y., requires education officials to begin proceedings for a hearing within 60 days after they notify a school district that its funds are being deferred.

The Javits proposal permits the Office of Education to continue to defer funds for 30 days after the hearing. At the end of that time, it must either restore the funds or cut them off permanently, according to the results of the hearing.

LENGTH OF HEARING

One hitch in the over-all 90-day period specified in the proposal, however, is the actual time it takes to hold the hearing.

Under the rules governing federal hearings, which require certain minimum waiting periods between steps, the least time for any deferral hearing would be 110 days.

Most hearings, however, last from five to seven months, an Office of Education spokesman said.

That means if the Javits proposal is interpreted at face value, it could be as long as nine or 10 months before the Office of Education is required to stop deferral for a school district judged "in compliance" at the hearing.

The Javits proposal was agreed to by almost all the conferees, including the six Republicans on the committee. The only exception was Rep. Ralph J. Scott, D.-N.C., who demurred.

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The next question was whether the House, which voted 221-116 to include the Fountain amendment two weeks ago, would accept the Javits-sponsored substitute this week.

Republican conferees said they didn't think the GOP leadership would move to recommit the measure, as originally expected, but none would say for certain.

Rep. Albert H. Quie, R.-Minn., one of the conferees, said he thought the Javits proposal did little more than "shorten the period of harassment in which the Office of Education can badger local school systems."

But Rep. Charles E. Goodell, R.-N.Y., said he thought the substitute would "strengthen the enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

MORSE'S VIEW

Sen. Wayne Morse, D.-Ore., who headed the Senate conferees, said he thought an important point was that the committee "reaffirms that the secretary (of Health, Education and Welfare) has the power to defer funds."

That point has been in considerable question recently in both House and Senate.

The Javits proposal was also apparently acceptable to HEW Secretary John W. Gardner, who had called the Fountain amendment "a serious threat to enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

Peter J. Libassi, Gardner's special assistant for civil rights, said Tuesday HEW "can certainly live with the Javits substitute."

"I see no difficulties in this," Libassi said. "It only regularizes our enforcement proceedings. But now we have a definite procedure we can point to."

Libassi, who sounded relieved to have a specific guideline which the Office of Education could follow, said he thought the Javits proposal "guarantees to school districts the right they have been asking for to have a quick hearing on deferral."

Previously, the Office of Education has deferred approval of funds for new projects from school districts it thought were not complying. Deferral, though often temporary, sometimes lasted for several months.

The Office of Education procedures have not required a formal hearing except to cut off funds already authorized for continuing projects.

With the conference report ready to go to the Senate and House for final approval later this week, the conferees were still uncertain whether their action limited deferral to 90 days in all, or merely 90 days plus the five to seven months for a hearing.

Senate Puts 90-Day Limit On Deferral of School Funds

SCHOOL DESEG.

AC 10/20/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Senate Wednesday approved a substitute anti-guidelines proposal that would limit to 90 days the time the U.S. Office of Education can defer funds for new projects from local school districts it thinks are not complying.

The House is expected to act early Thursday on the measure, substituted in a joint conference committee by Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N.Y.

The conferees had scrapped a stiffer proposal, introduced as an amendment to the school aid bill by Rep. L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., which would have prevented deferral of funds until a formal hearing was held.

Sen. Wayne Morse, D.-Ore., who led the Senate delegation, made a special effort Wednesday to explain the complicated Javits substitute which had confused so many conferees late Tuesday.

Morse said Javits intended to force OE to complete a formal hearing on compliance within 60 days after it gives a school district official notice that its funds are to be deferred.

A federal examiner would be required to decide by the end of the 60 days whether the district is in compliance.

Once the decision has been made, according to Morse, OE may only defer funds for another 30 days.

At the end of that time, he said, OE must either resume sending new funds to a school district or cut off all funds permanently, depending on the examiner's decision.

The Javits proposal had the effect of reducing the length of time OE may defer funds. Until now, federal officials have been deferring funds indefinitely, requiring a formal hearing

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Senators Vote Curb On Guides

Continued from Page 1

only to cut off all funds permanently.

Republicans, who saw the provision as an antiguidelines amendment, said it would "shorten the period of harassment" between OE and local school districts.

Morse said Wednesday he thought the new restriction would probably increase the caseload of OE attorneys.

Noting that the Senate had cut $6 million from a recent OE appropriation, the Oregon senator said he hoped both houses "would be willing to look favorably" on OE's pending supplemental budget request.

Morse said he thought Javits' proposal "meets the main object of the House (Fountain) provision, that is that the deferral process shall not be abused."

The senator's explanation cleared away speculation by some conferees who thought Tuesday they had voted for an altogether different proposal.

Several conferees had told reporters they thought OE wouldn't have to begin the hearing until 60 days after notice of deferral, and that the 30-day additional period would not begin until after the hearings had ended.

That interpretation would have added another six or seven months to the entire deferral period, OE spokesman said.

1967 Guidelines To See Few Changes

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 10/22/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Next year's federal school guidelines, still being drafted in the U.S. Office of Education, will be substantially the same as those which caused the controversy this year, it was learned Friday.

Compliance officials declined to talk about the 1967 guidelines, but two office of education sources confirmed that next year's version would contain "no serious modifications or retrenchment" on any of the major provisions that have drawn congressional fire this year.

The 1966 guidelines were said to "contravene the intent of Congress" by the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee last month and will be investigated by the House Judiciary Committee next month.

BIGGEST CHANGE

The biggest change planners are considering is to make compliance procedures easier for those school districts which are "earnestly trying to desegregate quickly," according to one high official.

"But," he said, "this will not mean any lowering of our standards in anyway."

Another OE source said his office hopes to be able to move more rapidly next year against so-called "bad" school districts, thanks to machinery set up by a conference committee amendment this week which forces federal examiners to decide on compliance hearings in 90 days.

PUBLIC NEXT YEAR

The guidelines are expected to be made public sometime in January.

A source said another change would be in the compliance teams the government will continue to send to Southern school districts.

Field representatives next year will be permanent rather than temporary, he said, and "we will have more time in which to recruit them."

The Office of Education has been criticized for the actions of some compliance officers last year, many of whom were law students hired for the summer.

~~TITLE VI~~ FEDERAL POLICY

HEW Planning Crackdown For Compliance on Rights

AC 11/21/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Despite recent criticism from Congress, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is planning a broader civil rights compliance effort for 1967 than ever before, HEW officials say.

A spokesman for Secretary John W. Gardner said the HEW chief has approved plans to:

1. Crack down on dozens of Southern school districts which the U.S. Office of Education says have not lived up to the pledges of compliance they signed in 1966.

2. Permit the U.S. Public Health Service to begin conducting the same kind of compliance hearings for hospitals that the Office of Education has been holding for schools to determine whether funds should be cut off.

3. Begin moving seriously against segregated welfare facilities, which so far have received little more than a scolding for not complying with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

4. Branch out to enforce desegregation of all public and private colleges and universities which receive federal funds.

Although HEW compliance officers next year admittedly will be traveling wider and delving deeper, Gardner's staffers deny that the steps amount to any "big push" for 1967.

"In March," said one high HEW official, "the secretary ordered all branches to begin setting up the machinery with which to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This is just the result of that order."

In a sense, Gardner's 1967 plans will simply place each branch of HEW one stage farther along in its compliance program that it was last year.

The hospital program, hastily set in motion to meet the intro-

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

HEW Charting A Rights Drive

Continued from Page 1

duction of Medicare last spring, will be brought to the same level as the school compliance program was in 1966.

The welfare program, begun dramatically last week with the decision to cut off all funds to the Alabama State Welfare Department, will be about as sophisticated next year as the hospital program was in 1966.

And HEW's "program" for enforcing desegregation of colleges has up to now amounted only to official concern.

The most dramatic advance, officials say, will continue to be in the area of school desegregation, where the number of districts brought to a hearing next year is expected to reach at least 200—almost 2¼ times the 1966 figure.

Last year, compliance officers took serious action only against those districts which refused to go through the motions of signing the 441B "promise of compliance" form.

Those districts now aside, the Office of Education plans to go after the school systems it says signed the form but didn't live up to it.

Baker County, Georgia, was the only district last year which was brought to a hearing for "violating its pledge-of-compliance.

Where school districts show they are trying to desegregate, officials say, compliance officers still will be willing to negotiate.

But, said one civil rights officer, paraphrasing the secretary's instructions: "Any district that refuses to negotiate will get a quick notice of hearing. We're not going to fool around."

With all its talk about expansion, the office of education plans to send "no great army of troops," as one official put it, to descend on Southern school superintendents.

In fact, the new crop of office of education compliance officers is touted to be "all pros — none of the young law students who were sent to the South last year."

It was the law students, inexperienced youngsters who were hired to fill a crash program, who precipitated such strong criticism from school superintendents and congressmen last year.

Even some officials have been shaking their heads lately at stories of the youngsters' mistakes in sensitive areas brought out in congressional hearings and newspaper reports.

"But there are no more crash programs in the works," a Gardner staffer said last week, "and all our compliance people will be fulltime professionals. It should go a lot better this year."

Mindful of the dangers involved in moving ahead unprepared, Gardner has warned his staff he wants "no more Chicagos," where compliance officers roared in only to discover they would have to tip-toe back out.

"The word is," an assistant says, "don't do it until you're sure you're right — and then don't retreat."

On the other hand, Gardner is said to feel personally that the recent congressional hearings have falsely "misled" the public into believing there is a way out of complying with the Civil Rights Act.

Guidelines For Schools Being Altered

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Desegregation Policies Expected to Vary Little

By Robert Holland
T-D Education Writer

The U.S. Office of Education is revising its guidelines for public school desegregation in the South, but the policies are expected to vary little from those in effect this year, despite criticism from Southern schoolmen and politicians and a pending congressional investigation.

Washington sources queried yesterday did foresee one change however: the guidelines for 1967-68 will be issued much earlier than the set for the current 1966-67 school year, to give school superintendents ample time to study the document and make their plans.

Announcement of the guidelines is expected to come from U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) officials within a few weeks, probably early in December, the sources said.

Guidelines for the current school year were not issued until March 7, 1966, and this time around the federal agency is apparently anxious to avoid the charge that it doesn't give school administrators ample time to make adjustments.

Third Year

This will mark the third year the federal agency, a branch of HEW, has propounded guidelines which school districts must follow in order to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The first guidelines were announced April 29, 1965.

The major weapon in the office's arsenal of enforcement is the threat of curtailment of federal school aid. This is expected to remain unchanged, although it has met criticism, including that of the Virginia Association of School Administrators. The superintendents' group took exception to federal aid being used to effect a "prescribed racial balance" in a resolution this month.

Despite speculation about a possible softening of

erating under court-approved plans, or because they have been accepted by HEW as being completely desegregated.

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Despite speculation about a possible softening of desegregation enforcement because of so-called "white backlash," the word was that the upcoming set will be "substantially the same" as before with probably some increased emphasis on speedup of faculty desegregation.

With the commitment of top administration leaders to civil rights action, a backing down from earlier Office of Education desegregation policy was considered highly unlikely.

Nevertheless, the agency will be the subject of an investigation by a congressional subcommittee that has been appointed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

Celler named the subcommittee to study the operation of the school guidelines and said it plans to conduct hearings during December. Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, has already been questioned extensively about the guidelines by the House Rules Committee. He is expected to be called to testify before the new subcommittee.

During the first year of guideline administration, the federal office required merely a start in student desegregation. For 1966-67, this was altered to require more actual pupil mixing, with stricter limitations on the "freedom-of-choice" desegregation plans.

Minimal Start

The first set required a minimal start on faculty desegregation, which involved merely integrated after-school faculty meetings in some systems. In 1966-67, this was changed to require desegregated teaching staffs in most schools.

Although a cutoff of federal aid is the ultimate weapon, the federal agency has been more apt to threaten the action than to take it. A more frequent step has been to place a recalcitrant school system on a fund "deferral" status, which means that money for new activities is temporarily withheld.

In the two years of guidelines no Virginia locality has incurred a final cutoff of federal aid. Currently, seven of 138 localities are on the "deferral" status.

Thirty of the Virginia localities are not affected by HEW guidelines because they are op-

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Prospects Discussion Set

St. Patrick Central High School will conduct a meeting at 7:30 p.m. today in the school auditorium to acquaint junior and senior students and their parents with prospects after graduation.

ALABAMA REBUTS GUIDELINES SUITS

SCHOOL DESEG.

2 Schoolmen Say They Will Obey Only a Court Order

NYT 12/2/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 1 —Two Alabama school superintendents testified today that only a Federal court order would force them to abandon their dual white-Negro school systems.

They were Robert E. Cunningham of Walker County and Benjamin C. Botts of the city of Jasper. Both were called by the defendant state officials to try to rebut the contention of Federal and civil rights attorneys that the state has interfered so much with local districts' efforts to desegregate that a statewide order is necessary.

Most of the school systems in the state have some classroom desegregation, but only 14 are under court order to integrate.

When the superintendent took the witness stand, both conceded that it would take Federal coercion to make them abandon such mainstays of the dual system as separate Negro and white faculties. Local districts have been under considerable pressure from the state government to resist faculty desegregation.

Head Start Cited

Henry Aronson of New York, an attorney for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., asked Mr. Cunningham at the beginning of today's hearing before four Federal judges if he had done anything to desegregate his faculty.

Mr. Cunningham said he had begun a Head Start prekindergarten program with a desegregated faculty and he supposed that could be considered a start toward faculty desegregation "if it became necessary."

"And what would it take for it to become necessary?" Mr. Aronson asked.

"A court order," Mr. Cunningham replied.

Mr. Botts said the same thing when he took the stand.

Two Lawsuits Filed

Negro plaintiffs and the Justice Department are trying to prove, in two combined lawsuits, that official state resistance to Federal desegregation policy has been so consistent that only an order covering the entire state will finally abolish the dual system in Alabama.

In the two days of the hearing, they have brought out a series of instances of political pressure on local school officials by Gov. George C. Wallace and other state officials. For example, the Governor recently threatened to hold mass meetings around the state to expose local school officials who cooperated with the Federal Government on desegregation.

The court action was finally prompted by a state law passed in September at Governor Wallace's urging declaring illegal and void, in Alabama, the 1966 school desegregation guidelines of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

U.S. Joins the Suit

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People immediately filed a lawsuit in Federal court asking that the law be declared unconstitutional and that the entire state be placed under a desegregation order.

About the same time, the Negro plaintiffs in an old but still pending desegregation case in Macon County asked for the same statewide order. That case is being handled by attorneys for the Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The Justice Department intervened in the N.A.A.C.P. suit and joined both parties in asking for the statewide order.

To attempt to prove the coercive effect of state action on local school officials, Mr. Aronson asked Mr. Cunningham if he felt he should obey the state antiguidelines law.

"Yes, sir," Mr. Cunningham replied. "We feel it wise to follow the law of the state."

The two combined suits are being tried by two three-judge courts. A three-judge court hears cases involving constitutional questions. The plaintiffs in these cases charge violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. A decision of a three-judge court may be appealed directly to the Supreme Court without going through a circuit court of appeals.

Wallace not in Court

The judges handling the Macon County case are Judge Richard T. Rives of Montgomery, of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, and District Judges Frank M. Johnson Jr. of Montgomery and H. H. Grooms of Birmingham. Hearing the new suit is another three-judge panel made up of Judges Rives and Johnson and District Judge Virgil Pittman of Gadsden.

Governor Wallace has not appeared in court. He submitted a written answer denying having interfered with any court orders for desegregation during the last two years. One upshot of the Macon County case was a court order in 1964 enjoining Governor Wallace and other state officials from interfering with desegregation.

The Governor in his answer conceded that he had protested the 1966 Federal guidelines on the ground that they violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

John Satterfield of Yazoo City, Miss., the chief defense attorney, expanded on that during today's hearing. He argued that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in enforcing the 1966 guidelines was trying to achieve racial balance in the schools and was requiring faculty desegregation—both of which, he said, go beyond the civil rights law on which the department bases its authority.

17 HOSPITALS FACE U.S. FUNDS CUTOFF

12/3/66

Facilities in Five Southern States Offered Hearings on Rights Compliance

By HAROLD M. SCHMECK Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2—The Public Health Service has started formal action that may bar some Southern hospitals from all Federal funds because of their failure to comply with the civil rights requirements of Medicare.

Seventeen hospitals that are still out of the Medicare program because of discriminatory practices have been offered hearings to review their cases. This is the first formal step in a series of events that would bar them from all Federal funds if the discrimination continues.

The 17 are among 59 hospitals that applied for Medicare accreditation but have been refused. Another 50 hospitals are still being processed by the Public Health Service on the question of their compliance with Medicare's civil rights requirements.

All the other hospitals among the 59 civil rights holdouts are expected to be offered hearings soon. The first 17 are in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. Most are small hospitals, but a few are of substantial size. The largest is St. Francis Hospital in Monroe, La., a 373-bed general hospital.

While none of the 17 hospitals that have received hearing notifications is believed to be receiving Federal funds at pres-

Continued on Page 32, Column 3

17 HOSPITALS FACE U.S. FUNDS CUTOFF

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

ent others among the 59 may be doing so, a spokesman for the health agency said today. Furthermore two of the 17; Clarendon Memorial Hospital, a 76-bed hospital in Manning, S. C., and Orangeburg Regional Hospital, 292 beds, in Orangeburg, S. C., are eligible to receive surplus Government property.

The 17 hospitals have been found ineligible for Federal funds specifically because they do not comply with provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Until Medicare, however, the Public Health Service lacked staff and organization to pursue compliance among all the hospitals of the nation, a spokesman said today. The staff was made available in connection with the Medicare program, which helps pay hospitalization costs for Americans over 65.

Practices Cited

The action now beginning can cut off discriminatory hospitals from any Federal funds from as many as 13 Federal departments and agencies.

Some hospitals, for example, might lose training grants, vocational rehabilitation grants or construction funds.

Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act bars discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in the use of Federal funds. Federal aid to some school districts in the South has already been cut off on the ground of discrimination.

Discriminatory practices in the 17 hospitals include the segregation of patients in wings, sections and rooms; segregation in waiting rooms and dining rooms; absence of Negro physicians on hospital staffs, segregation in training facilities and failure of the hospitals to make public announcement of open-admission policies, the Public Health Service announcement said today.

The hospitals have failed to take sufficient action to bring themselves into compliance, the announcement said. Each hospital has been advised of the specific respects in which it is violating the Medicare civil rights rules.

Letters of notification on the hearings were mailed Nov. 25, according to a spokesman for the health agency. The hospitals have 20 days in which to respond. Any hospital that does not ask for a hearing or whose officers fail to appear for a scheduled hearing will be considered to have waived its rights to one. Federal funds can then be withheld.

Subject to Review

If a hospital does request a hearing, a Federal examiner is appointed to hear testimony and make a decision on the question of granting or withholding the Federal funds.

The examiner's decision is then presented to the chief of the agency granting the funds. Each decision is subject to ultimate review by John W. gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Te health service has already certified 7,092 of the country's 7,452 hospitals as eligible for Federal funds, the announcement said. Some of the remainder are not eligible for Medicare for reasons other than civil rights. Among these are 251 that do not receive Federal funds for any purpose.

The 17 hospitals named in the health agency announcement today are: Fifth Avenue Hospital, Huntsville, Ala.; St. Francis Hospital, Monroe, La.; Gray Hospital and Clinic, Springhill, La.; East Bolivar County Hospital, Cleveland, Miss.; Kemper County Hospital, DeKalb, Miss.; Greenwood Leflore Hospital, Greenwood, Miss.; Forrest General Hospital, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Noxubee General Hospital, Macon, Miss.; Jefferson Davis Memorial Hospital, Natchez, Miss.; Newton Hospital, Newton, Miss.; Clarendon Memorial Hospital; Manning, S.C.; Orangeburg Regional Hospital, Orangeburg, S.C.; Hampton General Hospital, Varnville, S.C.; Dayton Memorial Hospital, Dayton, Tex.; Crockett Medical and Surgical Hospital and Crockett Clinic and Hospital, both in Crockett, Tex., and Baytown Hospital, Baytown, Tex.

SENATOR SCORES SCHOOL GUIDELINE

SCHOOL DESEG.

Hill Gives Testimony Before Alabama Hearings Recess

12/3/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 2 (UPI)—A court hearing to test the constitutionality of Federal school desegregation guidelines was recessed today until February after the state succeeded in putting Senator Lister Hill on the stand.

United States Attorney St. John Barrett argued that Mr. Hill's personal views on the guidelines were "purely irrelevant and incompetent." But the four-judge Federal panel hearing the case ruled that Mr. Hill, who has been in the Senate since 1938, could testify as an expert on legislative action.

Mr. Hill then read to the court a report from the Senate subcommittee that appropriates funds for the Health, Education and Welfare Department, the agency that administers the guidelines.

"This committee," Mr. Hill said, "questions whether the guidelines contravene and violate the legislative intent of Congress in the 1964 Civil Rights Act [from which the guidelines stem]."

Headed Subcommittee

Mr. Hill headed the subcommittee that drafted the report.

Under cross-examination, the Senator was asked whether he had ever voted for any civil rights legislation.

"No sir, I have not," he replied.

Before the adjournment was ordered, the state also called several local and county school superintendents in attempts to demonstrate that Gov. George C. Wallace had not interfered with school desegregation.

Mr. Wallace brought about the showdown on the guidelines — which make Federal funds contingent upon compliance with certain desegregation steps — by having the Legislature declare the guidelines void in Alabama.

Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives told attorneys that the court would reconvene Feb. 3 for "more oral arguments." Noting the volumes of records entered as evidence, he gave both sides 30 days in which to file summaries of witnesses' depositions and 20 days thereafter to file briefs.

Consolidation of Motions

The case before the court is a consolidation of motions and suits dating to 1964. In the consolidated action Alabama challenges the guidelines laid down by the Federal agency; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Justice Department contend that Alabama's law voiding the guidelines is unconstitutional; the Justice Department also seeks to strike down Alabama's tuition grant law, and a motion by Tuskegee Negro lawyer Fred Gray asks blanket desegregation of all state public schools.

Among state witnesses today were Francis J. Marshall, Lee County school superintendent, and Elvin Hill, superintendent of Shelby County schools.

They testified that their counties voluntarily attempted to eliminate dual school systems, and said Federal officials first accepted the plans ,but then made further demands.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Desegregation Rate Is Nearly Doubled

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE JR.

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—The office of Education has nearly doubled the rate of desegregation in Southern schools, according to a government survey that is close to completion.

The survey will not be officially released for several days, but authoritative sources said Wednesday that it showed a substantial increase in the number of Negro children attending schools with whites in 11 southern states.

Among the most arresting findings of the survey was that hard core resistance appeared to have narrowed to five states of the Deep South—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—and that progress had been much greater in the other six—Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas.

Overall, the survey showed that 10 to 12 per cent of Negro schoolchildren—300,000 to 350,000—were attending classes with whites.

This comparies with 5.2 per cent — or about 150,000 — attending desegregated classes in the region last year.

Last year's figures were compiled by the Southern Regional Council, a civil rights organization based in Atlanta. The Office of Education also conducted its own survey which showed that 7.5 per cent of Negro children were attending school with whites in 1965.

However, officials have since acknowledged that their 7.5 per cent figure was inflated by reporting procedures and that the 5.2 per cent figure was more accurate. This year, The Office of Education has brought its reporting methods in line with those used by the council.

On a state-by-state basis, the government survey shows that Texas ranks at the top with about 30 per cent of its Negro pupils attending desegregated classes, and that Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana are near the bottom with 2.5 to 3 per cent.

The highest of the five Deep South states is Georgia, with about 6 per cent. The preliminary figure for South Carolina could not be obtained Wednesday, although it is apparently around 4 or 5 per cent.

After Georgia's 6 per cent, however, there is a large gap to the other six states of the old confederacy.

At the bottom of this category are North Carolina, Arkansas and Florida—all with 12 to 13 per cent. The figures for Tennessee are not yet available, but in Virginia about 15 per cent of the state's Negro pupils are attending school with whites and the Texas figure about doubles Virginia's.

Officials in Washington say they are encouraged by the general progress, but they appear disheartened by the polarization between the five Deep South states and the more "progressive" six.

One consequence, in the opinion of administration sources, will be an increase in the number of terminations of federal school aid in those districts where desegregation records are poorest.

Officials point out that although a 2 per cent figure in Mississippi represents an increase over last year, it still means that only about 6,200 of the state's 312,000 Negro pupils are attending desegregated classes.

The basic weapon which the Office of Education may wield to compel desegregation is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI relieved the government of the necessity of proceeding through the courts on a district-by-district basis by banning discrimination in federally assisted programs.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1966.

Rights Backer Supports Southern Complaints Against U.S. School Aides

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Dec. 8—A Western member of Congress consoled Southern school officials here today by agreeing that some employes of the Federal Office of Education may be going beyond the law in enforcing school desegregation.

"I intend to turn my attention to this in the next session," Mrs. Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, declared.

Mrs. Green, chairman of a special subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, was addressing a group of Southern school men who had appeared to testify before her subcommittee.

"We do not intend that the Federal Government shall exercise control over personnel and curriculum," she added.

Several of the Southerners had complained of intimidation by employes of the Office of Education in administering the controversial 1966 guidelines for school desegregation. Some said their school programs were being disrupted by arbitrary demands for faculty desegregation and for quotas to achieve racial balance among students.

Mrs. Green said she was a strong supporter of civil rights for Negroes. She told a group of liberal witnesses appearing later in the day that she agreed that school desegregation had progressed too slowly.

The New York Times

Representative Edith Green

"But I have strong reservations whether the Office of Education has the right to go beyond the law," she said. She added that the subcommittee had heard evidence that the office had, indeed, exceeded the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in its zeal to abolish the dual school system in the South.

Mrs. Green and Representative John N. Erlenborn, Republican of Illinois, heard testimony yesterday and today on problems of the Office of Education. The hearings were dominated by desegregation problems.

The two Representatives, the only members of the subcommittee, left tonight for Kansas City, where they will hold further hearings.

School superintendents and school board members from Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and South Carolina recommended during the Atlanta hearings that guidelines be made to conform strictly with the law and be applied alike throughout the United States.

Flynt at Hearing

Representative John J. Flynt Jr., Democrat of Georgia, attended the hearing today. He said an unnamed Federal employe had suggested that local officials at Griffin, Ga., Mr. Flynt's home town, use economic pressure to force a white teacher to transfer to a Negro school.

Transcripts of meetings between Federal employes and Griffin school officials were entered into the record. One related a demand by a Federal employe that their discussions be closed to the press and public.

"This is a very bad situation —an unwise abuse of authority," Mrs. Green remarked.

Liberal witnesses urged greater Federal efforts to do away with school segregation.

A joint statement by the American Friends Service Committee and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., said the Office of Education's guidelines should be strengthened.

The organizations urged that freedom-of-choice desegregation plans be abandoned and that the guidelines be expanded to deal with "Northern-style de facto segregation."

They also suggested that the Office of Education start a program to inform Negroes of their rights.

"The burden for initiating desegregation is still on Negroes," the statement said, "yet many do not know what their rights are."

They also urged that the Office of Education increase pressure for compliance by cutting off funds to a greater number of recalcitrant districts.

"The fact that an estimated 88-90 per cent of the Negro pupils in the Southern states are still in totally segregated schools in this third school year since the passage of the act indicates the disappointingly modest progress which has been made," the statement said.

Mrs. John Williams of Wetumpka, Ala., a Negro mother, told of the harassment of Negro pupils in Wetumpka's newly desegregated schools. She said two houses had been burned recently after children from those homes entered formerly all-white schools.

After that, she said, others who might have sent their children to desegregated schools "were afraid of losing their jobs or being cut off welfare."

She sent her own children to formerly all-white schools despite the pressure, she said, but she added that it had not been a happy experience.

"My son Victor's arm was broken in P. E. [physical education] class," Mrs. Williams said. "The white kids laughed and said, 'Oh, goody, Nigger got his arm broke, it should have been his neck.' "

She listed several other acts of harassment and concluded, "Everything that has been going on has been reported to the Office of Education, but we are still waiting for some action."

SCHOOL DESEG

Official Says State Lags in Integration

By WAYNE KELLEY
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—Georgia is lagging in its school desegregation efforts despite almost tripling the number of Negro students attending classes with white pupils this year, an Office of Education official says.

The state now has approximately 22,605 Negro students in desegregated schools compared to an estimate of some 7,687 in 1965, according to a statistical study by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

On a percentage basis, Georgia went from around 2.4 per cent of all Negro students attending desegregated classes to 6.6 per cent. (Negro enrollment increased by 22,200 to 342,500 in 1966.)

David S. Seeley, director of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, noted that the percentage increase was "more than double."

However he added that Georgia was still "somewhat behind expectations on a statewide basis."

Mr. Seeley did not say what progress had been expected in Georgia. But Office of Education (OE) guidelines issued last March indicated that local school districts with percentages as low as 2.4 should boost their ratio by four to five times that figure.

"BY AND LARGE, Georgia is in the lagging group of states," Mr. Seeley commented, referring to five deep south states achieving less than 10 per cent desegregation this year. He noted that the state was at least at the "top of the lagging group" however.

Georgia ranks 7th among the 11 Southern states in the percentage of Negro students attending classes with white pupils.

The group of states showing the smallest percentage of Negro students attending predominately white schools were: Alabama, 2.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.2; Louisiana, 3.6; South Carolina, 4.9, and Georgia, 6.6.

The 1966 statistics were based on data collected from approximately 80 per cent of the school districts in the South. Figures from 1965 were less accurate, based upon only a sample survey.

The Office of Education did not count the Negro students in virtually all-Negro schools, which OE defined as institutions with more than 95 per cent Negro enrollment. Several Atlanta schools are understood to fall into this category after tipping from all-white to nearly all-Negro schools.

THE STUDY showed that Negroes comprise 31.9 per cent of all of the 1,073,700 students enrolled in Georgia public schools this fall.

A total of 17,150 Negro students were enrolled in Georgia schools where they made up 20 per cent or less of the sudent body. Another 2,500 Negro youths were enrolled in schools where they were 20 to 80 per cent of the student population.

The low percentage of Negro students in desegregated classrooms is reflected in the number of Georgia school districts currently facing a cutoff of federal funds for failure to comp with OE guidelines.

A total of 39 Georgia scho districts are currently out compliance, according to O records. This total is secon only to Alabama and Mississip pi, which both have 53 system failing to comply.

Federal funds have already been cut off from Glascock and Toombs County schools. Twenty-six other school districts have been notified of a final hearing, and 11 have had funds deferred while negotiations continued.

Associated Press Wirephoto

LOST ARM DURING FLIGHT

Oakland, Calif., Dec. 1 —Cmdr. Wynn F. Foster o Lemoree, Calif., lost his righ arm when North Vietnames flak burst crippled his A4 Sky hawk. Despite loss of the arm Cmdr. Foster took plane bac to sea and ejected safely. H now is getting a prostheti arm at Oakland Naval Hos pital.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1966.

Pairing Program in 8 Schools Beneficial to Pupils, Board of Education Finds

B. LEONARD BUDER

The city's controversial school-pairing program has resulted in substantial educational gains for the pupils in the eight schools involved in the experiment, according to a report issued yesterday by the Board of Education.

But the report also brought out that the four pairings—three in Queens and one in Brooklyn—had led to a large exodus of white pupils from the schools and that many teachers had serious misgivings about the program.

Started in September, 1964, as an integration measure, the pairings provoked massive opposition from white parents, including school boycotts, sit-ins and other public demonstrations. Some white parents in Queens set up a private school, which is still in operation, for their children.

Pairings to Continue

The 66-page report, based on an 18-month study, was released without comment by board officials. However, a spokesman indicated that the board had no plans to create additional pairings. The present pairings will be continued.

Under pairing—also known as the Princeton Plan, after the New Jersey community where the technique was first tried—a "community" zone is established for two nearby elementary schools, one largely Negro and the other predominantly white. All the pupils in the new zone attend one school for the early grades and the other school for the upper grades—thus giving both schools a better ethnic distribution.

Civil rights groups had urged the city to pair schools where feasible, as part of a citywide program to overcome de facto segregation in the system. White opponents formed a Parents and Taxpayers movement, now largely dormant, to fight for the preservation of "neighborhood" schools.

The paired schools are Public Schools 7 and 8 in Brooklyn; P.S. 149, Jackson Heights, and P.S. 92, Corona; P.S. 148 and P.S. 127, both in East Elmhurst and P.S. 112 and P.S. 111, both in Long Island City.

Reading Rates Improve

The study, conducted with the help of outside experts, found that pupils in all eight schools made significant improvements in their reading rates, as shown by the results of standardized tests.

"Very frequently the improvement attained exceeded the expected gains based upon national norms," the report said.

The greatest gains were made by the white pupils. The report noted that students who had higher achievement at the start — as did the white youngsters — generally outperformed those pupils of lower initial achievement.

The study also found that white pupils who remained in their original schools after pairing did better than those white youngsters who were sent to the formerly predominantly Negro schools. But both groups of white pupils "exceeded normal expectancy," the report observed.

The following breakdown shows how white and Negro pupils did on the comparison reading tests — the first administered shortly after the pairings took effect and the second given 15 months later, in May, 1966:

Third Grade: Negro pupils gained one year, eight months; white pupils gained two years, one and a half months.

Grade Four: Negro pupils gained one year, three months; white pupils gained two years, one month.

Grade Five: Negro pupils gained one year, five months; white pupils gained three years, four months.

Grade Six: Negro pupils gained one year, five and a half months; white pupils gained two years, four and a half months.

No figures were given for the first and second grades.

The "normal" gain, based on elapsed school time, would have been one year, five months for pupils on all grades. But school officials noted that Negro pupils in predominantly Negro schools generally were far behind this rate of progress.

To make the pairings more acceptable to the communities involved, the Board of Education provided extra services and supplies to the schools—costing an additional $122 a year for each pupil. However, many of the teachers in the paired schools who were interviewed during the study said the money could be more wisely spent improving neighborhood schools.

The study appeared to beat out the prediction of white opponents who warned that the pairings would lead to a withdrawal of many children from the schools.

The report said that the "discharge rate" of the paired schools during 1964-65 was 26.1 per cent of the total pupil register, and 21.1 per cent in 1965-66. The systemwide discharge rate is about 12 per cent a year.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

Howe Aide Overdid His Job in Newnan

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Ae 12/15/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe admitted Wednesday that one of his compliance officers was "impolitic" last August in dealing with school officials in Newnan, Ga.

But he denied charges of a Southerner on a House investigating committee that federal representatives had "exceeded their authority" in Newnan or in Telfair, Henry or Spalding counties, Georgia.

An exchange over the Georgia incidents between Howe and Rep. Robert T. Ashmore, D-S.C., was the high point of the first day's hearing on school desegregation policies.

The seven-member congressional panel, an offshoot of the House Judiciary Committee, will continue its investigation thru Thursday.

COMPLAINTS CITED

Howe's comments came after Ashmore cited complaints involving compliance officer James H. Rich as examples where he thought Office of Education officials had "gone beyond" federal guidelines.

The South Carolinian said Rich ordered Newnan officials to reassign white teachers to Negro schools forcibly if necessary to help desegregate the faculty.

According to Ashmore, Rich told the Newnan school board that teachers who refused to transfer should be "blacklisted and driven from the profession."

Shaking his head, Howe said he thought Rich's comments were "certainly not appro-

all parts necessary for recommendations to the U.S. Office of Education."

Under questioning from Ashmore, Howe said Rich had composed the documents only after the board asked him to suggest wording for an acceptable desegregation plan.

The reason the word "shall" was used in each paper, Howe said, was that Rich had intended the phrasing to serve as a model which the board could later adopt as its own order.

"These suggestions are frequently couched in language the board would use if it adopted the plan," Howe said.

He denied, however, that the paper constituted any attempt by Rich to "direct" local officials. In fact, Howe said, "the board probably did not adopt the plans."

NO DESIRE

Earlier, Howe told the subcommittee his office had no desire to interfere with local control of the schools.

"But with local control comes local responsibility,' Howe said. The Office of Education is "obligated to withdraw funds from those districts where the local community has failed to exercise this responsibility.

"We have a clear legal responsibility," Howe said, "where there is no successful local com-

Howe Aide Overdid His Job in Newnan

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According to Ashmore, Rich told the Newnan school board that teachers who refused to transfer should be "blacklisted and driven from the profession."

Shaking his head, Howe said he thought Rich's comments were "certainly not appropriate" and "overdoing it."

"They're not related to the guidelines," Howe said, "they're just impolitic."

The commissioner told Ashmore that Office of Education officials were encouraged to provide constructive answers to school desegregation problems.

'OVERDOING IT'

It may have been "a partial solution" to suggest that Newnan officials simply require the faculty to desegregate, Howe said, "but that last part was overdoing it."

The commissioner also conceded Rich had "misinterpreted" his instructions in August when he insisted that the press be barred from a meeting with Spalding County school officials.

"The confusion arose over Mr. Rich's interpretation of our instructions," Howe explained. "We have clarified them since them."

Howe's chief compliance officer, Asst. Commissioner David S. Seeley, said Rich had been assigned to other duties and "does not go on field trips any more."

The other Georgia incidents Ashmore cited, in Telfair and Henry counties, occurred when Rich handed school officials documents stating that Negro pupils "shall" be transferred to white schools.

The documents, titled "Recommended Plan for Enrollment of Students," set forth specific transfer instructions, teacher assignments and transportation orders.

The documents ended: "This plan is a package plan with the approval by the board of all parts necessary for recommendations to the U.S. Office of Education."

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"But with local control comes local responsibility,' Howe said. The Office of Education is "obligated to withdraw funds from those districts where the local community has failed to exercise this responsibility.

"We have a clear legal responsibility," Howe said, "where there is no successful local compliance with the law."

During the hearing, NAACP Washington chief Clarence Mitchell telegraphed Ashmore to chide him for using the word "nigger" during his questioning.

Mitchell termed it "a calculated attempt to provoke ill will and discord.

"It simply adds fuel to the fires of racism that are burning in too many parts of the country today," Mitchell said.

Do-It-Yourself Kidney Cleaner Working Well

PHILADELPHIA (AP)—The artificial kidney has been used in Boston more than 900 times in patient's homes, proving it can be used just as effectively there as in the hospital, a doctor reported here Wednesday.

Dr. Donald Snyder of Harvard Medical School and Boston's Peter Bent Brigham Hospital said the procedure of cleansing waste materials from the blood of people whose own kidneys do not function properly has been used at home by 13 patients.

They undergo the treatment, known as artificial dialysis, every few days and their experience represents a total of 106 months of home therapy, Dr. Snyder said at a symposium on kidney diseases which opened here Monday.

In eight of the 13 cases, relatives were able to operate the machines after three-month training periods, the doctor said. The other five had nurses come to the home.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

U.S. Aides Criticize 'Freedom of Choice' in Southern Schools

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15—The "freedom of choice" plan for desegregating schools in the South was denounced by high Government officials today as largely unfree, unfair, unrealistic, inconvenient and inefficient.

In addition, a top aide in the Office of Education told a Congressional hearing that Negro parents seeking to enter their children in previously all-white schools under that plan were sometimes subjected to a reign of terror unmatched outside the Soviet Union.

David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner for Equal Opportunities, said that "you would be hard put to find any place short of the borders of the Soviet Union where the population is as terrorized as some of the Negro people" in the most recalcitrant Southern counties.

Dual systems of all-white and all-Negro schools exist now only in the South, the only section using the so-called free choice plan. It means that a child of one race may choose to go to a school previously reserved for the children of another race.

Mr. Seeley told a House Judiciary Subcommittee investigating the administration of civil rights laws he felt "guilty" that he and his staff had perpetrated the court-coined term "free choice," when it was "in no sense really a free choice" in an atmosphere of oppression.

Citing burnings, shootings anc economic reprisals, Mr. Seeley added that the term gave a false impression to Americans outside the South, who had little idea of "what the Negro parent suffers in this situation."

It was not a choice between two typical community schools, but between a Negro school and a white school, he said.

The Education Commissioner, Harold Howe 2d, testified that the plan also unfairly "places the burden for desegregation" on Negro children and their parents.

He called freedom of choice, even at best, an "interim arrangement" and "not a good way to organize," with many elements of inconvenience and inefficiency.

"Unrealistic," Mr. Seeley added.

James C. Corman, Democrat of California, added some unflattering descriptions from the subcommittee side when he called freedom of choice "the only critical mistake" made by the Education Office in its desegregation plans. It was, he said, "inherently invalid" as a way of trying to tackle the problem of historically segregated two-school systems.

The Office of Education has, in general, permitted school districts to offer freedom of choice plans in order to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act forbidding Federal aid to any school practicing discrimination.

Mr. Corman said the plan was really "a philosophy to give a haven to a white child who wants to go to a white school and a haven to a Negro child who wants to go to a Negro school." It was inconsistent, he said, with the 1954 Supreme Court decision ordering desegregation of the schools.

He added that "Congress should look to new methods" for ending school segregation.

Although one can point to progress when the number of Negroes in formerly all-white schools goes form 6 to 12 percen of the total Negro polulation in in the South, Mr. Corman said, it also meant that "88 per cent of these youngsters are not getting their rights, and that's intolrable."

The California Democrat asked Commissioner Howe to give a "timeable" on how long it would take to achieve school desegregation.

"I hesitate to make a guess because it would be nothing but a guess," Mr. Howe replied. He added that it would be a good thing for the Educatio Office to devise long-range plans and objectives, which had not yet been done.

"We've been so engaged in separate battles, we really haven't had the time to consider the war," he said.

Guidelines Study Attacks Slowness

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AC 12/19/66

By ACHSAH NESMITH

The Southern Regional Council released a report Monday concluding that the U.S. Office of Education has not only been overzealous, as some Southern officials contend, but questions "whether it has been diligent enough."

Allowing a gradual end to dual school systems has given time for evasion, confusion and concentration of pressures on a few—often Negro students — but also Southern school superintendents who attempt to follow the law with hesitant support from the Office of Education, the SRC said.

The SRC, an independent biracial civil rights organization headquartered here, issued the report to provide what was termed a "clearer" choice on the desegregation issue.

The report cites intimidation of Negro children and their families and questions some desegregation statistics complied by the Office of Education, including those on Georgia. Office of Education statistics do not take into consideration whether Negro children actually stayed in the schools, but count merely those who attended the first day the report maintains.

"Sad reports came from many parts of the South of the discouragement in many ways, most of them unkind and illegal, of many such children from continuing in their freely chosen new schools," the report states.

Debate over the guidelines "has obscured the persistent attacks by terrorists and the cruel infliction of economic intimidation on Negro students and their parents," the SRC adds.

In areas where segregation has been requied by law, the report argues, the Civil Rights Act provision that the government can not force racial balance is used to put all the responsibility for desegragation on Negro children rather than school officials. Children who choose to transfer to previously all-white schools are intimidated into transferring back to Negro schools, the SRC said.

The reports finds the 1964 Civil Rights Act's provision that racial balance can not be forced "not relevant in the South until the pattern of de jure (required) segregation has been ended."

Observing that the arguments over congressional intent have allowed recalcitrant officials to haggle over percentage requirements while obscuring the real issue, which the SRC feels should have been whether or not substantial effort was made to eliminate discrimination and dual school systems.

SRC staff estimates of Georgia Negro children attending schools with white children come to 5.7 per cent, while the U.S. Office of Education reported 6.6 per cent. The SRC estimate for Arkansas was 14.7 per cent, compared to USOE's 15.9 per cent, for Louisians 2.9 per cent compared to 3.6 per cent and for Mississippi 2 per cent, compared to 3.2 per cent. Otherwise SRC and the U.S. office agree.

The report criticizes the pressures put on Education Commissioner Harold Howe by Southern congressmen, and on Howe's "submission" to pressures by the DeKalb County and Atlanta school systems, and to the manner in which Stanley Kruger was transferred from his job of enforcing the guidelines in this area, giving the impression that with sufficient pressure the Office of Education would give in.

Calling "freedom of choice" an "assumed name" under which dual segregated systems are allowed to continue with federal subsidy, the report calls the U.S. Office of Education approach "conservative."

"The guidelines in both 1965 and 1966 did not attempt actually to end the dual school system. They have tried only to make a beginning. In short, they accept a pattern of tokenism and gradualism," the report states.

The emergence of racism among Northern whites has encouraged Southern advocates of resistance who "believe that the rest of the country has come to agree with them on racial matters and that it will not be long before federal pressure for desegregation will dissolve."

Urging a clarification of congressional intent, the report also criticizes Congress for not providing the U.S. Office of Education with staff for enforcement.

Requiring 50 per cent faculty be Negro and 50 per cent white in all schools that have any Negro children would discourage white families from moving out of transitional school districts, the report concludes.

Fund termination is held off too long, the report declared, rather than being too hasty. "South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana (the most vocal of those complaining of overzealousness) had around 95 per cent or more of Negro pupils still in segregated schools," it notes.

State Weather At a Glance

The Atlanta Weather Bureau issued the following forecasts for the period through Tuesday. The accompanying map shows locations of the zones.

MOUNTAIN ZONE: Fair to partly cloudy and mild through Tuesday. High Monday 60. Low Monday night 36.

ZONES 1 AND 2: Fair to partly cloudy and mild through Tuesday. High Monday 62. Low Monday night 40.

ZONES 3 AND 4: cloudy and mild through Tuesday. High Monday 64. Low Monday night 44.

ZONES 5 AND 6: cloudy and continued mild through Tuesday. High Monday 66. Low Monday night 49.

COASTAL ZONE: Fair to partly cloudy and continued mild through Tuesday. High Monday 66. Low Monday night 48.

ROME AND VICINITY: Fair to partly cloudy and mild through Tuesday. High Monday 62. Low Monday night 4

Arkansas Gazette Mon 26 Dec 1966

SCHOOL DESEG

Negro Total In Integrated Schools Triples

The number of Negro students attending school with whites in Arkansas more than tripled this year, as compared with 1965. There are 19,500 Negroes in desegregated classes this year, an increase of 13,400 over the 1965 figure of 6,100.

The 19,500 Negroes represent 15.9 per cent of the state's total Negro enrollment, according to figures released by the United States Office of Education. In 1965, about 5.5 per cent of the state's Negro students were enrolled in predominantly white schools.

The increase in desegregation reflects the continuing impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the guidelines issued by the Office of Education to measure compliance with the Act. Under the Act, federal funds can be cut off to school districts not in compliance, and the Justice Department can file suits to end racial discrimination. A few Arkansas districts are feeling the impact of those provisions.

The Justice Department has sued two districts — Crawfordsville in Crittendon County and Junction City in Union County — in federal court and both have submitted desegregation plans under court order. They were among the five Arkansas districts that made no effort last year to comply with the Civil Rights Act.

For the other three — Bright Star in Miller County, Hazen in Prairie County and Humnoke in Lonoke County — the termination of federal aid has been ordered, to be effective in January. This does not relieve them of the prospect of a lawsuit by the Justice Department to require them to obey the law.

All other Arkansas districts have made at least some effort to abide by the law, but a few of them have not satisfied the Office of Education.

Proceedings to terminate federal aid have been started against Lawson and Strong in Union County, New Edinburg in Cleveland County and Wilmot in Ashley County. Termination of federal aid has been recommended by Office of Education examiners for Fordyce in Dallas County and Marvell in Phillips County.

Five more districts are in a

Biracial Districts

The school districts are required to file detailed reports with the Office of Education on their desegregation plans and practices, and are requested to file copies of the reports with the state Department of Education.

Most of the Arkansas districts did file copies with the state and those reports are the source of the figures in the accompanying table, except not for the districts marked by x's.

The table shows the total enrollment by race, the number of Negro children in desegregated situations, the total number of fulltime white faculty members separated by a hyphen from the number in desegregated teaching situations and the total number of Negro faculty members separated by a hyphen from the number in desegregated teaching situations.

The table lists all 222 biracial districts—ones that reported both white and Negro students in the biennial school census last spring—whether they filed reports with the state or not. Some of them in their reports show no Negro students, which apparently is the result of the current trend not to keep records by race.

According to the table 38 districts have achieved 100 per cent desegregation while 12 have no Negroes in desegregated classes.

District	Total Enrollment White	Total Enrollment Negro	Deseg. Negroes	Fulltime Faculty White	Fulltime Faculty Negro
Arkansas County					
DeWitt	1,623	373	266	72- 0	6- 0
Stuttgart	1,883	847	76	77- 0	35- 0
St. Charles	179	306	67	14- 0	6- 0
Gillett					
Ashley County					
Portland					
Parkdale					
Hamburg	981	913	8	48- 0	38- 0
Crossett	2,374	908	90	109½- 0	41- 1
Fountain Hill					
Wilmot	285	677	0	18- 1	21- 0
Benton County					
Bentonville					
Bradley County					
Warren	1,436	983	44	38- 0	34- 0
Hermitage	390	349	43	23- 0	16- 0
Calhoun County					
Hampton	812	381	381	32- 0	9- 0
Thornton	282	397	12	13- 0	15- 0
County Dist.					
Chicot County					
Lake Village	876	1,078	54	46- 0	37- 0
Dermott	601	953	12	25- 0	34- 1
Eudora	653	1,185	1	35- 0	48- 0
County Dist.					
Clark County					
Arkadelphia	1,947	823	142	98- 5	34- 0
Gurdon	725	484	67	40- 1	20- 0
Okolona	116	150	28	8- 0	99e 0
Cleveland County					
Kingsland					
Woodlawn	339	13	13	13- 0	0- 0
New Edinburg					
Rison	471	249	116	29- 0	5- 2
Columbia County					
Magnolia	2,018	1,147	79	90- 3	35- 0
Village	96	78	4	8- 0	5- 0
Walker					
McNeil	179	314	8	9- 0	13- 0
Waldo	314	383	9	18- 2	16-1.5
Emerson	245	288	20	16- 0	16- 0
Taylor	348	173	47	23- 2	4- 0
Conway County					
Negro Vista					
xMorrilton	1,900	350	300	200	6- 1
Plumerville	304	138	108	15- 0	3- 3
County Dist.					
Craighead County					
Bay-Brown					
Jonesboro	4,437	506	325	215- 0	13- 1
Crawford County					
Alma	1,290	31	31	54- 0	0- 0
Van Buren					
Crittenden County					
Earle					
xCrawfordsville	280	1,085	13		
Marion					
xHulbert-W. Memphis	3,400	3,300	97	130- 0	125-2e
Turrell	325	630	31	21- 0	24- 0
Cross County					
Vanndale					
Wynne	1,888	946	189	74- 0	36- 0
Parkin	573	841	2	20- 0	27- 0
Cherry Valley					
Dallas County					
Sparkman	268	317	26	16- 0	13- 0
Carthage	117	184	0	10- 0	10- 0
Fordyce	817	693	29	36- 0	36- 0
Desha County					
Desha Central	232	297	32	14- 1	12- 3
Watson					
Arkansas City	43	139	0	5- 0	6- 0
Desha-Drew	165	323	43	13- 0	9- 1
Dumas					
McGehee	904	660	0	29- 0	36- 0
County Dist.					
Drew County					
Collins	70	121	0	6- 0	7- 0
Drew Central	444	108	108	24 3- 0	3.5-3.5
Selma	77	97	34	6- 0	4- 0
Monticello	1,233	604	53	49- 0	23- 0
Wilmot	138	250	147	14-14	5- 0
Faulkner County					
Conway					
Guy-Perkins	158	123	46	11- 0	3- 0
Greenbrier	424	38	28	27- 0	0- 0
Mayflower	305	108	108	16- 0	2- 2
Franklin County					
County Line					
Charleston					
Ozark					
Garland County					
Lake Hamilton	1,050	11	11	48- 0	0- 0
Hot Springs	5,987	1,217	132	216- 3	42- 1
Mountain Pine	486	110	110	38- 0	0- 0
Grant County					
Grapevine					
Prattsville	204	67	67	14- 0	1- 1
Weiner					
Harrisburg					
Lepanto	868	188	67	42- 0	3- 0
Trumann	2,013	109	109	83- 0	3- 2
Tyronza	269	258	60	17- 0	7- 0
Marked Tree	1,205	445	164	52- 0	18- 3
Izard County					
Horseshoe Bend					
Melbourne	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Jackson County					
Tuckerman					
Newport	2,730	1,300	1,300	327-23	170-26
Jacksonport	364	6	6	14- 0	0- 0
Jefferson County					
Pine Bluff	9,945	2,879	466	450- 5	111-12
xPulaski County	18,337	5,100	1,530	712- 1	150-17
Johnson County					
Clarksville	1,360	13	13	30- 0	0- 0
Lamar	364	6	6	14- 0	0- 0
Lafayette County					
Stamps	3,538	282	156	153- 0	6- 0
Lee County					
Marianna					
Lincoln County					
Star City					
Little River County					
Ashdown	2,900	1,075	197	100- 2	104- 2
Logan County					
Paris	361	233	21	14- 0	6- 0
Ratcliff	925	1,021	18	34- 0	49- 0
Subiaco	198	287	51	12- 0	8- 2
Lonoke County					
Lonoke					
Cabot	1,900	1,300	1	13- 0	12- 0
Ward	1,100	1,200	97	NA- 0	NA- 0
Carlisle	1,100	1,200	97	NA- 0	NA- 0
Lonoke	1,100	1,200	97	NA- 0	NA- 0
Madison County					
Huntsville	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Marion County					
Yellville	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Miller County					
Texarkana	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Mississippi County					
Blytheville	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Monroe County					
Brinkley	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Montgomery County					
Mount Ida	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Nevada County					
Prescott	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Newton County					
Jasper	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Ouachita County					
Camden	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Perry County					
Perryville	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Phillips County					
Helena	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Pike County					
Murfreesboro	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Poinsett County					
Harrisburg	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Polk County					
Mena	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Pope County					
Russellville	2,730	124	99	118- 0	3- 1
Athens	735	60	60	29- 0	2- 2
Prairie County					
DeValls Bluff	466	208	0	19- 0	13- 0
Hazen					
Des Arc	825	200	200	45- 0	3- 2
Pulaski County					
Little Rock	16,074	8,029	1,300	327-23	170-26
North Little Rock	9,945	2,879	466	450- 5	111-12
xPulaski County	18,337	5,100	1,530	712- 1	150-17
Randolph County					
Pocahontas	1,360	13	13	30- 0	0- 0
Biggers-Reyno	364	6	6	14- 0	0- 0
Saline County					
Benton	3,538	282	156	153- 0	6- 0
Sebastian County					
Mansfield					
xFort Smith	10,300	1,053	1,053	491- 0	24- 6
Sevier County					
De Queen	1,049	62	62	49- 0	3- 2
Horatio					
St. Francis County					
Forrest City	2,949	3,075	197	100- 2	104- 2
Palestine	361	233	21	14- 0	6- 0
Wheatley	925	1,021	18	34- 0	49- 0
Hughes	198	287	51	12- 0	8- 2
Union County					
Mt. Holly	196	237	1	13- 0	12- 0
xEl Dorado	4,730	2,286	97	NA- 0	NA- 0
Parkers Chapel	301	29	25	13- 0	2- 0
Smackover	886	250	89	36- 0	13- 0
Urbana	19	122	0	3- 0	6- 0
Norphlet	396	188	3	18- 0	9- 0
Huttig	137	286	61	14- 6	7- 0
Lawson	16	0	0	2- 0	0- 0
Junction City					
Strong	304	900	0	23- 0	25- 0
County Dist.					
Van Buren County					
Clinton					
Washington County					
Fayetteville	5,073	0	0	238- 0	1- 1
White County					
Bald Knob					
Beebe	1,020	60	60	41- 0	0- 0
Judsonia					
Bensett	304	119	91	28- 2	2- 1
Rose	322	3	3	15- 0	0- 0
Searcy	3,315	100	293	101- 0	7- 7
Woodruff County					
Cotton Plant	282	737	30	16- 0	27- 0
Augusta	687	600	32	23- 0	26- 0
McCrory	697	208	30	37- 5	10- 0
Yell County					
Ola					
Dardanelle	1,064	48	48	47- 0	0- 0
Danville					
Havana					

x—Information estimated by school officials or other sources.

Desegregation In Arkansas

The number of Negro children enrolled in schools where the Negro enrollment is less than 20 per lent of the total enrollment in those schools, in schools where the Negro enrollment is 20 to 80 per cent of the total, and in schools where the Negro enrollment is more than 80 per cent:

	Number	Pct.*
Less than 20 pct.	12,800	10.1
20 to 80 pct.	5,200	4.4
80 to 99 pct.	700	0.6
100 pct. Negro ..	100,300	84.9

*Per cent of total statewide Negro enrollment.

Desegregation By the States

(By Southern Education Reporting Service)

State	Negroes Deseg.	Pct. of Negro Enrollment
Alabama	12,900	4.7
Arkansas	19,550	16.0
Florida	38,150	20.0
Georgia	34,050	9.9
Louisiana	9,350	2.5
Mississippi	8,500	2.2
N. Carolina	54,750	15.6
S. Carolina	14,750	6.0
Tennessee	59,850	31.7
Texas	160,950	47.3
Virginia	58,950	24.8
11 Southern States..		16.6
Missouri	82,460	64.2
Oklahoma	34,310	55.7

The Justice Department has sued two districts — Crawfordsville in Crittendon County and Junction City in Union County — in federal court and both have submitted desegregation plans under court order. They were among the five Arkansas districts that made no effort last year to comply with the Civil Rights Act.

For the other three — Bright Star in Miller County, Hazen in Prairie County and Humnoke in Lonoke County — the termination of federal aid has been ordered, to be effective in January. This does not relieve them of the prospect of a lawsuit by the Justice Department to require them to obey the law.

All other Arkansas districts have made at least some effort to abide by the law, but a few of them have not satisfied the Office of Education.

Proceedings to terminate federal aid have been started against Lawson and Strong in Union County, New Edinburg in Cleveland County and Wilmot in Ashley County. Termination of federal aid has been recommended by Office of Education examiners for Fordyce in Dallas County and Marvell in Philips County.

Five more districts are in a funds-deferred status while the Office of Education attempts to work out a satisfactory compliance plan with them. They are Dermott in Chicot County, the Conway County District, Emerson and Stamps in Lafayette County and Collins in Jefferson County.

The 1965 guidelines were rewritten last spring, and made stronger, which aggravated some Arkansas districts. The Dermott District finally sued in federal court seeking to have the guidelines held invalid.

Faculty Figures Not Yet Released

The Office of Education has not yet released figures on faculty desegregation, but available figures indicate that it has proceeded much more slowly than student desegregation. Figures from 151 of the 222 bi-racial Arkansas school districts show that only 119 white teachers are teaching in predominantly Negro schools — an average of fewer than one per district.

Far more Negro teachers are teaching in predominantly white schools. In the 151 districts, there are 203 Negro teachers in schools with a majority of white students.

As in 1965, the great increase in desegregation did not produce any incidents of violence, although several hundred Negro children boycotted the Marvell Schools for several weeks. They returned to classes, about 120 of them to desegregated classes, when Marvell complied with a federal court order to produce a desegregation plan.

Some attention had been created in the Washington District in Hempstead County where there was talk of a mass exodus of whites because of federal requirements that the District stop sending its white high school students to Hope and send them to an all-Negro high school at Washington instead. A majority of the District's student population is Negro.

The District has fewer white students this year than last — 33 as compared with 69 in 1965 — but white students from all four high school grades have continued to commute to school at Hope. Superintendent Thurston Hulsey said he was still waiting for a definite decision by federal authorities on whether the arrangement could continue.

Another district — Plum Bayou-Tucker in Jefferson County — has reported an exodus of white students in the face of Negro majorities in all the district's schools. The district has 100 white students this year, 42 fewer than in 1965.

Rison	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Columbia County					
Magnolia	2,019	1,147	79	80- 3	35- 0
Village	96	78	4	6- 0	5- 0
Walker					
McNeil	179	314	8	9- 0	13- 0
Waldo	814	383	9	19- 2	16-1.5
Emerson	245	288	20	16- 0	16- 0
Taylor	348	173	47	23- 2	4- 0
Conway County					
Negro Vista					
xMorrilton	1,908	350	300	200	6- 1
Plumerville	304	136	186	15- 0	3- 3
County Dist.					
Craighead County					
Bay-Brown					
Jonesboro	4,437	806	325	215- 0	12- 1
Crawford County					
Alma	1,390	31	31	34- 0	6- 0
Van Buren					
Crittendon County					
Earle	320	1,085	12		
xCrawfordsville					
Marion					
xHulbert-W. Memphis	3,400	2,300	97	130- 0	123-2n
Turrell	325	650	31	21- 0	24- 0
Cross County					
Vanndale					
Wynne	1,000	946	109	74- 0	26- 0
Parkin	873	841	2	20- 0	27- 0
Cherry Valley					
Dallas County					
Sparkman	288	317	26	16- 0	13- 0
Carthage	117	184	0	10- 0	10- 0
Fordyce	817	693	29	36- 0	26- 0
Desha County					
Desha Central	232	297	32	14- 1	12- 5
Watson					
Arkansas City	41	120	0	5- 0	6- 0
Desha-Drew	165	323	43	13- 0	9- 1
Dumas					
McGehee	904	660	0	29- 0	26- 0
County Dist.					
Drew County					
Collins	70	121	0	6- 0	7- 0
Drew Central	444	308	108	24.5- 0	5.5-3.5
Selma	77	97	34	6- 0	4- 0
Monticello	1,233	604	53	49- 0	23- 0
Wilmar	120	250	147	14-14	5- 0
Faulkner County					
Conway					
Guy-Perkins	158	123	46	11- 0	3- 0
Greenbrier	424	38	25	27- 0	6- 0
Mayflower	305	108	108	16- 0	3- 2
Franklin County					
County Line					
Charleston					
Ozark					
Garland County					
Lake Hamilton	1,050	11	11	45- 0	0- 0
Hot Springs	5,047	1,217	132	216- 3	42- 1
Mountain Pine	496	110	110	28- 0	0- 0
Grant County					
Grapevine					
Prattsville	204	67	67	14- 0	1- 1
Leola					
Greene County					
Paragould	1,705	2	2	84- 0	0- 0
Hempstead County					
Hope	1,697	1,179	76	69- 3	41- 2
Blevins	232	307	55	15- 0	10- 1
Patmos	30	18	18	4- 0	0- 0
Spring Hill					
Saratoga					
Washington	33	460	30	3- 0	13- 1
Guernsey					
Hot Spring County					
Ouachita	392	17	17	18- 0	0- 0
Malvern	2,484	973	116	110- 8	42- 1
Howard County					
Dierks					
Mineral Springs					
Independence County					
Batesville	1,687	108	108	77- 0	3- 2
Newark					
Oil Trough					
Izard County					
Melbourne					
Jordan Dist.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Newport	2,344	875	84	91- 0	38- 0
Swifton	305	13	13	16- 0	0- 0
Tuckerman	650	113	0	30- 0	8- 0
Jefferson County					
Plum Bayou-Tucker	100	244	109	13- 13	9- 2
Dollarway					
Pine Bluff	5,560	3,976	214	253- 2	174-12
Sherrill	82	255	19	8- 1	12- 0
Wabbaseka	161	648	25	12- 0	25- 0
Linwood					
Altheimer	496	1,009	47	21- 0	39- 1
Watson Chapel	1,901	1,584	29	78- 1	58- 2
White Hall	1,326	113	113	62- 0	2- 2
Humphrey	215	158	43	14- 1	5- 1
County Dist.					
Johnson County					
Clarksville	1,066	72	72	47- 0	0- 0
Lafayette County					
Lewisville	379	428	4	21- 1	22- 1
Bradley	418	464	20	20- 0	18- 1
Stamps					
Lawrence County					
Walnut Ridge					
Sloan-Hendrix	380	35	15	18- 0	0- 0
Hoxie					
Lee County					
Marianna	1,576	2,979	54	57- 2	93- 2
Moro	255	452	43	12- 0	18- 0
Aubrey					
Brickeys	87	334	9	4- 0	12- 0
Lincoln County					
Glendale	187	113	48	10- 0	2- 0
Grady	209	606	106	17- 0	18- 0
Star City	985	369	24	43- 0	16- 0
Gould	304	559	71	18- 0	17- 0
Wells Bayou	83	180	10	5- 0	6- 0
Little River County					
Foreman					
Ashdown	848	609	68	41- 3	24- 0
Logan County					
Paris	987	11	11	44- 0	0- 0
Lonoke County					
Lonoke	1,028	613	613	46- 0	26-26
England					
Carlisle	730	143	148	33- 0	5- 5
Cabot					
Humnoke	325	223	44	10- 0	9- 0
Miller County					
Garland					
Texarkana	4,367	2,104	69	181- 2	76- 0
Mississippi County					
Osceola	1,335	1,344	30	70- 0	44- 1
Luxora	502	457	97	28- 0	16- 2
Blytheville	3,564	2,587	69	145- 1	87- 5
Gosnell					
Armorel					
Shawnee	411	556	27	28- 0	20- 0
Dell	326	199	199	27- 0	3- 3
Wilson	534	507	73	38- 1	19- 2
Keiser	465	161	138	26- 0	2- 1
Burdette	236	127	127	11- 0	4- 4
Brinkley					
Monroe County					
Brinkley	1,316	1,083	71	40- 0	37- 0
Clarendon	727	489	21	29- 0	17- 0
Holly Grove	888	883	11	19- 0	29- 0
Nevada County					
Laneburg (Central)					
Emmet					
Prescott	784	384	39	46- 3	24- 0
Cale					
Bodcaw					
Willisville					
Ouachita County					
Harmony Grove	542	246	81	25- 0	13- 1
Stephens	316	380	16	19- 1	18- 0
Fairview	1,527	628	34	68- 3	24- 1
Camden	1,313	1,534	49	64- 1	36- 0
Bearden					
Chidester	181	292	34	9- 0	18- 0
Perry County					
East End	283	95	95	13- 0	1- 1
Phillips County					
Helena-W. Helena	2,900	3,987	322	129- 0	133- 0
Barton	476	684	180	34- 0	23- 0
Marvell	890	799	0	29- 0	46- 0
Elaine	648	918	22	20- 0	28- 0
County Dist.					
Pike County					
Murfreesboro	471	47	47	26- 0	1- 1
Glenwood	607	5	5	18- 0	0- 0
Delight					
Poinsett County					

MANSFIELD URGES SENATE TO REVIEW PAST LEGISLATION

LEGISLATION

Says 'Top-to-Bottom' Study Should Be Preoccupation of the 90th Congress

NYT 12/28/66

'A CHECK ON EFFICACY'

Letter to Committee Heads Seeks Basis for Changes in Recent and Old Laws

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27 — Mike Mansfield, the Senate majority leader, has urged the 17 committee chairmen in the Senate to initiate a "top-to-bottom" re-evaluation of major Federal programs, both new and old.

He said this should be the preoccupation of the 90th Congress, which convenes Jan. 10.

In a letter to the chairmen released today, the Montana Democrat said, "The time seems to me to be very ripe" for "a concentrated re-examination of major legislative structures by which the Federal Government is enabled to play its role in the current life and affairs of the nation and the world."

Much of the Great Society domestic legislation enacted in the last few years has "rough edges, over-extensions and overlaps and, perhaps, even signifianct gaps," he wrote.

Older programs such as agricultural subsidies, foreign aid, income taxes and the military draft have not had a "thoroughgoing second look for many years," he said.

Needs of Nation Cited

"A complete restudy by the Senate," he said, "could provide not only a basis for adjustment of legislation, as necessary to the current needs of the nation, but also a check on the equity and efficacy of the administrative interpretations and practices which have developed."

Senator Mansfield made a similar suggestion a year ago for the second session of the 89th Congress. He said then that so many Great Society programs had been enacted so hurriedly in 1965 that Congress in 1966 could well spend its time refining and correcting those programs.

But President Johnson continued to recommend major new legislation that kept Congress preoccupied most of the year.

Now, however, both the membership of Congress and the political climate have changed. The Republicans gained 47 seats in the House of Representatives, and in the process President Johnson lost the margin of support by which much of his Great Society legislation had been enacted.

There has been mounting criticism—by both liberals and conservatives—of the administration of many of the new Federal programs. Administration leaders in Congress concede that much of the legislation was drawn hastily and improperly.

"It occurs to me," Senator Mansfield said in his letter, "that the next Congress will see the convergence of a unique opportunity with a great need for a concentrated Senate exercise of the oversight func-

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Mansfield Calls on the Senate For Review of Past Legislation

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

tion." He said he did not expect "requests for sweeping new legislative approaches in the 90th Congress."

"I would hope to see, in the first session of the 90th Congress, the beginning of a major re-examination of what we have done in legislation during the past few years," he said.

He listed as examples of programs he wants studied, medical care for the aged, expanded health research, civil rights, conservation and beautification, programs against air and water pollution and renewal of urban and rural areas.

"In short, what is suggested is that the committee chairmen consult with members of their committees to determine with respect to matters within their committee jurisdiction what, in their judgment, might be most usefully subjected to a thoroughgoing oversight at this time," he said.

"I do not anticipate much more than a beginning during the coming session," he commented.

The chairmen, all but two of whom are from the South and West, were expected to concur in Mr. Mansfield's recommendation. Senator A. S. Mike Monroney, Democrat of Oklahoma, who is chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, said:

"We are going to have some new legislation, but I am very glad that he has put the emphasis so strongly on review, modification and re-examination."

The New York Times
Senator Mike Mansfield

Questions:

1. In view of the fact that much of the legislation Sen. Mansfield wants reviewed is liberal legislation, and in view of the apparent reaction evidenced in the 1966 elections, does the call for a "review" mean that the administration wants modifications of a non-liberal nature?

Guidelines Upheld by U.S. Court

AC 12/30/66

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By BILL CRIDER

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — A federal appeals court set a strict pattern Thursday for desegregation of the South's public schools and said all grades should be open to Negroes next fall.

"The clock has ticked the last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of "deliberate speed," the fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said in its sweeping decision.

The court's landmark opinion accepted the controversial

"I am not surprised," Gov. Sanders says of court action. Page 11.

guidelines set up by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) as the legal standard.

The guidelines have been under attack by many Southern congressmen and other political leaders who contend HEW is pushing desegregation faster and farther than the courts ordered.

"The guidelines, of course, cannot bind the courts," the decision said. "We are not abdicating any judicial responsibilities. But we hold that HEW's standards are substantially the same as this court's standards."

HEW set the guidelines as the standard school systems should meet in order to remain eligible for federal aid, often a big item in school budgets.

A major factor leading to the appeal court's special hearing was that some resisting systems, in efforts to circumvent HEW guideline, were using federal courts as shields. Federal desegregation orders, in contrast to the guidelines, usually left procedures and details up to the local board.

"In Louisiana alone 20 school boards obtained quick decrees providing for desegregation according to plans greatly at variance with the guidelines," the court said.

"We shall not permit the courts to be used to destroy or dilute the effectiveness of the congressional policy . . . there is no bonus for foot-dragging."

Seven cases were involved in the special hearing. A proposed decree set forth for district judges applies in each case—and sets legal precedent for any other similar case anywhere in the nation.

"The provisions of the decree are intended, as far as possible,

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

U.S. Court Backs Guidelines

Continued from Page 1

to apply uniformly throughout this circuit in cases involving plans based on free choice of schools," the decision said.

School boards involved are those of Jefferson County, Fairfield and Bessemer in Alabama and the Louisiana Parishes (counties) of Caddo, Bossier, Jackson and Claiborne.

MEAGER RESULTS

In these and other school systems, the court said, desegregation was accepted as a settled constitutional question but results were meager.

"The statistics speak eloquently. In 1965 the public school districts in the consolidated cases now before this court had a school population of 155,782 school children, 59,361 of whom were Negro. Yet under the existing court - approved desegregation plans, only 110 Negro children in these districts, 0.19 of the school population, attend former 'white' schools."

The court said its guidelines would be flexible.

"School boards, private plaintiffs and the United States may, of course, come into court to prove that exceptional circumstances compel modification of the decree."

CAN ASK AID

In such cases, the court added, "district courts may call upon HEW for assistance in determining whether a school's performance measures up to its promises."

In the decree, speed of desegregation was defined as:

"Commencing wtih the 1967-68 school year, in accordance with this decree, all grades, including kindergarten grades, shall be desegregated and pupils assigned to schools in these grades without regard to race or color."

HEW guidelines also require school boards to assign and hire teachers without regard to race or color, and that school buses be desegregated.

The opinion struck specifically at a common defense contention that the Supreme Court "does not require integration, it merely forbids segregation."

The basis of this argument was the Briggs decision, involving Clarendon County, S.C., schools.

The Briggs "dictum" has been swept aside by several opinions, the decision said, and "these and other decisions compel a state in this circuit to take affirmative action to reorganize its school system by integrating the students, faculties, facilities and activities."

HEW guidelines recommend the rate of progress of desegregation for a school system making the change.

No specific racial proportions among pupils or faculties are required but there should be "significant progress" from year to year.

"The provision referring to percentages is a general rule of thumb or objective administrative guide for measuring progress in desegregation rather than a firm requirement that must be met," the court said.

"The percentage requirements in the guidelines are modest, suggesting only that systems using free choice plans for at least two years should expect 15 to 18 per cent of the pupil population to have selected desegregated schools," the court added.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1966: A CRITIQUE

by

M. Hayes Mizell

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Columbia, South Carolina 29201

December, 1966

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1966: A CRITIQUE

by

M. Hayes Mizell

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Introduction

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States wrote, "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." This historic decision in the case of Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al. involved cases coming from the states of Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and South Carolina. The South Carolina case, Briggs et al. v. Elliott et al., came to the Supreme Court from Clarendon County School District No. 22. Today, twelve years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, there are less than 50 Negro children attending desegregated schools in Clarendon County. The vast majority of Negro students there still attend segregated schools and the dual school system prevails. After twelve years County Superintendent of Education L. B. McCord continues to insist that integration is "theologically wrong" and he still feels that "you can't change people overnight."

During this 1966-1967 school year approximately 95% of South Carolina's Negro children are attending segregated schools. Only about 12 of the state's 108 school districts have made sufficient progress towards abolishing the dual school system so that the United States Office of Education can say that their performance is "satisfactory at this time." This does not mean that these districts have eliminated the dual school system, it merely indicates that they have demonstrated that they are making some reasonable progress towards achieving that goal.

During the past two years, the American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund have pooled their resources to sponsor the School Desegregation Task Force. Working in nine deep South states this group has informed citizens of their rights under school desegregation law, aided communities in organizing to effectuate greater desegregation, and has sent complaints to federal agencies when there were violations of school desegregation guidelines in local communities. This critique is based on the Task Force experience in South Carolina and the majority of the information was collected during seven months involvement in and observation of school desegregation efforts in South Carolina. Some of the information is based on newspaper accounts, reports from citizens, and other private but reliable reports.

The Guidelines

In early March, 1966, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare published its "Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." This publication was commonly referred to as the "guidelines." In subsequent months the guidelines became the foundation for political opportunism and vilification of officials of the United States Office of Education.

The guidelines were the regulations for school desegregation and were issued as required by Section 602, Title VI, of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI of that act provided that: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program

or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." The guidelines were first issued in 1965. Southern school districts were frequently successful in violating these guidelines because in an attempt to give the districts an opportunity to comply in good faith and establish their own administrative procedures for school desegregation, HEW made the guidelines vague. In order to correct this defect and to effectuate more substantial progress towards the abolition of the dual school system, the 1966 guidelines were more explicit and definitive in their requirements.

The 1966 guidelines required the following:

(1) To be eligible for federal funds, school systems with voluntary school desegregation plans had to submit an assurance (Form 441-B) that their plans would be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the guidelines.

(2) School systems had to make significant progress in eliminating the dual school system under free choice plans.

(3) The school system had to inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

(4) In school districts operating under a free choice plan, every student had to choose a school each year. There could only be one choice, and the school system had to ensure that the choice could be made without fear of reprisal.

(5) All school activities, facilities, and programs had to be desegregated.

(6) Schools had to make significant progress in desegregating their faculty and staff. HEW later explained that in a district, for example, with eight schools there should be at least eight full-time teachers involved in faculty desegregation.

(7) Small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups had to be closed.

(8) School districts had to send out forms, letters of explanation, and publish newspaper notices giving students and parents information concerning the administration of freedom of choice plans.

The Office of Education had originally hoped to publish the guidelines in January, but they were not promulgated until March 7. This was because HEW took extra time to consult with Southern school officials before the new guidelines were issued, and because the guidelines were being carefully reviewed by HEW's legal counsel. The 1966 guidelines required that school districts operating under a freedom of choice plan should have a free choice transfer period beginning no earlier than March 1 and ending no later than April 30. Many school administrators were undoubtedly caught by surprise, and they generally felt that they had too little time to interpret the guidelines and follow their requirements. Ninety-eight of South Carolina's 108 school districts were operating under freedom of choice plans. Of the remainder, some districts were still in violation of the 1965 guidelines and had no

authorized plan at all. Six of the state's largest districts were operating under federal court orders. Since many districts were concerned only with complying with the absolute minimum requirements of the guidelines, they felt that they were being pressured into a quick acceptance of the guidelines without being given time to study them adequately. However, some districts complained because they found 50 days inadequate time to plan for the traditional tactics of delay and circumvention when faced with the possibility of meaningful school desegregation.

By May 7, 1966, 105 of the 108 school districts in South Carolina had filed Form 441-B with the U.S. Office of Education. If a district did not submit Form 441-B, the commitment of federal funds for new activities was subject to deferral. The record of South Carolina school districts submitting Form 441-B was one of the best in the South.

South Carolina school administrators did follow those guideline regulations which called for letters, explanatory notices, and choice forms to be sent to all parents. In many cases these forms followed the exact form recommended by the Office of Education. There is no question but that the mere sending of these letters and forms resulted in an increased number of transfers from Negro to desegregated schools.

The Percentages

In order to have an administrative guide by which they could determine whether or not a school system was making satisfactory progress towards the abolition of the dual school system, the Office of Education established a system of percentages in the 1966 guidelines. These percentages were grossly misunderstood by the public and school officials.

The percentages were misinterpreted to mean "racial balance" or the percentage of Negroes attending schools with whites. Superintendent J. B. Kirkley of Marion District #3 (which had its funds deferred) said that the ratio of Negro to white students in the desegregated schools of his district exceeded that of many larger districts in the state (Columbia State, September 5, 1966). Bluffton District Superintendent H. E. McCracken said, "Twenty per cent of the students in our white schools are Negro...one of the highest percentages in the state. The federal government is using some sort of new math on us" (Charleston News & Courier, August 16, 1966).

Some school officials understood the percentages to mean the percentage of increase in the number of Negro students attending desegregated schools this year as compared to last year. Georgetown County Board County Chairman James C. Bourne said, "Well, we've doubled our Negro enrollment this year" (Charleston News & Courier, July 20, 1966). Mr. Bourne did not say that there would still be 98% of the Negro students in the county attending segregated schools. Similarly, Chester County Superintendent E. W. Nunnery expressed surprise that the performance of his school district had been judged unsatisfactory by the Office of Education even though the Negro enrollment in the county's all-white schools doubled that of last year (Columbia State, August 4, 1966). In Chester County in 1965 there were 89 Negroes attending desegregated schools, and there are 177 in 1966. This still leaves 96% of the Negro students in the county attending segregated schools. Superintendent Hugh T. Stoddard of

Sumter School District #2 said, "We had more than 90 last year and we're expecting more than double that amount in the fall" (Charleston News & Courier, August 3, 1966). This year there are only 171 Negroes in desegregated schools in District #2 and there too most of the Negro students in the county are in segregated classes.

Unfortunately, many people of good will who were genuinely concerned about abolishing the dual school system, as well as some leaders in the Negro community, were caught up in this numbers game. They generally did not understand the reason for the percentages in the guidelines and frequently felt that if there were more Negro students in the desegregated schools this year than last year then things were moving along quite well and there was no reason to get disturbed. They did not stop to realize that if the present rate of desegregation continues it will be many, many years before the dual school system is abolished.

All of the above interpretations of the meaning of the percentages in the guidelines were incorrect. The percentage used as a guide by the Office of Education was the number of all of the Negro students in a district divided into the number of Negro students who were transfering to the desegregated schools. For instance, if there are 4,059 Negro students in Chester County schools and 175 transfer from the all-Negro schools to the desegregated schools this year, this means that about 4.1% of all the Negro pupils would be transfering. This does not demonstrate that Chester County is well on its way towards abolishing the dual school system (since about 96% of the Negro students in the district would still be in segregated schools), and therefore the Office of Education lists it as a "poor performer." The guidelines, in fact, do not mention anything about racial balance and they do not measure performance by the percentage of increase of Negro students in white schools over last year. The guideline percentages were either genuinely misunderstood or they were deliberately misinterpreted in order to confuse the public and put the Office of Education on the defensive. Secretary Gardner of HEW attempted to deal with the percentage issue in his letter of April 13 to school superintendents, but following that attempt, the Office of Education more or less abandoned efforts to interpret the purpose of the percentages. Those in opposition to the guidelines, however, continued to hit hard on the issue.

Informing the Community

In only a few school districts did officials attempt to encourage community support for the acceptance of their desegregation plan. This encouragement was required by section 181.17 of the guidelines. School men argued that the hostility of their communities would not permit them to take a progressive position on this issue. They cited the names of other superintendents in the state who had tried to lead their communities and who had been fired as a result. Many school officials had been lax in preparing the community for the inevitability of school desegregation and, as a result, they were caught between the hostility of the community and the requirements of the guidelines. School officials did not seek the cooperation of white and Negro citizens in making the freedom of choice system work in their communities.

Instances in which the public was adequately informed about the school desegregation plan by school officials and the local media were rare. In only a

few cases did school superintendents call public meetings to fully explain the guidelines and the local desegregation plan to the citizens of the community. Such inadequate information to the public allowed for rumor and misunderstanding about the guidelines and about the intentions of the Office of Education. Some school officials attempted to keep their plans as quiet as possible so as not to arouse the indignation of the white community and not to indirectly stimulate a greater number of transfers by Negro students to the desegregated schools. Other school officials feared their own local press because of past experiences when the press had inaccurately reported their plans relating to other matters. School board meetings concerning the guidelines were frequently closed and local citizens had no opportunity to take part in deciding how the district would respond to the guidelines.

On April 2, 1966, the United States Commission on Civil Rights held a statewide conference on the guidelines in Columbia. Approximately six hundred persons attended the conference. This was one of the few opportunities for South Carolinians to receive a clear and direct explanation of the guidelines from federal officials representing HEW, the Office of Education, and the Justice Department. Following this meeting there was a meeting attended by Negro community leaders who met to discuss how communities should organize to promote school desegregation. This meeting was attended by about two hundred people and was a confederation of South Carolina civil rights, human relations, and education groups.

Throughout the summer those persons working to stimulate greater school desegregation found that the concerned white persons in the state generally were not aware of the magnitude of the problems, and it was difficult to organize a fearful Negro community. While the major civil rights groups in the state made some efforts to promote school desegregation, their energies were usually devoted to registering voters and other political matters so that any focus on school desegregation was of a low priority. There were only two people in the state who were working full-time on school desegregation for human relations groups. There were, of course, a number of individuals who worked on a volunteer basis in their own communities. Where there were a substantial number of transfers, the large number was due to the efforts of some individual or group in the community who worked to encourage school desegregation.

The Office of Education made little effort to speak directly to community leaders in an attempt to explain government actions. Many concerned individuals in South Carolina communities were totally unequipped to answer the criticisms of the guidelines and the Office of Education. Potential allies were lost because they had no information about what was going on except what their community leaders chose to tell them. In most cases they could only rely on the reports in the local conservative press and they had no idea as to how they could play a constructive role in encouraging their community to comply with the guidelines. The failure of the Office of Education to tell its story effectively to local people permitted those persons who wanted to obstruct its purpose to do so more effectively. Rumor, misinformation, and speculation thrived because the Office of Education failed to recognize the necessity of filling the information gap at the community level.

Termination of Federal Funds?

South Carolina school officials spent considerable time trying to determine whether or not the Office of Education was really serious about cutting off federal funds if a school district did not comply with the letter of the guidelines. Evidence that the Office of Education might be backing down came as early as April 8, 1966, when The State reported that it had learned from an Office of Education official that the guidelines would be enforced in a "democratic" way. Then in Secretary Gardner's April 13 letter he stated that the guidelines would be enforced with "considerable flexibility." The June 9 issue of The State reported that, "The word from Washington is that substantial faculty and student desegregation will be insisted upon or federal funds will be cut off." But then on June 11 The State ran an article with the headline, "U.S. May Not Hold Fast to Threat of Halting Funds to S.C. Schools."

For most of the summer there were reports that state officials were trying to get the guidelines "clarified." What they wanted clarified were the absolute minimum requirements of the guidelines. Though HEW and the U.S. Office of Education repeatedly told school officials that their funds would be terminated if they did not comply with the guidelines, the school men never really took them seriously.

The administrators were aware that the Office of Education was susceptible to political pressures and felt that the Office would eventually have to back down. Others felt that the U.S. Office was merely bluffing and would not really cut off funds. Still others had defied the guidelines last year and had not been denied federal funds, so they felt they could get away with it again in 1966. Interpretations of the Office of Education's position by state officials and newspaper pundits did little to clarify the issue. There were indications that the Office of Education would insist that some provisions of the guidelines be adhered to, but that some of the requirements were less important and would not have to be followed as closely.

The alleged lack of clarity in the guidelines and on the part of the Office of Education, fused with the desire of school officials to get off the hook, permitted school officials to say: "It's a little difficult to know exactly what they (Office of Education) want" (Charleston News & Courier, July 30, 1966); "We don't know what is coming from day to day" (Columbia State, August 19, 1966); "We don't know what they (Office of Education) will accept" (Columbia State, June 28, 1966); "Before we do anything we want to know on what grounds they (Office of Education) are deferring our payment" (Columbia State, September 5, 1966).

The Office of Education also did not make it clear to school superintendents, school boards, and the general public that the intent of Title VI and the guidelines was to abolish the dual school system. School officials felt that they were required only to achieve a kind of progressive tokenism. They did not realize that if freedom of choice did not adequately move the school system toward the abolition of the dual school system, the school district would have to adopt another plan or risk losing its federal funds. Most school districts, however, were aware that the termination of funds for a district is an absolute last resort for the Office of Education and that prior to that step every device is utilized in an effort to get the district to comply with the guidelines. Many districts were willing to gamble that the Office of Education

was bluffing, that it would back down, or that it could just be worn down. Some districts, of course, decided that they would rather do without federal funds.

The Position of the "Establishment"

South Carolina school officials were reluctant to follow the literal requirements of the guidelines because they knew that state officials were working actively to get the Office of Education to back down on its commitment to the guidelines. One official high in the Office of Education has said, "In many ways we consider South Carolina more of a closed society than Mississippi." He went on to explain that at least in Mississippi and other states the Office of Education had received some cooperation from the officials in the State Department of Education and in the executive branch of the state government.

------The Governor

Governor Robert McNair played a strong role in supporting local school officials in their fight against the guidelines. Running for election for his first full term as governor this year, and facing opposition from Republican nominee Joseph Rogers, Governor McNair undoubtedly realized that he would have to take the lead in fighting the guidelines or otherwise risk being attacked by Rogers as a governor who would not stand up to the federal government. The Republican Party of South Carolina had called for a court test of the guidelines at the state GOP convention in March. Rogers was formerly a state representative from Clarendon County and had served as a loyal member of the South Carolina General Assembly's special committee to advise the state on legal methods of circumventing school desegregation. It was certain that Rogers would hit hard on the issues of federal involvement in local school affairs and the guidelines. Governor McNair, either because of conviction or because of political necessity, decided to become a leader in the fight against the guidelines.

At the National Governors' Conference in July, Governor McNair set up and presided over a meeting between Secretary John Gardner of HEW and the Southern governors. The meeting was for the purpose of seeking "clarification of the guidelines." It was also an opportunity for the Southern governors to express their feelings about the guidelines (Columbia State, July 7, 1966). On July 19, Governor McNair met with Assistant Commissioner of Education, David S. Seeley, and HEW Special Assistant for Civil Rights, Peter Libassi, to discuss "school desegregation compliance problems in South Carolina" (Columbia State, July 29, 1966). In late July, Governor McNair revealed that the state was giving some consideration to a court test of the guidelines and that state Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod was prepared to give legal assistance to any school district that wanted to take the guidelines issue to court (Charleston News & Courier, July 30, 1966). In August, Gov. McNair sent the state Attorney General to Washington to meet with officials in the U.S. Office of Education. According to press reports, the purpose of the meeting was to get "clarification as to how they (Office of Education) justify the requirements of the guidelines issued for school desegregation." (Columbia State, August 5, 1966).

It was later reported that Gov. McNair was going over the head of U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, and was dealing directly with staff

members of Secretary Gardner's office (Charleston News & Courier, August 7, 1966). Shortly thereafter Gov. McNair announced that South Carolina would challenge the guidelines in court. The Governor took the opportunity to also say that he was taking this action partly for the reason of removing the guidelines issue from the political arena (Columbia State, August 13, 1966). In late August, GOP nominee for State Superintendent of Education, Dr. Inez C. Eddings, said that Gov. McNair had told a closed meeting of school administrators that "token" faculty integration and a 3% Negro transfer would satisfy federal officials this year. According to Dr. Eddings, the Governor told the administrators that the 1966 desegregation guidelines would not otherwise apply to South Carolina "since it has acted in good faith." The Governor was also reported to have said that he had received these assurances from HEW officials and "other top officials" (Charleston News & Courier, September 1, 1966).

At the Southern Governors' Conference, Gov. McNair presented a resolution which called for the governors to express "disapproval" of the guidelines, and also called for a congressional investigation of HEW (Columbia State, September 20, 1966). Gov. McNair's resolution was adopted in a milder form by the Southern Governors' Conference, and McNair later said that he was optimistic that Congress would initiate an investigation of the guidelines (Columbia State, September 23, 1966).

Also in September the South Carolina Education Association defended Gov. McNair after he had been attacked by Republican gubernatorial nominee Joseph O. Rogers for doing nothing to weaken the guidelines. The SCEA stated that "on numerous occasions during the past several months the governor has met with the South Carolina Association of School Superintendents, its executive committee, and other randomized groups of superintendents" to discuss the guidelines and problems related to school desegregation. The SCEA quoted Gov. McNair as saying that while South Carolina would comply with the law, the 1966 guidelines appeared to go beyond the law and the State was not asking any South Carolina district to go beyond the requirements of the law to fulfill the requirements of the guidelines. Gov. McNair was also reported to have told the superintendents that the protection and preservation of the educational program was more important than meeting some quota or percentage of desegregation required by the guidelines. Gov. McNair pointed out that boards of education and school superintendents had shown courage and restraint in dealing with the difficult problems, especially harassment and "wishy-washy" interpretations by federal officials (Columbia State, September 25, 1966). Though McNair had previously stated that a suit against the guidelines would be filed before the opening of school, it was not until mid-October that the state Attorney General filed suit in behalf of Lee County challenging the 1966 school desegregation guidelines (Columbia State, October 8, 1966).

------The Legislators

State officials were aided in their efforts to weaken the enforcement of the guidelines by members of the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate from South Carolina. These men were not only extremely vocal in their opposition to the guidelines and to the Office of Education's attempts to enforce them, but they constantly bombarded the Office of Education with letters of protest which set forth complaints on behalf of individual school districts. One official in the Office of Education has said that these

letters were numerous, and since they had to be answered, it was difficult for the Office of Education to do its real work of enforcing compliance with the guidelines.

In April, Republican Senator Strom Thurmond said of the guidelines, "Oppression through arbitrary power is no longer just a threat, it is a reality" (Charlotte Observer, April 18, 1966). Thurmond also sent two telegrams to President Johnson and called the denial of federal funds to two South Carolina school districts "irresponsible, inequitable, and illegal" (Columbia State, June 29, 1966). In July five members of the House from South Carolina sent a letter to Commissioner Howe declaring that, "Good education is being sacrificed to arbitrary and vascillating interpretations of the law" (Columbia State, July 1, 1966). Thurmond's Republican colleague, Rep. Albert Watson, attacked the guidelines when they were first issued and even met with Commissioner Howe in an effort to have the guidelines rescinded (Columbia State, July 3, 1966).

One of the vehement attacks against the guidelines and Commissioner Howe came from Rep. L. Mendel Rivers. Rivers, a former Citizens Council member, had once said that the 1954 Supreme Court decision would bring "mongrelization of the Caucasian race" (Columbia State, November 29, 1955). He had also said that, "Regardless of the court decision, we will never see integration in South Carolina in our lifetime" (Charleston News & Courier, March 24, 1956). This year, in a speech on the House floor, Rep. Rivers called Commissioner Howe a "misfit" and said he was "ignorant." Rivers accused the Johnson administration of sending "commissars" into the South to demand recruitment of Negro teachers for integration purposes. He said the law had been "raped" and warned that, "We are really bitter and somebody is going to pay for it" (Columbia State, August 10, 1966). On September 30, 1966, Rivers said that Howe "talks like a Communist" and accused him of destroying the school system of America "lock, stock, and barrel." Rivers suggested also that the "best way to stop him (Howe) is to quit paying him" (Congressional Record, September 30, 1966).

Rep. W. J. Bryan Dorn felt that arbitrary decisions by the Office of Education were causing many veteran educators to retire earlier than they expected. The Greenwood legislator said that the rules from the Office of Education were coming from people "who know little if anything about real education" (Columbia State, August 10, 1966). Rep. Watson charged Commissioner Howe with attempting to "sabotage" local school systems. Watson called Howe a "czar" whose office was "rapidly growing into a totalitarian regime...bent upon the destruction of local control of education." Watson also asked for Howe's resignation and criticized Office of Education employees for being "heavy-handed" in their treatment of school officials (Columbia State, September 9, 1966). Shortly before the 89th Congress adjourned, New York Representative Emanuel Celler appointed a seven man subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to determine whether or not the Office of Education had exceeded its legal authority in enforcing the guidelines. One of those appointed to the subcommittee was Rep. Robert T. Ashmore of South Carolina. Ashmore has said that he will "hold their (Office of Education) feet to the fire" when the hearings begin. Ashmore has promised that, "I will see that the South's viewpoint is represented" (Columbia State, October 4, 1966).

------The Educators

Soon after the guidelines appeared efforts were made to get some top state education officials to appear on a panel at the Civil Rights Commission conference. None of the individuals contacted were willing to serve on the panel, however. As early as April 12 it was reported that State Superintendent of Education, Dr. Jesse T. Anderson, would decline an invitation to meet with Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, to discuss the new guidelines. Dr. Anderson said that he had already discussed the guidelines with Howe and in the future he would just "read Howe's letters" (Columbia State, April 12, 1966). On June 7, 1966, the Columbia State reported that Dr. Anderson was promoting negotiations between two South Carolina school districts that did not sign 441-B and the Office of Education so that the districts would continue to receive funds. On June 11, 1966, the Columbia State reported that Dr. Anderson had told the State Board of Education that the government might not cut off funds to the two schools. In the same article it was also reported that a member of the Board from Lexington County District #1 (a non-complier in 1965) had said that his district had been just as well off without federal funds. In early July Dr. Anderson was in Washington, D.C. for an education meeting and took the opportunity to approach federal officials and ask that funds be restored to school districts not in compliance with Title VI (Columbia State, July 2, 1966).

When officials from the U.S. Office of Education came to Columbia in July, Dr. Anderson refused to allow them to utilize the facilities of the State Department of Education so they could discuss school desegregation plans with various school administrators from around the state. As a result, the Office of Education representatives had to meet in the Wade Hampton Hotel. Dr. Anderson refused to attend the meeting and insisted that no efforts had been made to arrange the meeting through the State Department of Education. It is now clear that attempts were made to work with the Department (Columbia State, July 12, 1966). In late July the State Department of Education in cooperation with the South Carolina Association of School Superintendents jointly sponsored a closed meeting to discuss school desegregation problems. This meeting was closed to the press and all visitors (Columbia State, July 29, 1966).

When a group from Florida State University held a conference in Columbia in August to help South Carolina school officials deal with administrative problems incident to school desegregation, they made an effort prior to the conference to clear it with the State Department of Education. Such clearance is important since most administrators in the state contact the State Department of Education when they are invited to a meeting and know little about its sponsors. In spite of the fact that the FSU people contacted the State Department of Education twice, they received no reply. As a result the conference was very poorly attended. In August, both the Republican and Democratic nominees for the office of State Superintendent of Education (Dr. Anderson is retiring at the end of this year) endorsed the South Carolina court suit against the 1966 guidelines (Charleston News & Courier, August 8, 1966).

In the spring of this year the National Education Association announced that it would be able to make a grant to Southern teachers' associations to hold a conference in each state. The conference would deal with faculty desegregation, and the condition of the grant was that the conference had to be sponsored by both of the teachers' associations, Negro and white. Such a

conference would have undoubtedly contributed to progress in the area of faculty desegregation but at this time no such meeting has been held in South Carolina. It is reported that the South Carolina Education Association, the predominantly white teachers' association, was unwilling to co-sponsor such a conference with the Palmetto Education Association, the Negro teachers' association. Another opportunity for a positive contribution to education in South Carolina was apparently forfeited.

------The Newspapers

In both the Columbia State and the Charleston News & Courier throughout the summer there appeared editorial attacks on the guidelines, officials of the U.S. Office of Education, and the role of the federal government in education. On April 6, The News and Courier's lead editorial was entitled "Guidelines to Disaster." The editorial accused the federal government of seeming "determined to create new formulas of mixing." The lead editorial of the June 27 issue of The State called Commissioner Howe "the U.S. Commissar of Integration" and said that the guidelines could better be described as a "federal strait-jacket." A July 9 lead editorial in The State said that when Gov. McNair and the other Southern governors had met with Secretary Gardner at the National Governors' Conference all they got was "a lot of gobbledegook and guff from Harold Howe's henchmen." On July 24 another lead editorial in The State again referred to "Commissar Howe" and his "emissaries." The editorial said that "These guidelines not only go far beyond the requirements of the (1964 Civil Rights) law, they run counter to its very spirit in several particulars." The editorial observed that, "Commissar Howe has said that public schooling itself will not be tolerated unless the races are mixed in a manner acceptable--not to Congress or the Courts--but to the Howe hierarchy."

On July 19 The State's lead editorial was entitled "Tyranny in Education" and took the liberty of expanding on the National Republican Coordinating Committee's position paper dealing with the role of the federal government in education. The editorial suggested that the President should see to it that "his minions in the Office of Education" were advised of his statement that the tradition of local control of schools would not be forsaken. The News and Courier's lead editorial of July 30 intimated that the Office of Education would be disrupting the tranquility of South Carolina schools if it continued to insist on "forced integration of faculties as well as student bodies." The August 16 lead editorial of The News and Courier said that, "Mr. Howe and those who share his educational views also have no legitimate place in government." The editorial also observed that, "The American way of life is supposed to be a free way of life, not a social laboratory for off-beat experiments in human relations." On September 6 The News and Courier's lead editorial referred to Commissioner Howe as "a zealot for integration" who could be removed only by getting rid of "the administration that allows him to pressure the people with the people's own money." These editorial opinions from the state's two largest newspapers are representative of similar opinions expressed in the editorials of other state newspapers.

This examination, then, of the position of state educational, political, and newspaper leaders toward the 1966 school desegregation guidelines reveals a posture of defiance, misinterpretation, and an almost total lack of cooperation with those seeking to abolish the dual school system in the South. Intemperate

language was the order of the day, and repeated condemnation of the guidelines and inferences concerning the legality of the guidelines contributed significantly to the public lack of confidence in the Office of Education and its administration of the guidelines. For Negroes, the posture of the state's "Establishment" did little to reassure them that they could attend desegregated schools without fear of confronting hostility and possible danger. As the summer wore on it became obvious that the state's posture would significantly contribute to the failure of freedom of choice to abolish the dual school system in South Carolina. Every public statement, no matter how much it was couched in terms of legal questions, seemed to point to the fact that South Carolina school administrators and the state's leaders did not want to have more than a token number of Negroes in the schools with whites.

The Burdens of Freedom of Choice

During the freedom of choice period itself it was clear that the choice was not as free as the guidelines intended. The guidelines specifically stated in section 181.49 that no student could be denied his choice for any reason other than overcrowding. In Orangeburg County District #2 the chairman of the school board of trustees told one Negro parent that her child's application to attend the desegregated school had been rejected because the board did not feel that his grades were high enough to demonstrate that he could perform satisfactorily in the desegregated school. Also in Orangeburg #2 some Negro students who chose to attend the desegregated school were rejected but were not told why their applications for transfer were refused. This was in violation of the guidelines.

In Williamsburg County a Negro family was threatened that they would have to move off the land of the owner if their child did not change his choice from the desegregated school. In Dorchester County District #2 Negro parents from a rural area near Summerville were told by the superintendent that the "guidelines do not apply to rural areas" and that their children could not be picked up by the school buses going to the desegregated schools because it would not be feasible to reroute the buses. Approximately 79 of these children who had chosen to go to the desegregated schools in the district were refused transfer in spite of the fact that the guidelines <u>did</u> apply to all areas in a school district, urban and rural; and subsequent investigations showed that school buses take white children from the same general area as where these Negro children live to the desegregated schools where the Negro children were denied entrance. In Dorchester #3 approximately 200 Negro children chose to attend the desegregated schools but all of these were rejected for overcrowding. Only the 30 Negro children who attended the desegregated schools in Dorchester #3 last year were allowed to return. The children who were rejected were notified only three days in advance of the 1966-1967 school term that they would not be allowed to attend the desegregated school. Parents from the area reported that the desegregated schools are not at all overcrowded. Now both District #2 and #3 face the possibility of losing their federal funds. Reports from Barnwell District #19 indicated that some Negro parents have been told that they would have to either move or take their children out of the desegregated schools.

In many counties throughout the state Negro parents were reluctant to send their children to the desegregated schools because of a fear that they would

suffer physical harassment, social isolation from their classmates, and academic failure. Other parents were reluctant to transfer their children for fear that the parents would lose their jobs. In most school districts, officials made no effort to communicate with the Negro community in an attempt to alleviate these fears. Where such contact was made it was often relayed through the traditional middle-class Negro leadership which has little effective contact with the grass-roots members of the community.

One superintendent said: "We operate on a freedom of choice basis. We haven't done anything for or against them coming. We feel that is the best method." This was typical of school officials who were reluctant to take any action which might infer that they were trying to aid the transfer of Negro students to desegregated schools. As a result, Negro parents and students found little reason to believe that they would not undergo considerable hardship if they transferred to the desegregated school. Assurances of concern, protection, and respect for their rights as citizens and human beings were generally not forthcoming from school officials. Without some personal expression of these concerns from school officials and leaders in the white community, there was no reason for most Negroes to believe that their experience in the school would differ greatly from the years of physical and spiritual intimidation they had known in the past.

A Choice May Not Be Changed

Most school districts in South Carolina closed their free choice periods by May 30. Some districts, however, kept their choice periods open throughout the summer for Negro students who decided to attend the desegregated schools. Shortly after the closing of the formal choice period, school districts were required to submit to the Office of Education an estimate of the number of children in their district who would be attending schools across racial lines for the first time this year. Then, shortly after school opened, districts were required to send in another report giving the actual number of children attending schools across racial lines.

A comparison of the two figures for 86 of the 98 school districts operating under freedom of choice indicates that 32 of the districts had an increase over the number of students estimated in the first report. In other words, Richland County School District #1 estimated (based on the return of choice forms) that they would have 1,184 Negro students enrolled in desegregated schools, but the actual figure after school opened was 1,240. In 54 school districts, however, the number of students attending schools across racial lines for the first time was less than the original estimate. For example, in Charleston District #9 the original estimate was 142 but after school opened only 31 Negro students were reported to be attending desegregated schools. In Chesterfield #3 the number dropped from 5 to 0; in Hampton #2 from 83 to 55; in Orangeburg #3 from 58 to 35; and in Union from 304 to 90.

Certainly in some of the districts where the number dropped it was because the parents of children moved out of the district between the time of the choice period and the time school opened. On the other hand, in those districts where there was a significant decrease, it was because Negro students changed their minds and decided to return to the Negro school rather than to stick with their original choice of attending the desegregated school. This

was a direct violation of the guidelines.

Section 181.48 of the guidelines states that once a student has made his choice it could not be changed for any reason except (1) In case of change of residence (2) In case of compelling hardship (3) In case a student required a course of study not offered at that school. In many cases, however, students were permitted to transfer back to the Negro school without meeting any of these conditions. Such cases even occurred after school opened.

In McCormick County, for example, Negro children were permitted to transfer back to Mims High School (Negro) from McCormick High School (desegregated) several days after school had begun. There was no effort made on the part of school officials to keep the children at McCormick High and there were no administrative procedures to be followed in changing schools. The Negro children merely quit going to McCormick High one day and began going to Mims High the next. It is also reported that in Spartanburg District #3, Lee County, and Beaufort County there were similar incidents of transfer after the beginning of school. This was a general pattern across the state.

In Laurens County District #56 seven Negro children were returned to the Negro school by school authorities after they had failed a test at the desegregated school. These children were told that they were not academically prepared to attend the desegregated school. While the students were judged not to be academically fit for the desegregated school they were returned to the same grade at the Negro school as the one they had been in at the desegregated school. Such actions only perpetuate the idea that the Negro school is an inferior educational institution and that its products are "unready" to compete with whites.

Harassment of Students

There has been some harassment of Negro students in desegregated schools since the beginning of the 1966-1967 school session. In Dorchester District #1 a child threw a baseball at a Negro student, a Negro girl was hit by a white girl in the restroom, and white students threw rocks and other missiles at the Negro students. Students are segregated in the classrooms and on the school buses. Students report that white teachers ignore the Negro students in class and make no effort to involve them in class discussions. There are also charges of unfair judication by school administrators of disputes between Negro and white children.

In McCormick County Negro students attending the desegregated high school were called names, hit with paper and pennies, and did not feel that the academic environment was such that they could study properly. In Beaufort County a Negro girl was hit with a piece of glass and had to have five stitches taken in her face. There were also incidents of fights in the school yard involving Negro and white children and there has been harassment of Negro children on school buses. Local parents do not feel that discipline problems in which Negro and white students have been involved have been disposed of in a fair manner. In Colleton County there were reports that Negro children were forced to sit in the rear of the school buses and that they were harassed on the school buses. In Lee County one Negro student in a desegregated school had his house shot into. In Kershaw County there was some fighting on the school buses so

seats have now been assigned to Negro and white students to keep them apart.

In general, however, there was relatively little harassment of Negro students by their white schoolmates. Many Negro students report that they are doing well and are enjoying and benefiting from their experience in the desegregated schools. There is name calling in most every school but this has subsided as the school year has progressed. Discipline on school buses is a general problem and this is undoubtedly due to the fact that in South Carolina there are student drivers. The ability of these students to maintain discipline on their buses and drive their buses at the same time is strained. Too, the drivers are frequently driving their own classmates and are probably reluctant to reprimand them or report them to school officials for discipline problems. It should also be remembered that these student drivers are subject to the same prejudices as their parents and classmates.

Routing of School Buses

South Carolina school districts have refused to follow the 1966 guideline requirements for eliminating segregation of school bus routes. The guidelines said that "Routing and scheduling of transportation must be planned on the basis of such factors as economy and efficiency, and may not operate to impede desegregation. Routes and schedules must be changed to the extent necessary to comply with this provision." In most districts the school buses were desegregated only for those students attending the desegregated schools. In other words, buses carrying white students going to the predominantly white school usually pick up Negro children who have transferred and are now attending the predominantly white school.

Buses have not been rerouted so that white and Negro students ride on the same buses if they live close to each other. Buses have not been rerouted so that a school bus, for instance, will pick up a Negro student and a white student who might live on the same road less than 200 yards from each other, and then take them to the town where the children are dropped at their respective schools. White student drivers drive buses loaded with white children and Negro student drivers drive buses loaded with Negro children. A bus with white children may follow a bus with Negro children for a considerable distance on the same road, each bus picking up students of each race separately, and then take them to two schools in close proximity to one another.

Desegregation of School Activities

Many schools have begun to desegregate their activities and Negro students are beginning to participate in school sports, glee clubs, and other activities at formerly all-white schools. There are schools, however, where no Negroes are participating in such activities, either because they are barred from doing so or because no Negroes have yet taken the initiative to join such activities.

The segregation of high school athletic conferences contributes to the preservation of the dual school system. A predominantly white school will not play a Negro school of the same size located in the same town. In one South Carolina town the Negro football team must play all of its night games out of town because its field has no lights, no seats, and no yardline markers--in fact, it

only has two goal posts. The white school in the same town has good football facilities but they are not made available to the Negro team. While newspapers throughout the state publish the rankings of white teams in various athletic conferences, Negro high school rankings are unlisted. In many Negro schools the PTA must raise money for team uniforms, field lights, or other equipment for athletics.

At many desegrated schools, Negro students are not eligible for class awards given by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and other fraternal and civic organizations. The academic honor societies do not hold their state-wide conferences on an integrated basis and the same is true of some other state conferences of high school organizations which exist in both Negro and white schools.

Throughout the state the Negro students are excluded from social affairs which are routinely part of the schools' activities. Such activities as junior-senior proms, beach trips, and other similar affairs have come to be privately sponsored in those school districts where the schools are desegregated to the degree that Negro students might be involved if the activities were school-sponsored. This practice is one of the most pernicious forms of discrimination which serves only to isolate the Negro students from any meaningful social activity with their fellow students.

In some districts the PTA is open to all parents, Negro and white, while in others it is closed. In some of the bi-racial PTAs the organization is structured so that it is virtually impossible for Negro parents to be elected to leadership positions. Even where the PTAs are desegregated, there are reports that the Negro parents have little voice or representation.

Faculty Desegregation

South Carolina's greatest failure in the area of school desegregation is the low number of full-time teachers who are in schools of the opposite race for the first time this year. Only a very few schools in the state have any significant number of teachers involved in teaching full-time across racial lines. Most of these teachers are not involved in the traditional academic subjects of the sciences, languages, social sciences, and mathematics. Instead, they are teaching such courses as agriculture, band, carpentry, vocational education, driver education, library science, physical education, and home economics. It is estimated that less than 24% of the state's school districts have any full-time faculty desegregation. Sixty percent of the districts have some type of part-time faculty or staff desegregation, but even it is apt to be negligible. Those persons participating in part-time faculty desegregation are often involved in speech therapy, remedial reading, or work with retarded children. These people usually serve both the Negro and white schools and frequently work out of the central administrative office of the district.

School officials feared faculty desegregation even more than student desegregation. Many of these administrators felt that many Negro teachers had attended inferior public schools and colleges and had then been hired to teach in a similar situation where they were given few opportunities for professional advancement or training. These administrators found themselves in the dilemma of saying that the Negro teachers were adequate for the Negro school but were

somehow inadequately prepared to teach white children. Moreover, these school men were reluctant to restructure their traditional methods of class organization (as team teaching would necessitate) so that faculty desegregation would proceed more smoothly and would be more palatable to the community.

Administrators missed out on an opportunity to acclimate their communities and faculty to teacher desegregation when they refused to follow the suggestions offered in the 1965 guidelines. Those guidelines did not call for any specific faculty desegregation but did suggest that school administrators begin some part-time faculty desegregation and to also begin to hold teachers meetings together. Most school districts chose not to follow these suggestions, thinking that the guidelines would not be enforced. Indeed, there were no penalties for those districts which did not choose to follow the suggestions. This year, however, when confronted with specific teacher desegregation requirements, schools were unprepared and, in fact, are doing for the first time this year what was recommended for last year. Some school districts are still not holding joint teachers' meetings and some have no desegregation of faculty, either part time or full time. Negro parents and children have said that they believe that more Negro students would choose to attend the desegregated schools if there were Negro teachers there who were teaching traditional academic subjects.

Superintendents certainly faced many problems when considering how they should desegregate their faculties. Though some superintendents said that they could not find Negro teachers who were willing to teach in the desegregated schools, subsequent investigations showed that there were Negro teachers in those communities who were willing and able. It has also been reported that some superintendents instructed their Negro principals to try to find white teachers to transfer to the Negro schools. Given the fact that the social mores of the South do not look favorably on a Negro male approaching a white female in a professional capacity, it is not surprising that such attempts were usually futile. Many superintendents said that they were giving their teachers a "freedom of choice" and they could teach wherever they wished to do so. These administrators likewise said that they had traditionally assigned teachers on this basis and that if they told a white teacher to go to a Negro school the teacher would quit. This might have happened but few school officials tried it to find out. Instead, they insisted that they were already facing a critical teacher shortage and that it was impossible to assign teachers. In most areas of school desegregation, it was found that school superintendents did exactly what they wanted to. If they wanted to make progress they generally did so, but if they didn't want to follow the guidelines, they used some rationalization for not doing so.

There is a fear that in the future teaching may prove to be a dead end profession for Negroes. As more and more schools are desegregated and as more Negro teachers are in desegregated schools there is some question as to whether these teachers will have the opportunities of professional advancement available to their white colleagues. If this is the case there may be less and less Negro students who decide to go into teaching as a career. Similarly, there is a feeling among many professional Negro educators that when the two teacher associations merge, the white group will merely absorb the Negro group rather than genuinely merge with it. They point to such recent cases as the "mergers" in Florida and Virginia. In each of these cases the Negro associations have apparently been taken into the white groups with little representation given to

the Negroes, and thus their professional interests are at the mercy of the whites. Such concerns are presently some of the factors for delaying the merger of the two associations in South Carolina.

In no district in the state did school officials seek to utilize resources available under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cope with problems incident to school desegregation. Title IV provides resources which can take the form of technical assistance, grants to school boards, and training institutes for teachers and administrators going into newly integrated situations. Funds are available for financing these programs and these resources have been successfully utilized in other Southern states to help teachers and administrators deal with desegregation problems. No school system, school board, or college in South Carolina has yet held a program in the state that has been funded by Title IV. Officials in the Office of Education are eager for some sort of Title IV program to begin in the state and they have practically said that they will fund any worthwhile program which is submitted from South Carolina. This opportunity to deal constructively with school desegregation problems in the state has been bypassed by South Carolina educational leaders.

Small, Inadequate Schools

The 1966 guidelines required that small inadequate schools maintained for the exclusive use of one race be closed. There are few of these schools in South Carolina because since the 1950s the state has consolidated schools and built new school plants for Negro students. There are no unaccredited high schools in South Carolina, but parents continue to report inadequate facilities in Negro schools. The accreditation of elementary schools is entirely voluntary and of the almost 1000 elementary schools in the state only about 143 were accredited last year.

In Dorchester County District #3 there is Four Holes School which is maintained for the exclusive use of an ethnic group of Indian background. This year Four Holes School offers eight grades but has only 56 students and three teachers. It is reported that students from this school attempted to transfer to the desegregated school but were rejected. At first they refused to attend their old school, but eventually they did return after the superintendent promised to get their birth certificates changed to "white" and to add two rooms to Four Holes School. Also, in Charleston County District #23 the Edisto Island Elementary School has only 42 students and two teachers though it allegedly has seven grades. This school is maintained for the exclusive use of white children. There are about 20 other elementary schools in the state with less than 100 children in each one.

In other districts in the state small inadequate schools were closed this year. The students at these schools were given a free choice as to where they wanted to go to school in the future, and the Negro children involved went either to an all-Negro school or to a desegregated school.

ESEA: Equality of Segregation?

There is evidence that programs funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are playing a major role in retarding school desegregation.

The ESEA provides for the availability of federal funds to school districts based on the number of school-age children in the district from low income families. The money is granted to the state, and the state, in turn, is responsible for approving programs submitted from local school districts. South Carolina is eligible to receive about twenty-two million dollars under the program. Much of this money is being used for underprivileged children in Negro schools, since that is where most such children are located.

In South Carolina the projects funded with ESEA money are to provide free lunches, free textbooks, remedial reading teachers, clothing, eyeglasses, medical and dental care, social workers, mobile classrooms, etc. For Negro children and parents who live on a low income, these services are meeting a real need. If, however, a child can receive these services only by attending the Negro school he is likely to stay there and chances of meaningful desegregation in the district are slight. It is not necessary that the programs be restricted to those schools with the highest concentration of children from low income families. Commissioner Howe sent a letter this summer to the state departments of education notifying them that when utilizing ESEA funds, it was possible to devise programs to benefit the child, regardless of where he attended school. This has not been done to any great degree in South Carolina and therefore these programs tend to be available to many Negro children only if they stay at the Negro school. One South Carolina school superintendent has admitted that the ESEA encourages segregation because some Negro families would rather have their children remain in a poor school that qualifies for the ESEA funded programs.

In some school districts which had their federal funds deferred, school officials attempted to blame the federal government for the deferral and piously expressed their concern for those who would no longer benefit from the funds. Superintendent Kirkley of Marion #3 said, "Our night adult education classes will be what will hit us hardest. We'll have to cut that out." Mr. Kirkley went on to explain that there were 100 adults in the classes, all Negro. In Dillon #1 where less than 1% of the 1,246 Negroes in the district transferred to desegregated schools, the district's funds were deferred. The district had provided 425 free lunches in 1965-1966 but after the funds were deferred the superintendent suddenly found that there were 1,200 children who needed to be fed. The Chester Board of School Trustees wrote the U.S. Office of Education that, "The educational welfare of our culturally deprived Negro boys and girls would be adversely affected by the withdrawal of federal funds and that in such an event it would be our responsibility to take an action to court in an effort to protest the rights of these children." In Chesterfield #4 the superintendent warned Negro citizens that if they continued to send letters of complaint to Washington the district's funds would be in danger of being cut off and the Negroes would be ones who would be hurt by this. This threat influenced many people in the Negro community.

While all adult education programs in the state are supposedly integrated, many communities have found ways around this. The most common ploy is to hold adult education classes at both the white and Negro schools in the community. In such situations, the Negroes usually attend the classes at the Negro school and the white adults go to the classes at the predominantly white school.

Deferral of Federal Funds

Much of the current controversy surrounding the U.S. Office of Education hinges on the question of whether or not the Office has the authority to defer a school district's funds without first having a hearing to determine whether or not the district is violating Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Regardless of the legality of the action, however, there is little evidence to suggest that withholding federal funds is an effective sanction to encourage abolition of the dual school system in most South Carolina school districts. An article in the September 27, 1966, issue of The State indicated that federal deferral of funds for new programs would affect only about nine of the state's 108 school districts because the State Department of Education worked hard to allocate funds before the deferral notices were issued. State Department of Education officials stated that they were "not working against Washington, but working for our own people" in seeking to see that the districts got their money before the deferral notices were published. Because of early planning and preparation the State Department of Education was able to approve ESEA Title I projects amounting to more than $16 million out of a tentative allocation of $22 million.

The Chairman of the Marlboro County Board of Education (which did not submit a 441-B) said, "We did not use federal money in our budget last year nor will we this year." He then pointed out that the district was carrying on the same programs now as when it had used federal funds. The superintendent of Marion #3 said, "We're not hurting...We can raise taxes, put on 10 mills, and make it up...We can curtail our operation a little bit and get along fine." It is true, however, that some districts have gone along with the guidelines because they feared losing their federal money. It seems that many school districts consider their relations with the federal government to be a game in which they see how little they can do under the guidelines and still receive federal funds. In those districts where federal funds are lost, there is little desire to move towards the abolition of the dual school system. The district may be brought into court but court decisions on school desegregation requirements in South Carolina are less stringent than the guidelines, and less apt to be updated and revised.

Desegregation in Court Order Districts

South Carolina has six school districts which are operating under federal court order, and these cases were initiated by Negro parents. These court orders were first handed down in 1964 and the required administrative procedures to effect school desegregation were considerably more lenient than more recent court decisions and the 1966 guidelines. This summer the plaintiffs in these cases went back into court to get the decisions revised. The school districts involved were Greenville County, Orangeburg #5, Sumter #2, Clarendon #1, Charleston #20 and Darlington County. The cases were argued in federal court on June 27 but it was not until August 27 that a three judge federal court gave its decision that the 1964 orders would be revised. The school districts involved were required to present new plans for the court to approve. The effect of the litigation was that the requirements of the court would not be effectuated until the 1967-1968 school year. Because the Office of Education has no authority over court order school districts, any degree of school desegregation in the six districts for the 1966-1967 school year is acceptable,

and the question of performance, which is the major criterion for compliance in those districts operating under the guidelines, is of little concern to those under court order. As long as a court order district in South Carolina complies with the requirements of the court, they can desegregate at a minimal rate. In court order school districts, the burden of desegregating the schools and abolishing the dual school system is totally in the hands of the Negro community unless the school officials feel a responsibility and commitment to assume this burden. The latter is not the case in South Carolina.

There are several South Carolina school districts which are operating under court orders, but who were taken into court by the U.S. Department of Justice rather than by private citizens. These cases involved Lexington #1, Calhoun #2, and Clarendon #2. As provided for in Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Negro parents asked the Justice Department to file suit on their behalf since they were financially unable to initiate the litigation. In each of the cases, the federal judge required the districts to submit free choice plans to the court. The Office of Education also has no jurisdiction over these districts.

Conclusion

Based on our experience in the field of school desegregation, we feel that South Carolina's lack of progress in this area is attributable to the following factors:

(1) Local school officials and state political and educational leaders have resisted change in the area of school desegregation.

(2) The majority of the white community has also resisted change and has, at times, been openly hostile to any policies which would tend to bring about greater desegregation. When school officials have taken positive steps to produce change, they have not been supported by the white community.

(3) Because of the hostility of the white community and the resistance on the part of local school officials, political, and educational leaders, the Negro community has been beset by fear and cynicism. As a result, it has been difficult to organize the Negro community for meaningful desegregation and difficult to overcome the inertia created by past years of oppression.

(4) Federal agencies have failed to provide strong leadership and effective enforcement of school desegregation regulations.

One would hope that in the years to come, when there is perhaps less political ferment in the state, school desegregation will be approached with more reason and equanimity. There is no question that genuine progress can be made in this area, but it demands leaders who are willing to recognize opportunities for progress and who do not feel obligated to defy the federal government with such enthusiasm.

Educators, to be sure, are being called upon to face the challenges of equality of educational opportunity with imagination and courage. Unfortunately, it

appears that many professional educators are finding it difficult to adjust to the increased involvement of the federal government in education, and too few of them recognize that the goal of Title VI is to abolish the dual school system. South Carolina will not make genuine progress in education until our citizens recognize that integrated schools and quality education are not mutually exclusive.

C+D file SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

REVISED STATEMENT OF POLICIES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

December 1966

As Amended for the School Year 1967–68

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

(As Amended for the School Year 1967–68)

Subpart A—*Applicability of This Statement of Policies*

§ 181.1 Title VI and the HEW Regulation

Section 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

As required by Section 602 of Title VI, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued a Regulation to assure the elimination of discrimination in Federal aid programs it administers. The HEW Regulation was published as Part 80 of Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (45 CFR Part 80).

§ 181.2 Compliance by School Systems Eliminating Dual School Structure

To be eligible for Federal aid, a school system must act to eliminate any practices in violation of Title VI, including the continued maintenance of a dual structure of separate schools for students of different races. The HEW Regulation recognizes two methods of meeting this requirement: (1) a desegregation order of a Federal court; or (2) a voluntary desegregation plan.

§ 181.3 Purpose of This Statement of Policies

This Statement of Policies applies to public elementary and secondary school systems undergoing desegregation to eliminate a dual school structure. It sets forth the requirements which voluntary desegregation plans must meet for the Commissioner to determine under the HEW Regulation that a plan is adequate to accomplish the purposes of Title VI. This Statement supersedes the "General Statement of Policies Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Respecting Desegregation of Elementary and Secondary Schools," issued in April 1965 and published as 45 CFR Part 181, and has been amended further to make it applicable to the school year 1967–68.

§ 181.4 Initial Demonstration of Compliance

To be eligible for Federal aid, a school system must first assure the Commissioner that it will comply with Title VI and the HEW Regulation. It must submit the form of assurance that meets its circumstances, under §§ 181.5, 181.6, or 181.7 below.

§ 181.5 Systems Without Dual School Structure

(a) *Submission of Form 441.* A school system which does not maintain any characteristic of a dual school structure may initially demonstrate compliance by submitting HEW Form 441. This is an assurance of full and immediate compliance with Title VI.

(b) *Resubmission Not Required.* A school system which has appropriately submitted HEW Form 441 need not submit a new copy with subsequent requests for Federal aid, but need only affirm when requested that the assurance submitted continues in effect.

(c) *Supplementation of Assurance.* The Commissioner may require supplementation of HEW Form 441 when he has reasonable cause to believe that there is a failure to comply with any provision of Title VI or the HEW Regulation.

§ 181.6 Systems Under Federal Court Order for Desegregation

(a) *Submission of Order.* A school system under a Federal court desegregation order which meets the requirements of the HEW Regulation may submit, as evidence of compliance with Title VI, a copy of the court order, together with an assurance that it will comply with the order, including any future modification.

(b) *Resubmission Not Required.* A school system under a court order accepted by the Commissioner need not submit another copy, but must submit any modification not previously submitted.

(c) *Revision of Court Orders.* A school system under a court order for desegregation which is not in accord with current judicial standards is subject to legal action by the Department of Justice, or by the parties to the original suit, to modify the order to meet current standards.

§ 181.7 Systems With Voluntary Desegregation Plans

(a) *Submission of Form 441–B.* A school system with a voluntary desegregation plan must provide an assurance that it will abide by the applicable requirements for such plans contained in this Statement of Policies. Such assurance may be given by submitting HEW Form 441–B to the Commissioner. Commitments of funds for new activities are subject to deferral, as provided by law, for school systems with voluntary desegregation plans which have failed to submit HEW Form 441–B.

(b) *Resubmission Not Required.* A school system which has appropriately submitted HEW Form 441–B need not submit a new copy with subsequent requests for Federal aid, but need only

affirm when requested that the assurance submitted continues in effect.

(c) *Changing Type of Plan.* A school system may change from one type of desegregation plan to another if such action would eliminate segregation and all other forms of discrimination more expeditiously. A school system planning to change the type of its plan must submit a new plan meeting the requirements of this Statement of Policies, together with HEW Form 441–B, for a determination by the Commissioner as to the adequacy of the plan to accomplish the purposes of Title VI.

(d) *Retaining Present Type of Plan.* A school system with a desegregation plan accepted by the Commissioner need not resubmit its plan if it intends to continue under the same type of plan. If a plan accepted by the Commissioner fails to meet any requirement under this Statement of Policies, the submission of HEW Form 441–B will be deemed to amend the plan so that it will meet such requirement. Amendments to the plan are not to be submitted unless requested. However, certain supporting materials must be submitted, as provided in Subparts B, C, and D below.

(e) *Initial Submittal of Plans.* If no desegregation plan has been submitted or accepted for a school system, HEW Form 441–B and a plan meeting the requirements of this Statement of Policies must be submitted.

[§§ 181.8 through 181.10 reserved]

Subpart B—*Basic Requirements for All Voluntary Desegregation Plans*

§ 181.11 Various Types of Desegregation Plans

It is the responsibility of a school system to adopt and implement a desegregation plan which will eliminate the dual school system and all other forms of discrimination as expeditiously as possible. No single type of plan is appropriate for all school systems. In some cases, the most expeditious means of desegregation is to close the schools originally established for students of one race, particularly where they are small and inadequate, and to assign all the students and teachers to desegregated schools. Another appropriate method is to reorganize the grade structure of schools originally established for students of different races so that these schools are fully utilized, on a desegregated basis, although each school contains fewer grades. In some cases desegregation is accomplished by the establishment of non-racial attendance zones. Under certain conditions, a plan based on free choice of schools may be a way to undertake desegregation. In certain cases the purposes of Title VI may be most expeditiously accomplished by a plan applying two or more of the foregoing procedures to certain schools or different grade levels. Based on consideration of all the circumstances of a particular school system, the Commissioner may determine that its desegregation plan is not adequate to accomplish the purposes of Title VI, in which case he may require the adoption of an alternative plan. In any case where the State education agency is pursuing policies and programs for expediting the elimination of the dual school structure, the Commissioner will consider this factor in determining whether a particular type of plan is adequate for any given school system in such State.

§ 181.12 Student Assignment Practices

Title VI precludes a school system from any action or inaction designed to perpetuate or promote segregation or any other form of discrimination, or to limit desegregation or maintain what is essentially a dual school structure. Any educational opportunity offered by a school system must be available to students without regard to race, color, or national origin. In particular, any academic tests or other procedures used in assigning students to schools, grades, classrooms, sections, courses of study or for any other purpose must be applied uniformly to all students without regard to race, color, or national origin. Curriculum, credit and promotion procedures must not be applied in such a way as to penalize or hamper students who transfer from one school to another pursuant to a desegregation plan.

§ 181.13 Faculty and Staff

(a) *Desegregation of Staff.* The racial composition of the professional staff of a school system, and of the schools in the system, must be considered in determining whether students are subjected to discrimination in educational programs. Each school system is responsible for correcting the effects of all past discriminatory practices in the assignment of teachers and other professional staff.

(b) *New Assignments.* Race, color, or national origin may not be a factor in the hiring or assignment to schools or within schools of teachers and other professional staff, including student teachers and staff serving two or more schools, except to correct the effects of past discriminatory assignments.

(c) *Dismissals.* Teachers and other professional staff may not be dismissed, demoted, or passed over for retention, promotion, or rehiring, on the ground of race, color, or national origin. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff members are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the school system may be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless the school officials can show that no such displaced staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy. If as a result of desegregation, there is to be a reduction in the total professional staff of the school system, the qualifi-

cations of all staff members in the system must be evaluated in selecting the staff members to be released.

(d) *Past Assignments.* The pattern of assignment of teachers and other professional staff among the various schools of a system may not be such that schools are identifiable as intended for students of a particular race, color, or national origin, or such that teachers or other professional staff of a particular race are concentrated in those schools where all, or the majority, of the students are of that race. Each school system has a positive duty to make staff assignments and reassignments necessary to eliminate past discriminatory assignment patterns. Staff desegregation for the 1967–68 school year must include significant progress beyond what was accomplished for the 1966–67 school year in the desegregation of teachers assigned to schools on a regular full-time basis. Patterns of staff assignment to initiate staff desegregation might include, for example: (1) Some desegregation of professional staff in each school in the system, (2) the assignment of a significant portion of the professional staff of each race to particular schools in the system where their race is a minority and where special staff training programs are established to help with the process of staff desegregation, (3) the assignment of a significant portion of the staff on a desegregated basis to those schools in which the student body is desegregated, (4) the reassignment of the staff of schools being closed to other schools in the system where their race is a minority, or (5) an alternative pattern of assignment which will make comparable progress in bringing about staff desegregation successfully.

§ 181.14 Services, Facilities, Activities, and Programs

(a) *General.* Each school system is responsible for removing any segregation and any other form of discrimination affecting students in connection with all services, facilities, activities and programs (including transportation, athletics, and other extra-curricular activities) that may be conducted or sponsored by or affiliated with the schools of the system.

(b) *Specific Situations.*

(1) A student attending school for the first time on a desegregated basis may not be subject to any disqualification or waiting period for participation in activities and programs, including athletics, which might otherwise apply because he is a transfer student.

(2) If transportation services are furnished, sponsored or utilized by a school system, dual or segregated transportation systems and any other form of discrimination must be eliminated. Routing and scheduling of transportation must be planned on the basis of such factors as economy and efficiency, and may not operate to impede desegregation. Routes and schedules must be changed to the extent necessary to comply with this provision.

(3) All school-related use of athletic fields, meeting rooms, and all other school-related services, facilities, activities, and programs, such as commencement exercises and parent-teacher meetings, which are open to persons other than enrolled students, must be open to all such persons and must be conducted without segregation or any other form of discrimination.

(4) All special educational programs, such as pre-school, summer school and adult education, and any educational program newly instituted, must be conducted without segregation or any other form of discrimination. Free choice desegregation procedures normally may not be applied to such programs.

§ 181.15 Unequal Educational Programs and Facilities

In addition to the changes made in student assignment practices under its desegregation plan, each school system is responsible for removing all other forms of discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin. For example, some school systems still maintain small, inadequate schools that were originally established for students of a particular race and are still used primarily or exclusively for the education of students of such race. If the facilities, teaching materials, or educational program available to students in such a school are inferior to those generally available in the schools of the system, the school authorities will normally be required immediately to assign such students to other schools in order to discontinue the use of the inferior school.

§ 181.16 Attendance Outside School System of Residence

No arrangement may be made nor permission granted for students residing in one school system to attend school in another school system in any case (1) where the result would tend to limit desegregation or maintain what is essentially a dual school structure in either system, or (2) where such attendance is not available to all students without regard to race, color, or national origin.

§ 181.17 Official Support for Desegregation Plan

(a) *Community Support.* School officials must take steps to encourage community support and acceptance of their desegregation plan. They are responsible for preparing students, teachers and all other personnel, and the community in general, for the successful desegregation of the school system.

(b) *Information to the Public.* Full information concerning the desegregation plan must be furnished freely to the public and to all television and radio stations and all newspapers serving the community. Copies of all reports on student and staff assignments required under § 181.18 below must be available for public inspection at the office of the Superintendent of the school system.

(c) *Protection of Persons Affected.* Each school system is responsible for the effective implementation of its desegregation plan. Within their authority, school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under, or otherwise affected by, the plan. They must take appropriate action with regard to any student or staff member who interferes with the successful operation of the plan, whether or not on school grounds. If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they must seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials.

§ 181.18 Reports

(a) *Anticipated Enrollment.* By April 15 of each year, or by 15 days after the close of the choice period in the case of plans based on free choice of schools, each school system must report to the Commissioner the anticipated student enrollment, by race, color, or national origin, and by grade of each school, for the following school year. Any subsequent substantial change in anticipated enrollment affecting desegregation must be reported promptly to the Commissioner.

(b) *Planned Staff Assignments.* By April 15 of each year, each school system must report to the Commissioner the planned assignments of professional staff to each school for the following year, by race, color, or national origin and by grade, or where appropriate, by subject taught or position held. Any subsequent change in planned staff assignments affecting staff desegregation must be reported promptly to the Commissioner.

(c) *Actual Data.* As soon as possible after the opening of its schools in the fall, but in any case within 30 days thereafter, each school system must determine and promptly report to the Commissioner the actual data for the items covered in the reports called for under (a) and (b) above.

(d) *Attendance Outside System of Residence.* The reports called for under (a) and (c) above must include a statement covering (1) all students who reside within the boundaries of the school system but attend school in another system, and (2) all students who reside outside but attend a school within the system. This statement must set forth, for each group of students included in (1) and (2) above, the number of students, by race, color, or national origin, by grade, by school and school system attended, and by school system of residence.

(e) *Consolidation or Litigation* . A school system which is to undergo consolidation with another system or any other change in its boundaries, or which is involved in any litigation affecting desegregation, must promptly report the relevant facts and circumstances to the Commissioner.

(f) *Other Reports.* The Commissioner may require a school system to submit other reports relating to its compliance with Title VI.

§ 181.19 Records

A school system must keep available for not less than three years all records relating to personnel actions, transportation, including routes and schedules, and student assignments and transfers, including all choice forms and transfer applications submitted to the school system. The Commissioner may require retention for a longer period in individual cases.

[§§ 181.20 through 181.30 reserved]

Subpart C—*Additional Requirements for Voluntary Desegregation Plans Based on Geographic Attendance Zones*

§ 181.31 General

A voluntary desegregation plan based in whole or in part on geographic attendance zones must meet the requirements of this Subpart for all students whose assignment to schools is determined by such zones. The general requirement for desegregation plans set forth elsewhere in this Statement of Policies are also applicable.

§ 181.32 Attendance Zones

A single system of non-racial attendance zones must be established. A school system may not use zone boundaries or feeder patterns designed to perpetuate or promote segregation, or to limit desegregation or maintain what is essentially a dual school structure. A school system planning (1) to desegregate certain grades by means of geographic attendance zones and other grades by means of free choice of schools, or (2) to include more than one school of the same level in one or more attendance zones and to offer free choice of all schools within such zones, must show that such an arrangement will most expeditiously eliminate segregation and all other forms of discrimination. In any such case, the procedures followed for the offer, exercise and administration of free choice of schools must conform to the provisions of Subpart D below.

§ 181.33 Assignment to School in Zone of Residence

Regardless of any previous attendance at another school, each student must be assigned to the school serving his zone of residence, and may be transferred to another school only in those cases which meet the following requirements:

(a) *Transfer for Special Needs.* A student who requires a course of study not offered at the school serving his zone, or who is physically handicapped, may be permitted, upon his written application, to transfer to another school which is designed to fit, or offers courses for, his special needs.

(b) *Minority Transfer Policy.* A school system may (1) permit any student to transfer from a school where students of his race are a majority to any other school, within the system, where students of his race are a minority, or (2) assign students on such basis.

(c) *Special Plan Provisions.* A student who specifically qualifies to attend another school pursuant to the provisions of a desegregation plan accepted by the Commissioner may be permitted, upon his written application, to transfer to such other school.

§ 181.34 Notice

(a) *Individual Notice.* On a convenient date between March 1 and April 30 in each year, each school system must distribute, by first class mail, a letter to the parent, or other adult person acting as parent, of each student who is then enrolled, except high school seniors expected to graduate, giving the name and location of the school to which the student has been assigned for the coming school year pursuant to the desegregation plan, and information concerning the bus service between his school and his neighborhood. All these letters must be mailed on the same day. Each letter must be accompanied by a notice, in a form prescribed by the Commissioner, explaining the desegregation plan. The same letter and notice must also be furnished, in person or by mail, to the parent of each prospective student, including each student planning to enter the first grade or kindergarten, as soon as the school system learns that he plans to enroll.

(b) *Published Notice.* The school system must arrange for the conspicuous publication of an announcement, identical with the text of the notice provided for under (a) above, in the newspaper most generally circulated in the community, on or shortly before the date of mailing under (a) above. Publication as a legal notice is not sufficient. Whenever any revision of attendance zones is proposed, the school system must similarly arrange for the conspicuous publication of an announcement at least 30 days before any change is to become effective, naming each school to be affected and describing the proposed new zones. Copies of all material published hereunder must also be given at that time to all television and radio stations serving the community.

(c) *Maps Available to Public.* A street or road map showing the boundaries of, and the school serving, each attendance zone must be freely available for public inspection at the office of the Superintendent. Each school in the system must have freely available for public inspection a map showing the boundaries of its attendance area.

§ 181.35 Reports

(a) *Attendance Zones.* The report submitted under § 181.18(a) by April 15 of each year must be accompanied by a map, which must show the name and location of each school facility planned to be used during the coming school year, the attendance zones for each school in effect during the current school year, and any changes in the attendance zones planned for the coming school year. The map need not be of professional quality. A clipping of each newspaper announcement and any map published under § 181.34 (b) or (c) above must be sent to the Commissioner within three days after publication and, in the case of proposed revisions, must be accompanied by data showing the estimated change in attendance, by race, color, or national origin and by grade, and in the racial composition of the professional staff, at each school to be affected.

(b) *Attendance Outside Zone of Residence.* Whenever a student is permitted to attend a school other than that serving his zone of residence, and whenever a request for such attendance is denied, the school system must retain records showing (1) the school and grade applied for, (2) the zone of the student's residence and his grade therein, (3) the race, color, or national origin of the student, (4) the reason stated for the request, and (5) the reason the request is granted or denied. Whenever the total number of transfers permitted from any school exceeds two percent of the student enrollment at that school, the relevant facts must be reported promptly to the Commissioner.

[§§ 181.36 through 181.40 reserved]

Subpart D—*Additional Requirements for Voluntary Desegregation Plans Based on Free Choice of Schools*

§ 181.41 General

A voluntary desegregation plan based in whole or in part on free choice of schools must meet the requirements of this Subpart for all students whose assignment to schools is determined by free choice. The general requirements for desegregation plans set forth elsewhere in this Statement of Policies are also applicable.

§ 181.42 Who May Exercise Choice

A choice of schools may be exercised by a parent or other adult person serving as the student's parent. A student may exercise his own choice if he (1) is exercising a choice for the ninth or a higher grade, or (2) has reached the age of fifteen at the time of the exercise of choice. Such a choice by a student is controlling unless a different choice

is exercised for him by his parent, or other adult person acting as his parent, during the period in which the student exercises his choice. Each reference in this Subpart to a student exercising a choice means the exercise of the choice by a parent or such other adult, or by the student himself, as may be appropriate under this provision.

§ 181.43 Annual Mandatory Exercise of Choice

Each student must be required to exercise a free choice of schools once annually. A student may not be enrolled or assigned to a school without exercising his choice, except as provided in § 181.45 below.

§ 181.44 Choice Period

A period of at least 30 days must be provided for exercising choice, to commence no earlier than January 1 and to end no later than April 30, preceding the school year for which choice is to be exercised. The Commissioner may require an additional period or different dates for a particular school system. No preference in school assignment may be given on the basis of an early exercise of choice during the choice period.

§ 181.45 Failure To Exercise Choice

A failure to exercise a choice within the choice period does not excuse a student from exercising his choice, which may be done at any time before he commences school for the year with respect to which the choice applies. However, any such late choice must be subordinated to the choices of students who exercised choice during the choice period. If by a week after school opens there is any student who has not yet exercised his choice of school, he must be assigned to the school nearest his home where space is available. Standards for determining available space must be applied uniformly throughout the system.

§ 181.46 Letters to Parents, Notices, and Choice Forms

(a) *Mailings.* On the first day of the choice period, each school system must distribute, by first class mail, a letter, an explanatory notice, and a choice form, to the parent or other adult person acting as parent of each student who is then enrolled, except high school seniors expected to graduate, together with a return envelope addressed to the Superintendent. The texts for the letter, notice, and choice form to be used must be in a form prescribed by the Commissioner.

(b) *Extra Copies.* Extra copies of the letter, the notice, and the choice form must be freely available to parents, students, prospective students, and the general public, at each school in the system and at the office of the Superintendent.

(c) *Content of Choice Form.* Unless otherwise authorized or required by the Commissioner, each choice form, as prepared by the school system for distribution, (1) must set forth the name and location of, and the grades offered at, each school, and (2) may inquire of the person exercising the choice only the name, address, and age of the student, the school and grade currently or most recently attended by the student, the school chosen, the signature of one parent or other adult person serving as parent or, where appropriate under § 181.42 above, the signature of the student, and the identity of the person signing. If necessary to provide information required by §§ 181.18 and 181.19 above, or for other reports required by the Commissioner, the choice form may also ask the race, color, or national origin of the student. No statement of reasons for a particular choice, or any other information, or any witness or other authentication, may be required or requested. No other choice form, including any pupil placement law form may be used by the school system in connection with the choice of a school.

(d) *Return of Choice Form.* At the option of the person completing the choice form, it may be returned by mail or by hand to any school in the school system or to the office of the Superintendent.

(e) *Choices Not on Official Form.* Exercise of choice may also be made by the submission in like manner of any other writing which sufficiently identifies the student and indicates that he has made a choice of a school.

§ 181.47 Prospective Students

Each prospective student, including each student planning to enter the first grade or kindergarten, must be required to exercise a free choice of schools before enrollment. Each such student must be furnished a copy of the prescribed letter, notice, and choice form, by mail or in person, on the date the choice period opens or as soon thereafter as the school system learns that he plans to enroll. Each must be given an opportunity to exercise his choice during the choice period. A prospective student exercising his choice after the choice period must be given at least one week to do so.

§ 181.48 Choice May Not Be Changed

Once a choice has been submitted, it may not be changed for the school year to which it applies, whether during the choice period, after the choice period, or during that school year, except on request (1) in cases meeting the conditions set forth in § 181.50 below, (2) in case of a change of residence to a place where another school serving the student's grade level is closer than the school to which he is assigned under these provisions, and (3) in case of a compelling hardship. A student who cannot enter the school of his choice because the grade he is to enter is not offered at that school must be promptly notified as soon as this is known and must be given the same opportunity to choose another school as is provided a prospective student under § 181.47 above.

§ 181.49 Assignment According to Choice

No choice may be denied in assigning students to schools for any reason other than overcrowding. In cases where overcrowding would result at one or more schools from the choices made, preference

must be given on the basis of the proximity of schools to the homes of students, without regard to race, color, or national origin. No preference may be given to students for prior attendance at a school if such preference would deny other students their free choice of schools under the plan. In cases where this provision would result in unusual difficulty involving, for instance, students not being able to finish their senior year in a particular school, or students being unable to attend school with other members of the same family, or at a school having special courses required by a student, the relevant facts may be brought to the attention of the Commissioner for consideration of alternative procedures. Any student whose choice is denied under these provisions must be notified in writing promptly and given his choice of each school in the system serving his grade level where space is available. Standards for determining overcrowding and available space that are applied uniformly throughout the system must be used if any choice is to be denied. Each student and his parent, or other adult person acting as parent, must be notified in writing of the name and location of the school to which the student is assigned hereunder promptly upon completion of processing his first or any second choice. A school system may, at its option, give preference to any student whose choice is for a school at which students of his race are a minority.

§ 181.50 Transfers for Special Needs

Each student must attend the school to which he is assigned under the foregoing provisions, except that any student who requires a course of study not offered at that school, or who is physically handicapped, may be permitted, upon his written application, to transfer to another school which is designed to fit, or offers courses for, his special needs.

§ 181.51 No Limitation of Choice; Transportation

No factor, such as a requirement for health or birth records, academic or physical examinations, the operation of the school transportation system, or any other factor except overcrowding, may limit or affect the assignment of students to schools on the basis of their choices. Where transportation is generally provided, buses must be routed to the maximum extent feasible so as to serve each student choosing any school in the system. In any event, every student choosing either the formerly white or the formerly Negro school (or other school established for students of a particular race, color, or national origin) nearest his residence must be transported to the school to which he is assigned under these provisions, whether or not it is his first choice, if that school is sufficiently distant from his home to make him eligible for transportation under generally applicable transportation rules.

§ 181.52 Officials Not To Influence Choice

No official, teacher, or employee of the school system may require or request any student or prospective student to submit a choice form during the choice period other than by the prescribed letter, notice, and choice form. After the choice period, the school system must make all reasonable efforts to obtain a completed choice form from any student who has not exercised a choice. However, at no time may any official, teacher, or employee of the school system, either directly or indirectly, seek to influence any parent, student, or any other person involved, in the exercise of a choice, or favor or penalize any person because of a choice made. Information concerning choices made by individual students or schools to which they are assigned may not be made public.

§ 181.53 Public Notice

On or shortly before the date the choice period opens, the school system must arrange for the conspicuous publication of a notice describing the desegregation plan in the newspaper most generally circulated in the community. The text of the notice must be in a form prescribed by the Commissioner. Publication as a legal notice is not sufficient. Copies of this notice must also be given at that time to all radio and television stations serving the community. Any other announcement published by the school system concerning enrollment, such as might be made in connection with scheduling pre-enrollment procedures for prospective first grade students, must (1) state clearly that under the desegregation plan a choice of school is required for each student whose choice has not yet been exercised, (2) describe and state where copies of the prescribed letter, notice and choice form may be freely obtained in person, or by letter or telephone request, and (3) state the period during which the choice may be exercised.

§ 181.54 Requirements for Effectiveness of Free Choice Plans

A free choice plan tends to place the burden of desegregation on Negro or other minority group students and their parents. Even when school authorities undertake good faith efforts to assure its fair operation, the very nature of a free choice plan and the effect of longstanding community attitudes often tend to preclude or inhibit the exercise of a truly free choice by or for minority group students.

For these reasons, the Commissioner will scrutinize with special care the operation of voluntary plans of desegregation in school systems which have adopted free choice plans.

In determining whether a free choice plan is operating fairly and effectively, so as to materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation, the Commissioner will take into account such factors as community support for the plan, the efforts of the school system to eliminate the identifiability of schools on the basis of race, color, or national origin by virtue of the composition of staff or other

factors, and the progress actually made in eliminating past discrimination and segregation.

The single most substantial indication as to whether a free choice plan is actually working to eliminate the dual school structure is the extent to which Negro or other minority group students have in fact transferred from segregated schools. Thus, when substantial desegregation actually occurs under a free choice plan, there is strong evidence that the plan is operating effectively and fairly, and is currently acceptable as a means of meeting legal requirements. Conversely, where a free choice plan results in little or no actual desegregation, or where, having already produced some degree of desegregation, it does not result in substantial progress, there is reason to believe that the plan is not operating effectively and may not be an appropriate or acceptable method of meeting constitutional and statutory requirements.

As a general matter, for the 1967–68 school year the Commissioner will, in the absence of other evidence to the contrary, assume that a free choice plan is a viable and effective means of completing initial stages of desegregation in school systems in which a substantial percentage of the students have in fact been transferred from segregated schools. Where a small degree of desegregation has been achieved and, on the basis of the free choice registration held in early 1967, it appears that there will not be a substantial increase in desegregation for the 1967–68 school year, the Commissioner will review the working of the plan and will normally require school officials to take additional actions as a prerequisite to continued use of a free choice plan, even as an interim device.

In districts with a sizable percentage of Negro or other minority group students, the Commissioner will, in general, be guided by the following criteria in scheduling free choice plans for review:

(1) If a significant percentage of the students, such as 8 percent or 9 percent, transferred from segregated schools for the 1966–67 school year, total transfers on the order of at least twice that percentage would normally be expected.

(2) If a smaller percentage of the students, such as 4 percent or 5 percent, transferred from segregated schools for the 1966–67 school year, a substantial increase in transfers would normally be expected, such as would bring the total to at least triple the percentage for the 1966–67 school year.

(3) If a lower percentage of students transferred for the 1966–67 school year, then the rate of increase in total transfers for the 1967–68 school year would normally be expected to be proportionately greater than under (2) above.

Where there is substantial deviation from these expectations, and the Commissioner concludes, on the basis of the choices actually made and other available evidence, that the plan is not operating fairly, or is not effective to meet constitutional and statutory requirements, he will require the school system to take additional steps to further desegregation.

Such additional steps may include, for example, reopening of the choice period, additional meetings with parents and civic groups, further arrangements with State or local officials to limit opportunities for intimidation, and other further community preparation. Where schools are still identifiable on the basis of staff composition as intended for students of a particular race, color, or national origin, such steps must in any such case include substantial further changes in staffing patterns to eliminate such identifiability.

If the Commissioner concludes that such steps would be ineffective, or if they fail to remedy the defects in the operation of any free choice plan, he may require the school system to adopt a different type of desegregation plan.

§ 181.55 Reports

(a) *Supporting Materials.* Each school sysmust submit to the Commissioner a copy of the letter, notice, and choice form, all as prepared by the school system for distribution, within three days after their first distribution, and must submit a clipping of all newspaper announcements published in accordance with § 181.53 above within three days after publication.

(b) *Data on Choices Not Being Honored.* In any case, including the case of conflicting choices under § 181.42 above, where a student chooses a school where he would be in a racial minority, and (1) he is to be assigned to a school where he would be in a racial majority, or (2) the school system proposes not to process his choice for any reason, the relevant facts must be reported promptly to the Commissioner.

(c) *Transfers for Special Needs.* Wherever a student is permitted, under §§ 181.48 or 181.50 above, to attend a school other than the school to which he is or would be assigned under the other applicable provisions hereof, and whenever a request for such attendance is denied, the school system must retain records showing (1) the school and grade applied for, (2) the school and grade to be transferred from, (3) the race, color, or national origin of the student, (4) the reason stated for the request, and (5) the reason the request is granted or denied. Whenever the total number of transfers permitted from any school exceeds two percent of the student enrollment at that school, the relevant facts must be reported promptly to the Commissioner.

[§§ 181.56 through 181.60 reserved]

Subpart E—*Miscellaneous Provisions*

§ 181.61 How To Submit Reports

Each report to the Commissioner required under this Statement of Policies must be sent by first class mail addressed to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202.

§ 181.62 Alternative Administrative Procedures

If an administrative procedure provided for under this Statement of Policies is not administratively feasible in a particular situation, the Commissioner may accept an alternative procedure if he determines that it will accomplish the same purpose.

§ 181.63 Revision of Statement of Policies

The Commissioner may modify this Statement of Policies as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of Title VI.

§ 181.64 Copies of Documents for State Agencies

Each school system submitting any plan form or report to the Commissioner under this Statement of Policies must also submit a copy of such form or report to the appropriate State education agency.

§ 181.65 Definitions

As used in this part,

(a) The term "Commissioner" means the U.S. Commissioner of Education or any official acting under assignment or delegation from him to carry out any of his functions under this Statement of Policies.

(b) The term "discrimination" means discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin.

(c) The term "dual school structure" means a system of separate school facilities for students based on race, color, or national origin.

(d) The term "HEW Form 441" means the printed document provided for the use of certain school systems by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, entitled "Assurance of Compliance with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Regulation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

(e) The term "HEW Form 441–B" means the printed document provided for the use of certain school systems by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entitled "Assurance of Compliance with the Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

(f) The term "HEW Regulation" means the Regulation issued pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Part 80, of Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations).

(g) The term "parent" means an adult individual who exercises parental control over, or is otherwise acting as parent of, a student or prospective student.

(h) The term "school official" shall include, but is not limited to, any person who serves on the governing board of a school system, or attends meetings of such board in an official capacity, and all administrative and supervisory personnel of a school system.

(i) The term "school system" means, as the context may require, either (1) a legally constituted school authority (such as a local board of education) which has administrative control of one or more elementary or secondary schools, (2) the geographic area over which any such school authority has administrative control for school purposes, or (3) the schools and facilities over which any such school authority has administrative control.

(j) The term "Statement of Policies" means this Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(k) The term "Title VI" means Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (PL 88–352, 42 USC 2000d to 2000d–4).

[§§ 181.66 to 181.70 reserved]

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SCHOOL DESEG.

Wallace Challenged On Guideline Evasion

BIRMINGHAM, June 11 (UPI). A top federal civil rights official Saturday challenged Gov. George Wallace's pledge to use state school surplus funds to avoid compliance with new federal desegregation guidelines.

William L. Taylor, staff director U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, said "massive resistance" by Alabama leaders to the school desegregation guidelines was a futile course.

"The governor of your state has suggested . . . that Alabama will not lose anything if it foregoes federal financial support of the public school because there is an $80 million surplus in a special education trust fund which can be used to replace money from Washington.

"I would submit that there can be no surplus in funds available for education, particularly for a state that ranks 48 among the 50 in pupil expenditures."

Taylor's remarks about Alabama's low national ranking in education brought applause and laughter from the more than 1,000 educators and civil rights officials who attended a conference on the new guidelines.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

U.S. Hasn't Violated Law On Guidelines, Howe Says

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — U.S. education Commissioner Harold Howe insisted before the House Rules committee Friday that his office has not stepped outside the law in setting desegregation guidelines and getting local schools to comply.

Southerners and Republicans on the committee pressed Howe with questions about reports that guideline compliance officers were using pressure and "harrassment" to achieve racial balance within local school districts.

A standing-room-only crowd of congressmen and reporters attended the committee hearing, described by a Northern moderate congressman as "a Roman holiday."

Attending was Georgia Rep. John J. Flynt Jr.

Friday's session was ostensibly to help committee members decide on a resolution by Rep. Charles W. Andrews, D-Ala., to set up a five-man select committee to investigate the legality of the guidelines and the way they are being administered.

Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith, D-Va., had already ceded jurisdiction on the guidelines investigation to the House Judiciary Committee Thursday morning, but decided to go ahead with the Howe testimony anyway.

Howe told committee members the guidelines were authorized under the 1964 Civil Rights Act to "help school districts stay in compliance so that federal funds may flow to the benefit of school children."

The commissioner denied charges that the Office of Education's compliance officers had pressured school districts to achieve racial balance, which is specifically prohibited by Title IV of the 1964 Act.

"We're not engaged in any-

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Haven't Violated Law on Guidelines, U.S. Says

Continued from Page 1

thing of that sort," Howe said.

He also denied that compliance officials had insisted school districts adopt busing between schools as a way to achieve desegregation.

"That's purely a decision for the local school system," he said.

"That's an interesting statement," Smith shot back. "It would be reassuring if you could get your thousands of field representatives to carry it out."

The Virginian asked Howe to comment on reports that compliance officers have been "harassing" local school officials.

"We've investigated those complaints," Howe replied, "and we found most of our people are doing the job right. Any harassment has been vastly exaggerated."

At that, Smith glared at the commissioner and said: "If you don't know the uprising in your country about your agents trying to make students of one race go to school with students of another, you don't know what's going on."

Howe also defended his office's requirements for faculty desegregation and denied they could be constructed as "controlling local employment practices." — an action prohibited by the Civil Rights Act.

HE'S COMMISSIONER
Harold Howe

The commissioner did admit, however, that his office "created a problem for school districts and ourselves" by issuing revised guidelines in March 1966, instead of January.

"It would have been better if local school officials had had more time for planning," Howe said.

Georgia's Flynt had submitted a resolution similar to the Andrews proposal which brought Friday's testimony.

Flynt said he thought Howe's testimony "affirmed the accuracy" of complaints Flynt had made about the actions of compliance officers last August in Griffin. (Story on Page 3.)

Meanwhile, as the Rules Committee met in relative quiet, South Carolina Rep. L. Mendel Rivers let loose a scathing attack on Howe on the House floor.

"This man talks like a Communist," Rivers said of Howe. "That is why those of us who know him have called him the commissar of education."

The South Carolinian called Howe a "misfit . . . a foul blot on the escutcheon of decency . . . and an idiot."

"He is destroying the school system of America lock, stock and barrel," Rivers stormed. "And, as a windfall, destroying in my part of the country, the party of which I am a part."

Rivers is a Democrat.

Another congressman, Rep. William Ryan, D.-N.Y., called Rivers' statement "shocking."

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Eugene Patterson

Behind the Guidelines

Many Georgia schools may be doing a better job of desegregating than they have admitted. But confession is apparently a prerequisite to redemption. At least that seems to be the reading given to the situation by an official of the U.S. Office of Education.

In a long distance conversation Tuesday, the official said only 96 school districts in the nation have failed to qualify for federal funds due to faults in their Form 441Bs, the forms that certify their intent to comply with desegregation guidelines.

Of the 96, 54 are in Georgia.

Does that mean these school districts are dodging desegregation more blatantly than others?

On the contrary, the official said, many of these Georgia school districts are desegregating in far better faith than other Southern school districts which have signed the certificates but failed to perform.

Then why doesn't the Office of Education stop bucking the Form 441Bs back to Georgia school districts and simply qualify them on the basis of their performance?

Because, the official said, government lawyers have warned that acceptance of serious modifications in the certificates could destroy the guidelines. If some school districts were permitted to exempt themselves from parts of the guidelines of their own choosing, they would clearly resurrect hopes that the guidelines will somehow go away.

How have Georgia school districts been trying to modify the guidelines? "Some say they will not desegregate faculty," the official said. "Some say they are going to follow last year's plan instead of this year's guidelines. Others say they won't open their enrollments for the full 30 days of free choice."

All such modifications have led to rejection of the certificates. "We are not going to let school districts exempt themselves," he said. "But the peculiar thing is, many of these school districts have performed in accordance with the desegregation guidelines—and just won't sign and send in an acceptable certificate on their performance."

It was pretty clear that the Office of Education is eager to qualify such Georgia school districts if they will simply quit modifying the guidelines to suit themselves, and will just send them in. It's a paper argument.

The real issue—desegregation performance when schools open—will be judged later. Schools that have made a good faith start, even if they don't come up to the voluntary percentages of desegregation suggested in the guidelines, are unlikely to have any trouble with the government this year.

Its emphasis is going to be on crackdowns in those school districts that have done little or nothing, starting from the bottom up. So those schools that have done something, in good faith, can rest fairly well assured of government approval if they'll simply settle their paper technicalities and mail in Form 441Bs that the government can accept.

~~Bonnie Carey~~

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A REPORT ON THE ALABAMA, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI, AND SOUTH CAROLINA COUNTIES, CITIES, AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH 50% OR MORE NEGRO STUDENT POPULATION.

The asterisk (s) preceding each name signify the stage of the DHEW action as follows:

*--Cited by HEW for non-compliance with Title VI

**--All federal funds have been terminated

Alabama Counties and Cities with 50% or more Negro Student Population

*Barbour County

Bullock County

Butler County

Chambers County

Choctaw County

Clarke County

Conecuh County

Dallas County

Fairfield City

Greene County

*Hale County

Henry County

Lee County

Linden City (est. =50% exact)

Lowndes County

Macon County

*Marengo County

Monroe County

*Perry County

Pickens County

Pike County

Russell County

Selma City

Sumter County

Wilcox County

* Based on 1960 percentage of Non-white Population per Southern Regional Conference.

Georgia Counties and Cities with 50% or more Negro Student Population

NAME	PERCENTAGE
**Brooks	58
*Burke	72
Butts	56.3
*Calhoun County	67
Clay County	75
*Dooly County	62
Hancock	89.3
Harris	63
Jefferson County	64.9
*Jenkins	58
**Johnson	51.6
Macon	75
Marion	62
McIntosh	61.1
Meriwether	59.3
Mitchell	65
*Morgan	55.3
Peach	57
Putnam	58.1
Quitman	67
Schley	64
**Screven	59.1
*Stewart	74
**Sumter	67
Taliaferro	100

Georgia cont'd.

Twiggs	66
*Washington	66.2
West Point City	59
*Wilkinson	57
Worth	55
*Americus	51
Atlanta	58
Baker	66
Chattahoochee	53.1
Crawford	68.7
Greene	62
*Lee	60
*Monroe	58
Talhet	77
*Taylor	59
Warren	69
Webster	77
Wilkes	60.7

Mississippi Counties and Cities with 50% or more Negro Student Population

Aberdeen

Anguilla Line

Attala County

Amite

Bolivar

Canton

Carroll

*Chicasaw

Claiborne County

*Coahoma County

*Coffeeville Consolidated Sch. Dist.

Clay

Clarkesdale

**Copiah

De Soto County

*Drew Mun. Sep. Sch. Dist.

*East Jasper Co. Sch. Dist.

Greenville Mun. Sep. Sch. Dist.

Grenada Sep. Sch. Dist.

**Hinds

**Holly Springs

Hollandale

Holmes

Humphreys

**Hazelhurst

Indianola

Kemper

Mississippi cont'd.

*Kosciusko

**Jefferson

*Jefferson Davis Co. Sd.

Lafayette

Leflone

*Montgomery County

Madison

Marshall

Noxxnbee

Natchez Adams

Okolona Mun Sep.

*Oktibbeha

*Oakland

North Panola

South Panola

South Pike

Sharkey

Shaskey Issaquena

Sunflower

*East Tallahatchie

*West Tallahatchie

**Tunica

Vicksburg

Walthall

Western Line

Wilkinson

*Yazoo County

**Yazoo County Mun. Sep. Sd.

South Carolina Districts with 50% or more Negro Student Population

NAME	PERCENTAGE
Allendale	68
Bamberg #1	57
Bamberg #2	71
Bamberg #3	57
Barnwell #19	56
Barnwell #29	56
Beaufort #1&2	58.5
*Calhoun #1	___
Charleston #1	84
*Charleston #9	67
Charleston #23	84
Clarendon #2	74.11
Clarendon #3	___
*Colleton	57
Dillon #1	60
Dillon #2	51
*Dillon #3	48
Dorchester #1	62
* Dorchester #3	57
Edgefield	65
Fairfield	69
*Florence #2	50
Florence #3	55
Florence #4	70

South Carolina cont'd.

*Georgetown	60
*Hampton #1	51
Hampton #2	79
Jasper	66.5
*Lee	74.4
McCormick	72.3
*Marion #1	57.4
Marion #2	59.1
**Marion #3	75
Marion #4	70.3
Orangeburg #1	57
* Orangeburg #2	———
Orangeburg #3	84
Orangeburg #4	55
Orangeburg #6	56
Orangeburg #8	64
Richland #5	———
Williamsburg	71.7

Numbers 2 & 4 (Bamberg #1 and Bamberg #3)represents percentage of merged district.

Rec'd 2/17/66 wy

Agencies

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SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

The word SELMA was on everyone's lips a year ago.

The SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT is continuing the relationship between the people of Black Belt Alabama and the religious organizations that responded to Dr. King's call last March. The organizations that make up this Project have pledged that their presence in Selma last March will be continued through this ministry.

May we use this bulletin to introduce you to the Selma Inter-religious Project and to outline the work being done.

The Project was formally organized in October 1965. Before that time many persons including Jonathan Daniels had remained in Selma to continue a ministry of presence on a temporary and volunteer basis.

Some twelve organizations currently belong to the Project. Four have been designated as sponsors. They make up the Steering Committee.

The Nat'l Catholic Conference For Inter-racial Justice: Mr. John P. Sisson 8017 Palm St. New Orleans, La.

The Nat'l Council of Churches of Christ Comm. on Religion and Race: The Rev'd Bruce Hanson 475 Riverside Drive New York City.

The Synagogue Council of America: Rabbi Balfour Brickner 838 5th Ave. New York City.

The Unitarian-Universalist Assoc: Dr. Homer Jack 25 Beacon Street Boston, Mass.

Mr. Mel Dubin, a businessman from New York, has agreed to be the chairman and will guide the meetings of the Steering Committee.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity is a member and was most instrumental in establishing the project. Your address in fact, came to us through the Director, John Morris who supplied the Selma Inter-religious Project with E.S.C.R.U.'s "key persons" mailing list.

The overall job is to continue and develop the relationship between religious institutions and the Civil Rights Movement in Selma and Black Belt Alabama. For instance, we hope you will be able to act on the appeal in the enclosed leaflet "HELP DECENT HOUSING". Surely large and prosperous churches could consider this a legitmate extension of their concern. We hope so. The risk involved is very small.

The Director, the Rev'd Francis Walter, is an Episcopal priest and a native of Alabama. He has found that his pastoral ministry to individuals has been greater than he imagined. White Alabamians, the young people who have remained in Selma from all over the country, and civil rights workers have provided many occasions for a pastor

The Project also oversees and places volunteers who wish to work in Alabama under its direction. We have been able to bring in speakers and experts to assist in workshops and study groups.

During the past two months Fr. Walter has volunteered most of his time as a fact gatherer in Wilcox County, which is just below Selma. The people there are busy gathering the statistical information necessary to fill out application forms for the housing project, an FHA financed co-op farm, and OEO sponsored adult education, Head Start, and Day Care Centers.

The most delicate work has been in attempting to interpret the Movement to Alabama white people. We have also been able to do a little in bringing whites and Negroes together for common projects in Alabama. Can you believe there is even talk of organizing an integrated church in Selma?

The most pure fun has been enjoyed in founding "The Freedom Quilting Bee of Wilcox County." This is an ever growing cooperative of women who wish to market quilts out of Alabama. Profits will ultimately be lent as in a credit union to buy sewing machines or finance other money making projects.

Last, but most important, is the use of creative imagination to envision the resources of Project members and apply them to the needs of Selma and the Black Belt. New ideas and new ventures in cooperation do constantly occur.

***

We would like to offer our services to you or your organization. Perhaps you would like to be a part of the Project, formally or informally. If you would like the receive The Project Newsletter you have only to let us know.

***

The budget for this year is $16,000. We are far from having raised this amount. We very much need contributions to continue this year and must soon begin to raise money for the second year.

Your contributions would be appreciated. Checks may be made out to any of the sponsors and earmarked for S.I.P. or may be made out to

"INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
by Francis X. Walter, Director"

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

Thank you very much.

HELP FOR DECENT HOUSING IN BLACK BELT ALABAMA

Readers of the Selma Inter-religious Project Newsletter are aware of the evictions and loan foreclosures that have harassed Negroes in Alabama who have registered to vote.

The people of Wilcox County are doing something about it. The non-profit Wilcox County Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. has applied to the Farmers Home Administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity for assistance with two housing programs.

The first is a project to build 50 houses on 35 acres already owned by the group. A Texas manufacturer is supplying pre-fab houses. A family can join this project, getting a house and lot for $3500.00. Payments go for 20 years. This is possible through F.H.A. financing under the Rural Housing Act of 1949 last amended 1964.

The second housing program will assist those too poor to qualify for even the most generous terms allowed by Farmers Home Administration. Most Negro farmers in Wilcox are too poor to qualify for this credit. According to the U.S. Census in 1959 the median income for non-white families in Wilcox was $1,081; but out of 2,600 Negro families 1,200 made less than $1000.00.

Title III. B. of the Economic Opportunity Act offers help in housing for seasonal or migrant workers, this includes sharecroppers.

Therefore the Rev'd Dan Harrell, director of the Wilcox group, has applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for what is called a self-help housing grant under Title III. B. The most recent example of this type of project is in Chester County, Pennslyvania.

A group of families is selected who will build their own houses. The O.E.O. grants each family $1500.00 thus qualifying them for F.H.A. credit. The group is funded to hire a sort of combination social worker and building contractor who directs the families in the construction of their own homes. Thus skills are learned and pride is generated.

We are writing you because you may be able to help these people.

The Rev'd Dan Harrell has appealed to the Selma Inter-religious Project to find churches, synagogues, clubs, and labor unions that are willing to demonstrate their confidence in the people of Wilcox County.

Mr. Braxton LeCroy, the county F.H.A. agent, has agreed that in some cases he would allow groups out of the county or state to co-sign the F.H.A. loans. He feels this would better the chances of some families to gain loans. A group would in effect adopt a family. No note would exceed $3500.00.

The religious groups of this nation created a firm bond with the Negroes of Alabama during the dramatic crisis in Selma. That bond still exists. This appeal is the legitimate development of less dramatic but no less signifcant co-operation.

Isolation and alienation are the facts of life for Negroes in Wilcox County. These facts can be changed by the interest and confidence of a co-signer organization.

This has been well stated in the recent Unitarian publication "The Reeb Murder Trial".

> "Both the death of James Reeb and all his companions in the civil rights struggle, and the infuriating inability of the Southern courts to grapple with the issue, point to the problem and the same solution. The insularity of the embattled community must be broken. The resources for a larger community must be uncovered and drawn out. It may be possible to accomplish some of this by further exercise of federal authority ... But this is not the best answer, a measure to be taken in desperation only. Nor will it directly meet the underlying problem, which is the alienated community.
>
> The only answer is to bring the Selmas and Haynevilles into the American community at a far deeper level than they have yet been willing to come. And this will be accomplished, it seems to me, less by new legislation, than by the quiet but determined work of individuals and groups to take advantage of the ground already gained, to undercut devisive anxieties, and prepare the way for the voluntary relinquishing of attitudes that are no longer useful nor attractive.
>
> I say this... to encourage the constructive work at deeper levels without which further progress seems a vain hope... This, I think, is what James Reeb would have worked for too."

If you are interested and want more details please write us. thank you.

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

(agency) file

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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd. Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 9 December 16, 1966

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

WISHING HOLIDAY GREETINGS to our readers (who either belong to or have left almost every religious or ethical group in the country) poses social and theological problems. To avoid these problems allow me to be subjective and, as a Christian, to wish that you all may enjoy and show forth a certain love and respect for men. That is the love that moved the authors of the Gospels insistently to proclaim that their Lord was born in a shelter for animals and laid in a feed trough.

***

TWO ALABAMA CIVIL RIGHTS MURDERS WERE REPORTED in the second issue of this newsletter, February 1966. Samuel Younge Jr., a SNCC worker and student at Tuskegee Institute, was killed by a white service station operator named Segrest. January 23, 1966 I missed by less than two hours witnessing the murder of a Mr. Colston by a white farmer, Mr. Reaves, outside the Antioch Baptist Church in Camden, Alabama just before a civil rights meeting. Little stir was caused by these murders in Alabama or the nation. The murdered men were black. Even less stir was caused last week when their killers were both acquitted by all white juries.

I give up. I mean journalistically. Why tell you about it? To request letters of protest? To call for legislation? To create public outcry? I'm not a federal employee so I don't have to appear constructive. I'm not a "New York Times" or "Birminghan News" editor. To earn a living I don't have to "influence" people. So let's call this news an exercise in futility.

The fact is the government and the overwhelming majority of our citizens are not only indifferent about bringing justice within the grasp of 20 million citizens, they are actively supporting a national way of life that keeps 20 million outside the pale of constitutional protection. And there is not one thing on the horizon that promises to change this.

***

THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT has survived financially into its second year. Last year's budget was $15,880,00, actual expenditures $15,722.95. We were saved by gifts from individuals. End of the year donations are certainly welcome. S.I.P. is not itself a tax deductible organization. Contributors who wish gifts to be tax deductible may donate through the sponsoring agencies or through

The Episcopal Society for
Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Such donations should be ear-marked "Selma Inter-religious Project".

***

TWO 16 MM FILMS, ONE RELATING TO THE INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT are now available. The first film. "A Time For Burning" depicts a Lutheran parish congregation in a declining neighborhood. During the time of filming an innocent request to include Negroes in a church program erupted in bitter conflict. The cameras recorded it all and the American Lutheran Church had the guts to release it. It may be ordered from

Lutheran Film Associates
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

"Lay My Burden Down", a National Education Television production, is the work of Jack Willis. It was my privilege to introduce Jack to contacts he needed to do the film. Several of my friends and associates are in it. It depicts with accuracy and compassion the conditions now, post Selma March, among local Negroes in Dallas and Wilcox counties— those for whom all the marching was done. I cannot recommend it too highly. If you've wanted to see where the Selma Inter-religious Project works this is your opportunity. Churches, Human Relations Councils, clubs and your state ETV network should show it.

It may be rented from

N.E.T. Film Service
Audio Visual Center
c/o Mr. James Cole
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

A special note to Alabama readers: I checked, it has been routinely decided that the film will not be shown on Educational Television in Alabama. Please write

Mr. Graydon Ausmus
Broadcasting Services
Box X,
University, Alabama

Ask that the N.E.T. film "Lay My Burden Down" be shown. ETV is sensitive to requests. If enough write it will be shown.

***

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE has a large stock of single and double bed quilts at $20 and $25 and bonnets at $3.00 for Christmas. Since March 1966 we have distributed $5500.00 in profits to co-op members. Our top earner has made over $200.00. She works six days a week as a cook and maid for $12.00. Some co-op members have augmented the family income from 10 to 25 per cent. I am so proud of the officers I could bust. But I am partial. As one man said last week, "That feller sho' is wrapped up in quilts."

***

AN UNUSUAL CONFERENCE WAS HELD Dec. 9, 10, and 11. It was called a Rural Life Workshop but it was sometimes called the School for White People. S.I.P. and the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church of Gees Bend, Wilcox County sponsored it. It was quite an experiment. Gees Bend is an all Negro community located in an isolated bend of the Alabama River below Selma. After a year of making friends and contacts in Alabama I felt I knew

people well enough to hold such a workshop. Thirty-two people came, five from out of the state. Of the rest, twenty-seven were white Alabamians, five Negro. They came from Huntsville, Mobile, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Montgomery. The panelists and teachers were all local Negro leaders from Wilcox and Dallas counties. Topics discussed were the local Movement, tenant farming, cooperatives, law enforcement, credit, education and politics-all as it effected Negroes in the Blace Belt. The people of Gees Bend came too. At times the large church was almost full. For most of the conferees it was the first time they had ever heard about conditions in the Black Belt straight from Negroes who knew how to tell it. The people of Gees Bend opened their homes and their hearts to us. Fried chicken, squirrel, sweet potato pie and chicory coffee abounded. What an experience. I'd been thinking about such a thing for months but finally found the courage to try. I hope to be able to report later on the reactions of the people who attended.

***

O.E.O. TITLE III B. PROGRAMS IN LOWNDES AND WILCOX were funded as we guessed ten days after the November elections. One can say this is the only rebuff George Wallace has received in over a year. OEO officials warned us board members that the attack to destroy these programs would be, if anything,more powerful than the forces that destroyed the C.D. G.M. in Mississippi.

The "Birmingham News" is waging war against the programs. In an exhaustive scrutiny the paper has interviewed absolutely everyone in Alabama about it; except of course, the chairmen or members of the two boards who are administering the programs.

I have attended my first two meetings as a member of the Lowndes board. I've met the white man in Lowndes who serves — brave man, but no braver than the black people who have struggled to develop the program. I heard that the white people who agreed to serve on the Wilcox board have written O.E.O. denying they were ever members. That's the way it goes. These boards have worked hard to invite everybody to participate. But it's almost impossible to find whites who are not either opposed or too afraid.

Basically these programs will provide pre-vocational education skills to adults. Many will be able to learn reading and writing. Day care centers for childern will also be operated. Participating childern will be able to receive milk and a well balanced meal. The cost of the two programs is $500,00.00.

***

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA SELF-HELP HOUSING is a non-profit organization created to apply for funds to administer an imagintive housing program in the rural Black Belt. I was asked to find some white people to serve on it. So far I have found five which is enough to start. There are about twenty people on the board. However, most of the members are working too hard to get the two funded programs going to begin the lengthy preliminary work of writing the application. Besides rural funds for such programs have just been cut way back by Congress. Yet as the Christmas and New Year's holidays begin how many families of tenant farmers will not have their contracts renewed and will face eviction from house and land? We have no way of knowing.

Senator Mansfield is quoted as saying we need a "pause" in the Great Society.

Merry Christmas Mr. and Mrs. Moorer; Merry Christmas Big Bill Williams; Merry Christmas Mr. Wiley Bell and family. Put up your Christmas tree anyway, it doesn't need to be in a house. You can dance around it to keep warm. You are a people who bear affliction lightly. You won't mind. But don't you listen to Stokely. He's no Santa Claus. We're here to tell you that Black Santa has not produced one present, not one goodie in the ten months he's been talking. You believe in Santas Mansfield, Dirksen, Johnson and Whitney Young, Jr. They got the bag haven't they?

You believe in them and you can be us white folks Holy Family. We won't have to build a little pine slab lean-to in front of the First Segregated Church. We won't have to get out our plywood Mary and Jesus. If you will truly accept Senator Mansfield and all his choir as Santas we'll let you stand around outside our church holding your children in your arms.

***

TEACHERS AND PARENTS IN ALABAMA ATTENTION. A large number of top grade Northern high schools are looking for very bright students. These schools are able to pay all expenses involved in sending a child off to get a wonderful education. Of course, only a very few are able to be selected. Here is what you do to find out more about it. If you know of a very bright child in your family or school, or if you just want to understand more about this opportunity, write me a letter. I will come to explain the program. The program takes some explaining. I had to study a lot of material before I understood it. It is mostly for students entering the ninth and tenth grades in the fall of 1967. There are only a very few places for children entering the eight and eleventh grades. I learned about the program too late to help many people this year. But the folks who run the program said any parent or teacher who knows a very bright and hard working student should encourage him to apply. The child would have to take a test in either Mobile, Montgomery, Tuskegee, or Birmingham Feb. 4, 1967. So you will have to contact me right away. If I possibly can I will travel to any school in the Black Belt to explain the program to teachers and parents. Any child accepted at one of these schools has almost a sure chance of being accepted in a college. Maybe only one child would go from Alabama this year or next. But still it's worth your interest. These schools are all finer schools than any private schools in Alabama, white or Negro.

***

THE CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY based in Washington, deserves the respect and thanks of folks in Alabama. It is developing a program to create low cost housing. This is not a crisis orientated civil rights organization but a community development type organization. Clumsy terminology but it says it. It has centers now in Eutaw and Selma. It plans to open a concrete block plant in Greene County.

The Crusade has employed some experienced people to handle its Alabama program. Mr. Randolph Blackwell, formerly employed by S.C.L.C. is the overall director of this Southern program.

***

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE is still advertising for a manager at a salary around $5000.00. We could use two people if a couple want to apply but at the same salary. Returning Peace Corps Volunteers make good prospects. Know any? Please remember, almost all our good ideas and contacts have come from Newsletter readers.

(clips & information)
SEX DISCRIMINATION

TO FULFILL THE RIGHTS OF NEGRO WOMEN

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AMERICAN WOMEN

AMERICAN WOMEN

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION
ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1963

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Girls Be Drafted?

AC 4/26/66

--Or Pay Alimony?

WASHINGTON (AP)—Draft Maggie? Make Mildred pay alimony?

Could be, a New York congressman has suggested in backing a constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women — and men.

The women need such a law because some states and localities still discriminate against them on a variety of matters, Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman declared. He named examples: Jury service, property rights, the right to control and own one's earnings.

But men need it, too, the Republican representative asserted, because he said there's "reverse discrimination which exists in some aspects of life where women are favored over men."

He cited "meter maids" and said New York and Los Angeles governments won't hire men to check on parking violations.

"There is another area where this amendment could have beneficial results for me," Kupferman said in a statement.

"I refer to alimony laws in this country which could be revised as a result of this amendment, so that women are not favored simply because of their sex."

He noted that it has been suggested that such a law could lead to compulsory military service for women, now exempt.

"It may be agreed that women could serve in various clerical or administrative capacities as well as men," he said, but added "this amendment does not overlook the natural or physical distinction between men and women."

Kupferman would add to the constitution an amendment that says "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex."

"A clear pronouncement of equality or rights for both sexes is long overdue in this country," he said.

The most luxurious cover-up in the world isn't mink, darling, it's a wig from . . .

The Wiggery

2277 PEACHTREE RD.
355-0070

Driving Big Truck Is Still a Man's Job Sighs Woman Who Tried Being 'Equal'

SEX DISCRIMINATION ACG 5/8/66

By SANDRA ALLEY

Uncle Sam opened the door to opportunity for women of America with the passage of H.R. 7152, but he may also have shattered the dreams of a few females.

To many a female mind, H.R. 7152, more commonly known as the Civil Rights Law, meant the passport to new adventures. At last woman can try her skill at the work or profession that before was only hidden ambition. No longer does she have to sit behind her ultra-modern typewriter and just DREAM about what it would be like to be a lumberjack or to pilot a commercial jetliner.

Her invitation to go into man's world comes under Section 703, paragraph (1) which reads: "It shall be . . . unlawful to fail or refuse to hire . . . any individual . . . because of such individual's race, color, regligion, sex or national origin. . . ."

That three-letter word, "sex," is no longer a hindrance.

TRADES IN LAB COAT

Saralyn Bone, a public health laboratory technologist at the Communicable Disease Center, decided to trade in her lab coat one night and find out what it was like to sit behind the wheel of a multi-geared trailer-truck. The thought of having the power to manipulate up to 72,000 pounds in her hands was too much to pass up.

"There she is," said an employe of a Georgia-owned truck line, as he pointed to one of the largest trucks on the lot.

Saralyn came face-to-face with the truck, which weighed up to 25,000 pounds without freight. Immediately her female mind went into action.

"Where's the running board?" she queried. There was none. With a bolting leap, Saralyn attempted a big stride to the first bar-type step.

"This is the first thing ladies would have changed," she said, as her right foot went searching for the next step. Three very big steps up and several minutes later, Saralyn was sitting in the cab of the truck.

CITY AT 6 O'CLOCK

"We're going to show you the city-run," said S. L. Moon, winner of a national champion truck-driving title. "You'll really get the feel of a truck — especially in six o'clock traffic."

Bolting along Jonesboro Road, part of the Expressway and a few streets Saralyn had not known existed, the two were on their way to pick-up some unknown freight at the Government Employe's Exchange (GEX) on the South Expressway.

"There are only certain roads we're authorized to drive on," Moon said.

"How many gears?" Saralyn said. "Ten," he answered. It had taken six just to pull out of the terminal lot.

"Do you think women would make good truck drivers," she asked, trying to find out his mind was on the situation.

HE'S WILLING

To her surprise, Moon answered in the affirmative.

"Women seem to be more courteous to truck drivers," he said. "More often they'll let a truck get by or enter a lane of traffic."

"It's like one big reducing machine," Saralyn said as they bounced and jerked along the roads. "It'll be smoother when we go back," the driver said. "The trailer is empty now."

Soon the truck pulled up to the shipping entrances along the rear of GEX Saralyn watched Moon and a GEX employe engage in what appeared to be a high-level conference. After several papers were signed and the transaction completed, the cargo was loaded into the rear of the truck.

The cargo turned out to be one stereo cabinet. Its weight didn't help to lessen the bumps on the return trip.

TRAFFIC IS FRIENDLY

Several rigs passed the big truck and each driver waved or honked at the other. Once a group of children started waving as if they were trying to pull down an imaginary, but heavy, rope.

Moon answered their motions with a blast of his horn. "That's just a friendly hello," he said. "Children always want to hear the horn of passing trucks."

When the rig pulled up to the freight terminal, Saralyn whobbled off. The terminal was breaming with activity as it was growing dark by then and soon the night out-of-town runs would begin.

Morris L. Shadburn Jr., an executive with the truck line, told Saralyn she would be going with another national champion driver, Paul Steed, oldest long - term driver there. His seniority entitles him to the pick of the routes and the choice of the cabs.

THE NIGHT RUN

Their destination would be Marietta — not Steed's regular route, but a distance long enough to give Saralyn the feel of a night run from Atlanta.

As with every truck that leaves the terminal, Steed's truck underwent a thorough safety test.

"How many tires does this truck have?" Saralyn asked. The answer was 18, and each tire was susceptible to becoming flat. The driver changes the tire if he has a flat on the trip.

The truck passed the check-up. Off to Marietta. Jolting along the Northeast Expressway, Saralyn found conversation wasn't easy over the roar of the eninges. Steed demonstrated the use of all ten gears as they maneuvered up a hill on the winding Marietta Highway. Passing motorists appeared to be zooming. Saralyn was almost as sure "her" truck was standing still.

It was hard to pass. It was hard to make time. You just sit and shift. But the veteran driver was as proud of his truck as any owners of the sleekest automobile.

NO WELCOMERS

When the truck pulled into the Marietta terminal, there was no one to welcome the arrivers. It was a lonely area filled with trailers either waiting to be attached to cabs with their freight already loaded, or empty trailers ready to be filled during the early morning hours.

Carrying 17,000 pounds of freight back to Atlanta that night, the truck arrived at the terminal.

"You really have to be good at parking," Saralyn said, as Steed easily put the van into reverse and moved to a space between two unattached trailers.

For Saralyn, her career as a trucker was over. For Steed the regular road to Tifton was still ahead of him.

"How did you like it?" asked Shadburn.

"Well," Saralyn answered," I sure have a lot more respect for truck drivers than I did before. It was great riding in the truck . . . but driving it? It takes more than that three-letter word."

Women Will Help Report Vote in Alabama Primary

BIRMINGHAM—More than 150 members of Alabama's League of Women Voters will play an active role in ABC News' radio and television coverage of the Alabama Democratic primary election Tuesday by reporting the up-to-the-minute vote tabulations from the network's selected statewide network of "key precincts."

The ladies will report the vote counts directly to the ABC News political "Brains Trust" in Birmingham.

"We have found that the League of Women Voters' organizations across the nation are consistently among the most politically alert, civic-minded and reliable election night report forces," said Arnold Snyder, manager of election coverage, in explaining why the group was chosen to serve as the "reporting staff" in Alabama's "key precincts."

Mrs. Leo Hirth of Auburn, Ala., the League's state coordinator for the project, has been working for the past two months with the network's election unit in recruiting "reporters" and researching the "key precincts."

SEX DISCRIMINATION

200 Nuns Asking New Service Role

More than 200 Catholic nuns holding a Sisters' Conference in Atlanta Monday adopted a resolution asking that a provision be made for sisters to act as co-workers with priests in parish worship.

The resolution, one of four adopted, will be presented to the November synod meeting of the Atlanta Catholic arch diocese. The purpose of the Sisters Congress is to "explore the role of the sister in the Georgia diocese" and to prepare proposals to be presented to the synod meeting.

Other proposals adopted were: (1) To propose a council to deal with the continuing and total devolopment of the sister as a person (2) Asking that Catholic social service organizations collaborate with other existing social agencies and meet demands not being met by these other agencies; and (3) To create a health commission to explore the needs in the archdiocese and to serve in an advisory capacity in this field.

Voting on a fifth proposal, dealing with education, was postponed until a later date. The Sisters' Congress met Sunday and Monday at St. Joseph's High School.

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TO EVERY PERSON MAKING PURCHASES THAT TOTAL $1000.00 OR MORE . . . . . OR
25.00 CASH
TO EVERY PERSON MAKING PURCHASE OF $400.00 OR MORE AT BEAUTIFUL
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MONTH OF MAY
"SPRING SALE"
OPEN

SEX DISCRIMINATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 15, 196

ALABAMA WOMEN MASTER POLITICS

Led by Mrs. Wallace, They Are Taking Many Offices

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 14—Eight years ago, billboards in Alabama began asking, "Who is Bettye Frink?"

A few weeks later, another question was added: "What is her line—art, science or politics?"

Today, almost everyone in Alabama knows the answer. Mrs. Frink's line is politics, and largely because of her novel billboard approach to vote-getting, she is part of a wave of women who are taking over state government in Alabama.

While the nation's attention was focused on Mrs. George C. Wallace's successful Democratic primary race last week to succeed her husband as Governor, Mrs. Frink and other Alabama women were also meeting with success at the polls.

And if the Democratic nominees survive this fall's general election, Alabama will have not only a woman Governor, but also women as Secretary of State, State Treasurer, State Auditor and Public Service Commissioner.

This, many Alabama women believe, would be a record for any state.

Posts for Men

Of Alabama's elected executives, this leaves Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Agriculture Commissioner, Superintendent of Education and two public service commissioners for the men.

Already the chief judge of the state's second highest court—the Court of Appeals—is a woman.

And there is a possibility, too, that a woman will be elected to the United States House of Representatives. Miss Mary Grice, a former school teacher, led in the Democratic primary race for Congress from the district embracing Montgomery. She failed to get a majority of the vote, however, and must face Robert Whaley, a Montgomery businessman, in a runoff May 31. The winner will run against Representative William Dickinson, a Republican, in the general election.

Other women also face runoffs May 31 but they will be battling each other. Mrs. Frink, who is now the State Auditor, is in a runoff with Mrs. Agnes Baggett, the Secretary of State, for State Treasurer. And two newcomers to state politics—Mrs. Melba Till Allen and Mrs. Juanita McDaniel—are in a runoff to succeed Mrs. Frink as auditor.

Secretary to Governors

Mrs. Mabel Amos, who has been confidential secretary to Alabama Governors since the nineteen-thirties, entered elective politics this year and won the Democratic nomination for Secretary of State.

Mrs. Sibyl Pool began blazing the trail for women in politics during the World War II "manpower shortage" when she won a seat in the State Legislature and then used her record as a legislator to become Secretary of State. Because she was barred by the Constitution from succeeding herself as Secretary of State, she ran for Treasurer and then, finally, for her present seat on the Public Service Commission.

This set a precedent of women in these offices and they have held them ever since, adding State Auditor to their list.

Mrs. Frink, for example, was a 24-year-old housewife and secretary until her "who's Bettye Frink campaign" elected her Secretary of State in 1958 and as Auditor in 1962 and continued to perpetuate these jobs for women.

This year, however, men opposed women for Auditor and Secretary of State — arguing that if Mrs. Wallace could seek the governorship, men could seek "women's offices." But the men candidates went down in defeat, while Mrs. Wallace was winning.

"We know Mrs. Wallace was nominated for Governor mainly because she said she would let her husband run things," said Mrs. Frink. "But all the same, she'll get people used to having women in the Governor's office and that might make it possible for another woman to be elected Governor on her own."

Although women have been gradually expanding their influence in politics for years in Alabama, they could not serve as jurors in the state until three months ago when a Federal Court, acting in an American Civil Liberties Union case, struck down a state ban on women jurors.

"It was getting a litle ridiculous," said one Alabama woman, "to have state officials who were ineligible for jury service."

Trinity to Memorialize Eliot

Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, May 14—The Gothic exterior of Trinity College's Chapel will be the backdrop tomorrow evening for a memorial program in honor of T. S. Eliot. Four members of the Trinity College faculty will read the late poet's "Four Quartets" in a presentation with musical interludes. Dr. Albert C. Jacobs, president of Trinity, will read the poem's lyric sermon from the chapel's high outdoor pulpit.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

TO FULFILL THE RIGHTS
OF NEGRO WOMEN
IN DISADVANTAGED FAMILIES

A Statement for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
June 1-2, 1966

Prepared by a Task Force on the Disadvantaged Family
At the Request of the
Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women

CITIZENS' ADVISORY COUNCIL ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Miss Margaret Hickey, Chairman, Senior Editor, Ladies' Home Journal

Mrs. Ellen Boddy, Civic Leader

Mrs. Mary E. Callahan
Executive Board Member
International Union of Electrical,
Radio, and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO

Dr. Henry David, Head
Office of Science Resources Planning
National Science Foundation

Mrs. Elizabeth Wickenden Goldschmidt
Consultant on Social Welfare

Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted
Civic Leader

Miss Dorothy Height, President
National Council of Negro Women

Mrs. Viola H. Hymes, Chairman
Governor's Commission on the
Status of Women (Minnesota)

Mr. Maurice Lazarus, Vice Chairman
Federated Department Stores

Dr. Richard A. Lester
Professor of Economics
Princeton University

Miss Margaret Mealey
Executive Director
National Council of Catholic Women

Dr. Rosemary Park, President
Barnard College

Miss Marguerite Rawalt
Practicing Attorney and
Former President, National
Federation of Business and
Professional Women's Clubs

Mr. Edward A. Robie
Vice President and Personnel Director
Equitable Life Assurance
Society of the U. S.

Mrs. Mary Roebling
President and Chairman of the Board
Trenton Trust Company

Mr. William F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO

Dr. Anne Firor Scott
Associate Professor
Duke University

Dr. Caroline Ware
Consultant

Dr. Cynthia C. Wedel
Assistant General Secretary
National Council of Churches

Members of Task Force

Miss Dorothy Height, Chairman

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Dr. Caroline Ware

The Task Force of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women prepared this statement on the special problems of Negro women in the disadvantaged family with the same thought and in the same spirit expressed by the President's Commission on the Status of Women in its Report, AMERICAN WOMEN:

> "In making our proposals, we have had in mind the well-being of the entire society; their adoption would in many cases be of direct benefit to men as well as women."

AMERICAN WOMEN declared:

> "Seven million nonwhite women and girls belong to minority racial groups. ....discrimination currently places an oppressive dual burden on millions of Negro women....Such women are twice as likely as other women to have to seek employment while they have pre-school children at home; they are just beginning to gain entrance to the expanding fields of clerical and commercial employment; except for the few who can qualify as teachers or other professionals, they are forced into low-paid service occupations....in many of the families of these women the unbroken cycle of deprivation and retardation repeats itself from generation to generation, compounding its individual cost in human indignity and unhappiness and its social cost in incapacity and delinquency. **THIS CYCLE MUST BE BROKEN, SWIFTLY AND AT AS MANY POINTS AS POSSIBLE."**

I. The Nature of the Disadvantage

The Negro woman in the disadvantaged family suffers from a lack of many, if not most, of the things assumed to be part of the American way of living -- the things with which women in other families meet the challenge of their daily lives and build a future for themselves and their families. These lacks are many and cumulative. Those which bear most heavily include:

1. Lack of choice: The woman in the disadvantaged family must constantly respond to pressures, cope with impossible situations, somehow make-do. She has no margin for negotiating -- no margin of money, or of time, or of space, and, unless she has exceptional vigor and stamina, no margin of energy.

2. Lack of protection: She lacks a reasonable minimum of security, often even of physical safety. She has no cushion against misfortune, so that each misfortune is likely to become a disaster.

3. Lack of expectation: She has little prospect of a change of circumstances to carry her through present adversity.

4. Lack of power: She experiences helplessness and frustration, for she cannot control conditions around her or remedy them, whether she must waste half a day waiting at a clinic, or cannot shield her children from danger on the street and in dark hallways.

5. Lack of a sense of belonging: She is isolated, outside the mainstream of American life, for obviously the radio and TV advertisements, the suburban homes, travel, etc., are not meant for her.

6. Lack of respect: At best she is without positive recognition and respect. Too often she is the object of actual disrespect -- as a welfare recipient, an unmarried mother, a "poor housekeeper," etc.

7. Lack of a sense of accomplishment: Everything around her insists that she is a failure. She has few avenues of satisfaction open to her, for the odds against doing a good job are too heavy.

8. Lack of time: She is always having to cram too much into too little time. She spends long hours on a job; there are not enough hours for the family; she must do herself all the household things for which "typical" American homes use aids such as household equipment or pre-prepared food which she cannot afford. She has little time for rest, for social contacts, for participation in the life of the community and no time for herself -- to follow her interests and develop her skills.

9. Lack of space: The cramped living of the slum takes its toll.

10. Lack of comfort, beauty and cultural enrichment: These "pluses" of American life lie beyond the ghetto horizon.

It is these lacks which constitute the disadvantages from which the great majority of Negro women suffer. Whatever the source -- whether poverty, or discrimination, or physical or mental handicap, or inadequate education, or a broken home, or the insufficiency of jobs, housing or community services -- the result is the absence of what a person in American society today needs and is presumed to have in order to live effectively within that society, to develop his or her potential, to contribute as a citizen, a worker, a mother, and to realize the promise of American life. It is against the burden, the pressure, often the blank wall of these lacks that the woman in the disadvantaged family struggles, day in and day out, year in and year out, to get herself and her family by, to give her children a start and to help them to withstand the impact of these same lacks in their lives.

Because these lacks are multiple and cumulative, the plight of the woman in the disadvantaged family cannot be remedied by removing any single disadvantage. Each lack makes it more difficult to cope with the others. Only as mutually destructive disadvantages are replaced by a whole pattern of mutually reinforcing advantages can the disadvantaged woman be in a position to meet the demands of modern life on anything like the terms which other women enjoy.

II. What are the major causes of these lacks?

1. The number one cause is lack of income: The basic disadvantage is economic. In America in 1963, 2 million nonwhite women who were wives or heads of families (14 years of age or over) lived in families whose

income fell below the current definition of "poverty," while an additional 527,000 who lived alone were likewise poor. Many have family incomes far below the "poverty" line. Of all families headed by a woman in 1963, 71 percent of the nonwhite and 31 percent of the white were poor. In 1963, a quarter of all nonwhite families had money incomes of less than $2,000 as compared with less than 10 percent of white families. Almost three times the proportion of nonwhite families tried to cope with money incomes of less than $1,000. Thus 9.2 percent of nonwhite families as compared with 3.2 percent of white families suffered this economic plight. And there are other uncounted women who live in poor families -- usually relatives of the family head or of the wife. While there are indeed some Negro women in disadvantaged families who do not suffer from economic deprivation but from some combination of other forms, for the great majority lack of adequate income is central.

The sole fact of poverty, whatever its source, creates a burden and a disadvantage for the woman who must meet the daily needs of herself and her family. Whatever may be its additional effects, and these are many, poverty in and of itself stands in the way of the development of her full potential and that of the children for whom she is responsible.

Poverty stems from many sources. It reflects lack of jobs -- in April 1966, 314,000 nonwhite men and 298,000 nonwhite women were unemployed, 6.3 percent and 8.1 percent, respectively, of those in the labor force. Comparable unemployment rates for white men and women were 2.8 percent and 4.4 percent. It is the product of inadequate wages; 1,040,000 Negro men and 1,877,000 Negro women were in service work or other employment not covered by the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1964. A portion of these Negro men and women are covered by State minimum wage laws, some of which set extremely low standards. One State, for instance, has a $1.25 a day minimum; others, with laws in effect, provide the assurance of as little as 60 or 70 cents an hour. Many Negro wage earners are still heavily concentrated in the lowest paying occupations in the majority of the 13 States which still have no minimum wage legislation in effect. Poverty is perpetuated by meager social security benefits and depressing welfare payments. The average Old Age Assistance benefits paid to nonwhite men and women as of December 31, 1964, were $67.94 and $50.39, respectively; disability payments for the same date were $84.10 and $65.13. To these acute hardships must be added the lack of training and equipment to take advantage of job opportunities which are available and the long history of discrimination in employment, job promotion and training.

So many lacks arise from lack of income or are worsened by it that it is unrealistic to think of remedying other disadvantages unless inadequacy of income is substantially remedied. Indeed, the remedy needs to be very substantial in order to provide the condition for meeting other lacks. Extension of minimum income protection, while essential, is hardly sufficient. The Federal minimum wage, which is below what is currently defined as the "poverty" level, does not, by definition, remove the disadvantage of lack of income or others growing out of it. Meager social security

benefits and welfare payments, even if those now being received are increased, hardly provide a basis for breaking out of the circle of disadvantage.

Even sufficient income, by itself, cannot be expected to remove other lacks. While it is the necessary condition for reducing other handicaps, it is not a sufficient means if other causes persist, such as discrimination, insufficient education, absence of services, derogatory community attitudes, slum housing.

Furthermore, in American society, with its attitude toward work and the status which work brings, income without a job, except in retirement, is not the equivalent of income from a job. Jobs, access to jobs and training for jobs are therefore a more effective answer than welfare. At the same time, welfare, which is essential where jobs are unavailable and for those unable to work or with home responsibilities, must not perpetuate the lack of respect from which the welfare recipient suffers. Not only must adequate amounts be provided, but ways must be found to make income assistance available with dignity, and to develop new community attitudes.

For all families in poverty, lack of income is associated with many other ills, such as poor health, educational deficiency, family instability. These characteristics of poor families are even more acute among disadvantaged Negro families in consequence of past history and continuing patterns of discrimination.

2. Discrimination is second only to poverty as a source of disadvantage: Discrimination is translated into job limitation, exclusion from housing with resultant ghetto living, poor educational facilities, and the lack of essential community services. More even than poverty, discrimination has led to a built-in lack of expectation.

The effects of long years of discrimination do not disappear with the ending of discrimination in the present, even where change in practice is real. In the actual situation of today, moreover, many factors make it especially difficult to counteract the results of discrimination in the past. With respect to jobs, discriminatory bars have been lowered at a time when jobs requiring little education are on the decrease, so that the handicap of education prevents the overcoming of this lack. Measures designed to promote fair housing and open occupancy have coincided with the rapid suburban spread that has left in the heart of each city a ghetto of poor which in many places automatically becomes a ghetto of Negroes. Education has been desegregated at a time when it is becoming more elaborate and complex, leaving the slum school farther behind. The revolution of rising expectations is opening new horizons, but the rate of change is accelerating for the majority, widening the gap for those hindered by past limitations.

For the Negro woman, the burden of discrimination is double, for it is compounded of discrimination based on both race and sex. Only as both are eliminated will she be freed of discriminatory restraint, for it will profit her little to be no longer blocked because of race but barred by

sex from effective employment and citizen participation. For her, enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to discrimination in employment on the ground of sex is as vital as its enforcement on the ground of race, and she is, similarly, concerned that the right of jury service be not denied on the basis of either race or sex. The unity of the Civil Rights movement as it attacks discrimination on whatever ground -- race, sex, religion, national origin -- is manifest in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the proposed Civil Rights Bill of 1966. For the Negro woman, this unity is of direct and vital importance.

3. Insufficient education constitutes a third factor contributing significantly to the lacks which add up to disadvantage: For the Negro woman in the disadvantaged family, this is the product of poor schools in segregated systems or ghetto slums and of the narrow range of opportunities which have made even the education which might be available often seem useless. It is crucial for her now to have the chance to make up some of this lack by participating in training and educational programs, whether for literacy, vocational training or general education.

4. Housing is at the root of many other lacks: So long as the disadvantaged family is trapped in the slum ghetto, many of the conditions which produce deprivation are perpetuated and the chance that the disadvantaged Negro woman may overcome her lacks is minimal. Not only does the slum impose physical conditions of lack of space, ugliness, unsanitary living, danger. If it is inescapable because other areas are closed by discrimination, by housing shortage, or by a gap in rents between slum and decent housing, the ghetto is psychologically defeating as well as physically. In contrast to the immigrant slum which, bad though it was, was a place to move out of, the Negro slum tends to become a permanent abode. It is a measure of the hopelessness implied by this condition that in New York City the "old law" tenements which were condemned by law as unsuitable 64 years ago still house many thousands of Negro families. These destructive urban neighborhoods isolate their residents from the more positive currents of city life and offer a limiting and often disorganizing environment to those who migrate constantly from depressed rural areas.

5. Inadequate community services compound other disadvantages: In order to cope with the problems of daily life, the woman in the disadvantaged family needs more and better community services than do those who have fewer pressures and more resources. She is more in need of child care services while she is at work or homemaker services if there is illness in the home. She has greater need for health services, both preventive and treatment, to cope with the greater incidence of illness among the poor. She needs better schools and more recreational opportunities for her children since the home can provide less, more counselling available on home and family problems, more protection and assistance as a consumer who must stretch a limited budget.

Yet typically she finds facilities and services in the ghetto limited, inferior, often inaccessible except by the expenditure of time and transportation costs which she cannot afford. At times, her reception when she seeks to use existing services only increases her sense of inadequacy or inferiority.

6. For the woman who is the head of the family, all these lacks are compounded: Forty percent of all nonwhite families with income below the "poverty" level in 1963 were headed by women, whether by reason of death, desertion, separation, or unmarried motherhood. (The majority of nonwhite families living in poverty are Negro.) The woman in these families not only carries the whole burden of supporting the family and helping her children to cope with the odds which their lives present. She must often do this in the face of a social stigma if she is an unmarried mother and an utter lack of respect if she is a welfare recipient who cannot fail to be aware of the constantly expressed presumption -- by senators, investigators, the press -- that she is a failure, very possibly a cheat, and without rights of privacy or dignity if a "man in the house" or a concealed source of funds is suspected.

The disadvantaged woman has somehow to hold together and sustain the disadvantaged family. To the extent that she succeeds, she lays a foundation for measures designed to help the next generation to break out of the vicious circle. Where the pressures are too great and she fails, the chances are greatly reduced that such measures can take effect.

III. What enables the disadvantaged Negro woman to function in spite of these lacks?

When disadvantaged women are thus seen in relation to the lacks from which they suffer, the remarkable fact is that they are able to function at all. Their survival and the survival of their families testify to the strength that many of these women must bring to their tasks. Any effort to help the disadvantaged families should, thus, recognize the qualities of the disadvantaged woman which make it possible for her to cope, for this is what is there to build on. This is the potential for development, the basis for self-help and for wider participation in community life.

The strengths of the disadvantaged Negro woman are among the least recognized and the most wasted of our national resources. In recent years, the nation has begun to be aware of many of its forgotten human assets -- its Negroes, its women, its poor. The disadvantaged Negro woman who combines all these characteristics has demonstrated time and again a tremendous capacity to stand against every kind of adversity, to provide some sense of security to her family where the community offers none, to accept and help people in terms of their human need, to work tirelessly and to contribute generously to community life.

To fulfill the rights of these citizens, and through them the rights of all, it is imperative that society stand by them with services, opportunity, help, respect and hope, so that their strength may hold out in the face of the pressures and tremendous odds against which they must struggle.

IV. What can be done?

To break the cycle "swiftly and at as many points as possible" requires bold and imaginative action. Some things can be done within existing programs by administrative decision, changes in policy, more adequate funds,

the tapping of unrecognized human and material resources. The degrading "man in the house" rule and its vicious, police-state methods of enforcement can be eliminated from the welfare picture; day care services can be expanded; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act can be vigorously enforced to check job discrimination on grounds of both race and sex.

Other things require new policies, or new legislation. Comprehensive and effective fair housing policies supported by legislation and administrative action are required to break down the wall of the ghetto, state legislation is required to extend minimum wage coverage to 12,355,000 nonsupervisory workers in unprotected private employment and both federal and State laws are required to raise the minimum wage at least to what has been defined as the "poverty" level.

Some areas call for innovation in approach to achieve a sufficient impact to effect change. New approaches are required to upgrade household employment and other low income and low status occupations in order that they may yield dignity and a living wage to those who pursue them. New and drastic approaches are required to do away with the horrors of slum living and the menaces of slum neighborhoods. New forms of participation, in new kinds of jobs, as new kinds of volunteers, in new kinds of civic responsibility are needed to open the path to genuine integration.

V. AMERICAN WOMEN has recommended:

In its Report, and in the reports of its subcommittees and its consultations, the President's Commission on the Status of Women recommended various measures aimed at lessening these disadvantages, rooting out their causes and increasing the capacity and opportunity for women in disadvantaged families to exercise some of the freedom of choice and enjoy some of the prospects which are the common expectation of American life.

The Report of the Commission, with a guide to its relevant recommendations, is appended.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Fight for Women's Rights, Female Lawyers Are Urged

Arkansas Gazette 7/11/66

HOT SPRINGS (AP) — A congresswoman assailed here Friday inequities between the sexes and urged women lawyers to lead the fight to right the wrongs.

Representative Martha W. Griffiths, (Dem., Mich.) told the Arkansas Bar Association that women did not get equal treatment, whether in private employment or the Social Security programs.

"If something isn't done at once, we will have three classes of people in this country," she said. "They'll be white men, all Negroes, and — at the bottom — white women."

Mrs. Griffiths, a lawyer, told her predominantly male audience that if present trends continued, white women would be "on the bottom at the hiring gate and first at the firing gate."

She had been scheduled to speak on fiscal affairs but changed her topic to women's rights, asking women lawyers to "become interpleaders, or friends of the court, on behalf of other women."

Mrs. Griffiths is married to a Detroit lawyer.

She said federal and state laws preserved attitudes and official practices which were inconsistent with the "social and economic realities of this century.

"I get angry because of the unthinking injustice of pension programs which require women to pay in the same amount as men do, without returning to them the same benefits," she said.

"A man could marry Doris Duke, the heiress, and she would automatically receive half of his Social Security payment.

"But a retired working woman's husband is subjected to a means test. A retired working woman collecting Social Security cannot marry a man not collecting in the same expectation that she will receive a percentage of his income, as she would if he were collecting."

SEX DISCRIMINATION

THE HIDDEN DISSUADERS

The American woman has certainly progressed since the days when a famous justice could describe her as "Something better than her husband's dog - a little dearer than his horse," but she apparently has a way to go before she will be admitted equally as a public and private policy-maker. The American male still has the propietry rights on these positions.....

by Edith Green
Representative, Third Congressional District,
Portland, Oregon

The last quarter-century has witnessed a remarkable about-face on the part of American women. More and more, the young women of the 1960's seem to be turning away from long-term careers demanding intensive training, towards short-term jobs demanding little specialized training. The extent of this development is revealed by an examination of the women entering professional schools and positions in the 1960's.

In the last 25 years, for instance, while the percentage of clerical jobs held by women increased from 53 per cent to 70 per cent, the proportion in the professions declined from 45 per cent to 37 per cent. Even within the professions, women are still heavily concentrated in the traditional "women's jobs"—42 per cent are in elementary and secondary school teaching, 25 per cent in the health professions and most others in music and music teaching, or social work. Women represent only six per cent of the doctors in the U.S., compared with 17 per cent in England and 70 per cent in Russia. Only three per cent of our lawyers and less than nine per cent of our scientists are women. Not only do women represent only two per cent of our architects and dentists but, in both cases, the proportion of women has decreased in the last 25 years.

Equally important is the fact that, even in those professions in which women predominate, the proportion of women in policy-making, rather than staff, positions is disproportionately small, and often decreasing. For

instance, in 1950-51, 12 per cent of the junior high school principals and six per cent of the senior high school principals were women. Now less than four per cent of the principalships are held by women. In the light of figures such as these, the National Education Association reported that, "If the future is forecast in light of the present and recent past, few (women) will ever become principals, supervisors, department heads and superintendents." In other words, women simply are not being placed in positions of responsibility and leadership.

Unfortunately, this situation is not peculiar to the professions. *The Harvard Business Review* recently reported that the proportion of women executives was "miniscule. The process of breaking down the barriers" was almost impossible to study because "it happens so rarely at present." In politics, while no candidate could do without the women in "staff" positions, giving teas and coffees, passing out leaflets, and driving voters to the polls, women have not yet become office holders, party leaders or decision makers in any significant number. Only 11 out of 435 members of the House of Representatives are women—a small band whose number has actually decreased in the last decade. Despite President Johnson's avowed intention to promote women to positions of responsibility in the Great Society in the policy level grades, there are still *very* few women above GS 12 ($10,927-$14,338 per year).

Not only in national politics, but on the state and local levels as well, women are noticeably absent from policy-making positions.

At a time when our nation faces a potentially critical shortage of skilled brainpower, this under-utilization of a major talent source is an acute problem. But simply to bemoan the presence of the problem does markedly little to solve it. Instead, women who are concerned need to investigate the causes and then seek rational and workable remedies.

An inquiry into the causes of this scarcity of women in policy-making positions results in evidence that a vicious circle exists, in which each element influences and is influenced by the others. The elements in this circle include not only outright discrimination on the part of employers (private and public)—but also lack of information concerning what positions are available, difficulty in locating positions which provide the requisite degree of flexibility for the working wife or mother, lack of recent or job-relevant educational training and a general reluctance on the part of women to commit themselves to the training and dedication many of these positions demand.

Underlying and reinforcing all of these elements is what Mary Bunting has called the "hidden dissuaders," those not-so-hidden personal, family and social pressures that reinforce the concept of woman bound by "Kinder, Kirche and Kuche." These hidden dissuaders sanction the father who wants his son to have the best possible education, but who emphasizes for his daughter only a happy marriage; they sanction high school and college guidance personnel who counsel girls not to major in a certain field because employment in this area will not be "so easy" for a woman—that this is after all a man's world. The hidden dissuaders sanction the employer who hesitates to hire a woman in other than routine tasks—because she will probably be there only temporarily (ignoring "turnover" rates for men who are "on their way up") and they sanction the university which establishes different academic admission requirements for women or which gives fellowships on a different basis for women than for men.

Unfortunately, these hidden dissuaders influence also the young woman who, at a very early age, becomes convinced that marriage and a career cannot mix, that she will be truly happy only in her "proper" role of wife and mother. And, like the traditional self-fulfilling prophecies, the more the young girl is subjected to these hidden dissuaders, the more dominant a part they play in her life.

In order to increase the pool of available qualified women, we need to start on two major tasks: we must professionally train more young women starting on their careers, and we must re-train those women who are re-entering the labor market after a ten to 20-year hiatus. In both cases, women should be encouraged to enter fields in which they are truly interested and for which they have talent, even if this means invading the so-called male sanctums of law or the sciences. Capable young women must be identified and reached before they succumb to those hidden dissuaders. After all, we must realize that many girls *are* interested in an education and a profession. They are interested not only when Johnnie or Susan takes the first step—but are becoming more and more convinced about the community and the state in which they will dwell as adults.

Girls have always represented more than half of our high school graduating classes, although less than one third of our college graduates. Many of these high school graduates need financial assistance to continue their education and, on the whole, financial aid, in the forms of scholarships, fellowships and loans, has been given more willingly to men than to women. It has been estimated that fully 37 per cent of the girls, but only 18 per cent of the boys, in the top 25 per cent of their high school graduating class academically, and coming from families with incomes of $3,000 or less, are prevented from continuing their education because of a lack of financial resources.

Some universities' admission policies require women to have higher grade averages or test scores than

men. Each of these factors explains to some extent the disproportionately small number of women in higher education, and each not only is a manifestation, but provides concrete reinforcement, for the hidden dissuaders.

Only 40 per cent of all bachelor's degrees, 32 per cent of all master's degrees and 11 per cent of all doctorates are awarded annually to women. Amazingly, during the last 30 years, while more and more importance has been given to education, the percentage of graduate degrees going to women, like the percentage of women entering the professions, has decreased. We can no longer doubt that feminine brainpower is indeed being wasted, at a time when such waste is irrational and unforgivable.

The most important and most basic reform concerns the problem of the hidden dissuaders. We will have to come to grips with the pervading social ethos which reinforces the limitations on women, a task which will probably never be fully accomplished, but it is nonetheless necessary to make a start. We must identify this characteristic of our culture and put the spotlight of attention on it.

Private organizations such as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women must encourage other women to seek training and employment, inform them of the expanding opportunities in the professions and business and persuade them to continue their education and not be satisfied with a 20-year intellectual drought. One prime example of the sort of action which private groups must engage in came to light in a recent set of hearings held by the House Special Subcommittee on Education.

We had heard from the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Harold Howe, that there were approximately 500 vacancies in the Office of Education and only two or three women holding policy-making "super-grade" positions. When asked whether all minorities were being considered for these positions, Dr. Howe assured us they were. He added that some groups were pushing harder than others.

"Perhaps if the women would push us harder we would do more about it," he said. "Maybe I am saying that the ladies are not as well organized."

The moral of this tale is, of course, that it is not enough to encourage women to become trained in these fields. At the same time we must constantly be alert to the opportunities and ways of utilizing the training.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Representative Green's long experience as a congresswoman, which includes her membership on the House Education and Labor Committee and her chairmanship of a special subcommittee on education, make "The Hidden Dissuaders" her kind of article because it reflects the author's depth awareness of a grave problem for many years ignored. Mrs. Green was first elected to Congress in 1954. She is the sponsor and co-sponsor of numerous bills, ranging from the Equal Pay for Equal Work Act in 1963 to the Higher Education Act of 1965, and serves on the President's Committee on the Status of Women and the U. S. Commission to UNESCO. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Oregon and 18 honorary degrees. In 1965, Mrs. Green received a Top Hat Award from the National Federation for her contributions to advance the status of employed women.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

We're a Majority Minority, Says Woman Job Bias Foe

AC 11/22/66

By JOY MILLER

NEW YORK (AP) — When is a majority a minority?

When it's women — "who make up 51 per cent of the U.S. population but who suffer from discrimination based on sex. And we intend to do something about it — right now."

That's Betty Friedan speaking of a new militant group called NOW — National Organization for Women—which held a press conference Monday in her apartment to outline its action program. Mrs. Friedan, author of the recent best-seller, "The Feminine Mystique," is NOW's president.

The group's biggest guns were trained on government agencies it accused of malingering in enforcement of laws against job discrimination based on sex.

NOW officers made public lengthy letters sent to President Johnson, to the attorney general of the United States and to members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

They told the President that although he had done more for women than any previous president, there was a lot left to be done, including shaping up the EEOC.

That commission shows a reluctance to "combat sex discrimination as vigorously" as it does racial discrimination, the letter said. Furthermore, it went on, the commission doesn't have one woman at a senior policy-making level since Commissioner Aileen C. Hernandez resigned recently, although one-third of the charges filed with the commission involve discrimination based on sex.

Several men on the commission have publicly termed "a fluke and a nuisance" the Title VII provisions against sex discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the letters charged.

Studies Suggest Sexes Part Ways To Learn Best

Richmond T-D 11/28/66

SEX DISCRIMINATION

By Robert Holland

T-D Education Writer

A growing body of opinion, backed up by some education research findings in Virginia and elsewhere, is concluding that boys have different learning abilities than girls and, therefore, the sexes should be taught in separate ways — if not in separate classes.

Much of the concern centers on boys, because they outnumber girls in incidence of learning difficulties, emotional and perceptual problems. But advantages are seen for girls, too, in a shift away from the usual organization and staffing of public schools.

A nine-article series in the current issue of National Elementary Principal — official publication of the Department of Elementary School Principals, an affiliate of the National Education Association — carries reports from educators and psychiatrists who believe learning differences between the sexes, unless compensated for by the schools, will result in worse education for both.

Too Many Women Teachers?

The specialists not only question whether boys should be taught in the same fashion as girls, but they wonder if the heavy preponderance of women teachers is adversely affecting the schooling of both sexes.

Stillbirth, death and disease during the early stages of life "indicate a greater vulnerability to stress and trauma" on part of the male, notes one of the specialists.

With the growth of children comes evidence of a larger number of boys than girls with speech impediments and other language disorders, according to Frances Bentzen, education research and program specialist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

During the first three grades of school, boys outnumber girls in reading disabilities, and, by the sixth grade, the average boy is behind the average girl by about 12 months because of visual perception problems, emotional instability and physical immaturity, she says.

Male Teachers Increase

Recent introduction of men into elementary education is highly significant, the specialists agree. Traditionally, the grade school teacher has been a woman and the classroom hued to the female concept of order, conformity and style.

Under such circumstances, they conclude, it can easily be understood why the natural aggressiveness and rebellion against authority, "typical" of boys, often results in a considerably higher delinquency rate among boys.

A Virginia research study that is on record at the State Depatment of Education indicates advantages in separating pupils by sex. The study was conducted in 1963-64 in the fifth grade of three Fairfax County public schools.

Researchers found achievement to be generally higher in all-boy and all-girl classes than in the usual mixed-sex groups.

Classes Segregated

Experimental classes (all-boy and all-girl) were set up in fifth grade sections of one elementary school. The control groups (mixed-sex) were fifth grade sections in two other schools serving communities of similar socio-economic levels. Two results were:

1. The all-boy group exceeded the control group on eight of 11 comparisons of academic achievement, with one comparison having statistical significance.

2. The experimental girl group outperformed the control group on nine of 11 comparisons, with four of them having statistical siginificance.

Although all comparisons did not yield clear statistical superiority, it can be said "there was a trend in this direction because the experimental group fared better than the controls on 17 of 22 comparisons," said John P. Hurley, chief of psychological services for Fairfax schools, in reporting the study.

Shy Participated

Teachers of all-boy classes reported that boys began expressing interest in subjects they had previously ignored in mixed groups. According to the paper, shy boys could be more easily prevailed upon to participate when there weren't any girls around.

Girls, on the other hand, put less emphasis on grades and "became less defensive and less concerned with denying and covering up shortcomings" when separated from the boys.

The Fairfax study suggested that textbooks seem to appeal differently to the sexes and, therefore, it may be best for boys and girls to use different texts for the same subject. In addition, it reported, certain types of teachers are more effective with one sex than another.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

NEGRO WOMEN IN THE POPULATION AND IN THE LABOR FORCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
WOMEN'S BUREAU
Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director

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NEGRO WOMEN IN THE POPULATION
AND THE LABOR FORCE

Negro Women in the Population

The Negro population totaled 20,944,000 in 1965. (Table 1) Slightly more than half (52 percent) were females. About two-thirds of both the females and males were under 35 years of age.

Most of the Negro population (93 percent) were nonfarm residents in 1964. (Table 2) This compares with about four-fifths (79 percent) in 1950. The movement of the Negro population away from the South as well as away from the farm over the same period is clearly indicated--only 54 percent lived there in 1964 compared with 68 percent in 1950.

More than 1 out of 3 Negro women 18 years of age and over was widowed, divorced, or separated from her husband in March 1964. (Table 3) This was true of only about 1 out of 5 white women.

There were 4,440,000 Negro families in March 1964. (Table 4) The average Negro family had 4.3 members. Nearly one-fourth of the Negro families were headed by a woman.

Information on the number of Negro families living in poverty 1/ is not available. In 1963, 2,027,000, or more than 2 out of 5, nonwhite families were living in poverty as compared with less than 1 out of 8 white families. (Table 5)

Families most apt to be living in poverty are those headed by a woman or those with a large number of children. In 1963, 71 percent of the 1.1 million nonwhite families headed by a woman were poor. (Chart A) Of the 3.8 million white families headed by a woman, 31 percent were poor. Of all families with 5 or more own children, 76 percent of the nonwhite and 31 percent of the white were living in poverty in 1963. 2/

There were 15.1 million children under 18 years of age living in poverty in 1963--9.3 million white and 5.8 million nonwhite. 3/ About 60 percent of all nonwhite children were members of poor families compared with 16 percent of all white children. About 86 percent of the children in nonwhite families headed by a woman were living in poverty.

1/ The Social Security Administration index of poverty assumes that a 4-person farm family with annual cash income of less than $1,860 and other 4-person families with less than $3,100 live in poverty. This index is adjusted to take family size into account.

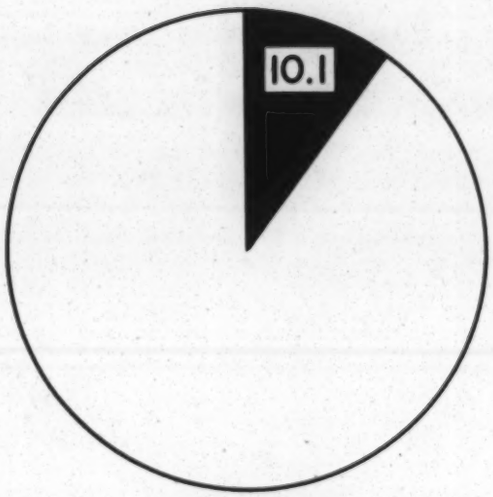
2/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration: Social Security Bulletin, January 1965.

3/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration: Social Security Bulletin, July 1965.

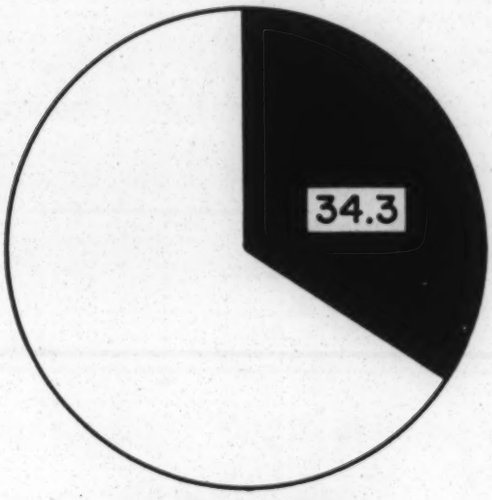
Chart A. -- Percent of Families Living in Poverty in 1963, by Type of Family and Color, March 1964

Poor ■ Nonpoor □

Husband-Wife Families

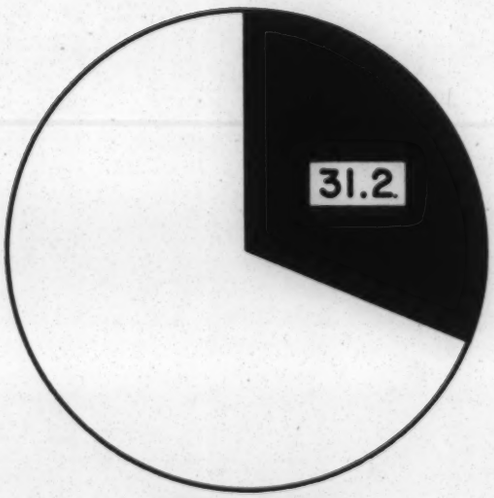


White families
(37,799,000)

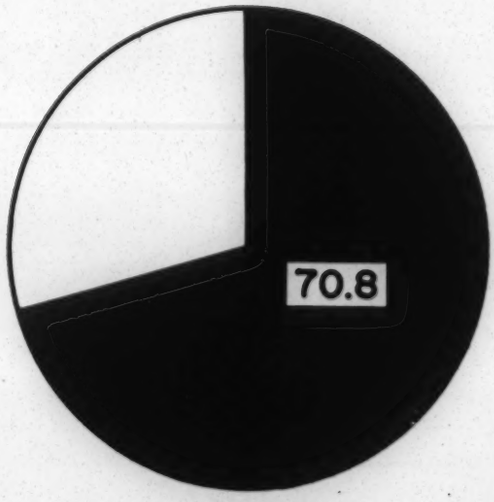


Nonwhite families
(3,511,000)

Families with Female Head



White families
(3,797,000)



Nonwhite families
(1,085,000)

Source: U.S. Department Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration.

Negro Women Workers

The percent of the Negro woman population at work or seeking work is increasing. Nearly half (49 percent) of the Negro women 18 years of age and over were in the labor force in March 1964. (Table 6) Figures for 1950 and 1960, while not strictly comparable since they refer to nonwhite women 18 years of age and over, show that the proportion of nonwhite women in the labor force was 40 percent and 45 percent, respectively. (Table 7)

White women 18 years of age and over are less likely to be in the labor force than are Negro or nonwhite women. The labor force participation of white women rose from 29 percent in 1950 to 35 percent in 1960 and 38 percent in 1964. (Tables 6 and 7)

More than half of all Negro women 25 to 54 years of age were working or seeking work in March 1964. (Table 8) In contrast, among all women, only in the age group 45 to 54 years were as many as half in the labor force.

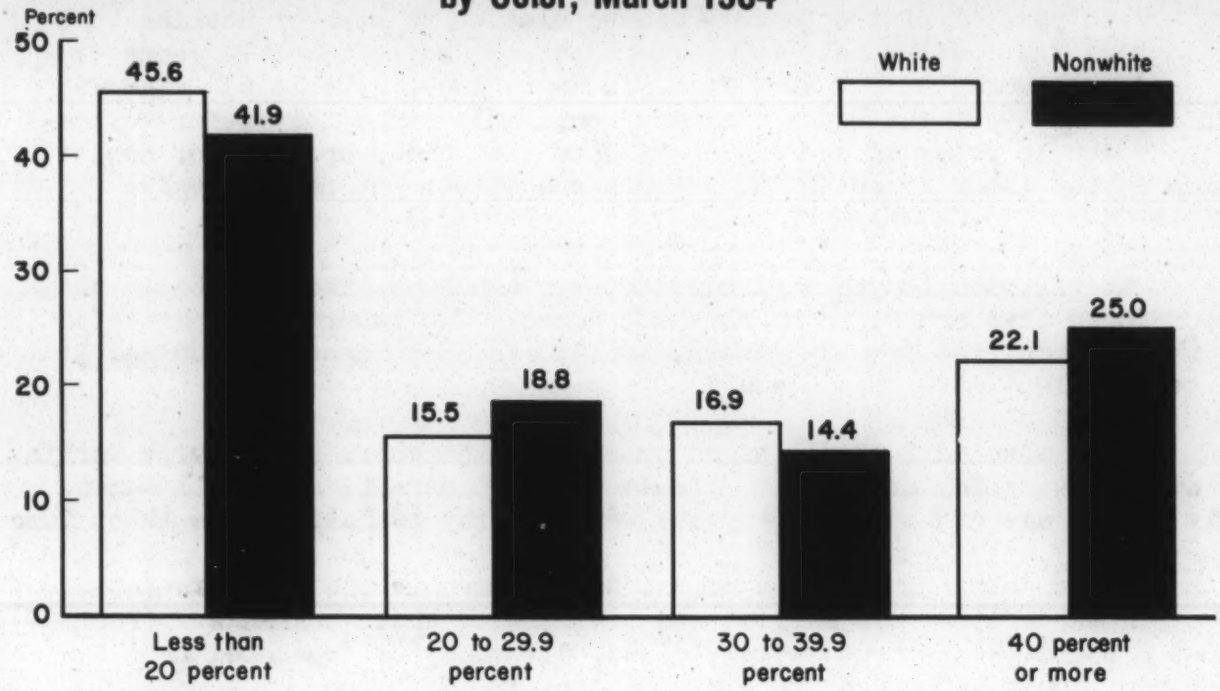
About half (51 percent) of the Negro women in the civilian labor force in March 1964 were married and living with their husbands. (Table 9) About a third (34 percent) were widowed, divorced, or separated from their husbands. Only 15 percent were single.

Many of these married women workers living with their husbands made a substantial contribution to the family income. Among nonfarm nonwhite wives, 58 percent contributed 20 percent or more of the family income, 39 percent contributed 30 percent or more, and 25 percent contributed 40 percent or more. (Chart B, Table 10) The comparable percentages for nonfarm white wives were 55 percent, 39 percent, and 22 percent, respectively.

Information is not available on the number of Negro mothers who are in the labor force. However, the tendency of Negro mothers to seek paid employment is illustrated by recent figures on nonwhite mothers. In March 1965, 1,399,000 nonwhite mothers with children under 18 years of age were in the labor force. (Table 11) They represented 46 percent of all nonwhite mothers with children of this age. Nonwhite mothers who are widowed, divorced, or separated are more likely to work than are those living with their husbands. Their labor-force participation rates were 55 percent and 43 percent, respectively, in March 1965. Many nonwhite mothers with young children (under 6 years of age) also work or seek paid employment. They numbered 683,000 in March 1965 and constituted 38 percent of all nonwhite mothers with young children.

White mothers are less likely to work than are nonwhite mothers. Among white women with children under 18 years of age, 34 percent were in the labor force; among those with children under 6, only 24 percent were working or seeking work.

Chart B. -- Percent of Nonfarm Family Income in 1963 Contributed by Wife, by Color, March 1964



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Child Care Arrangements

Working mothers (both white and nonwhite), many of whom work out of economic need, often find it difficult to secure adequate day care for their children. Of the 12.3 million children under 14 years of age in February 1965 whose mothers worked for 27 weeks or more in 1964, the largest proportion were cared for in their own home, usually by their father or another relative. (Table 12) This was true for both the 10.1 million white children (46 percent) and the 2.2 million nonwhite children (44 percent). Nonwhite children were cared for more frequently in someone else's home (22 percent) than were white (15 percent). About 10 percent of all nonwhite children and 8 percent of all white looked after themselves; among those 12 or 13 years of age, 26 percent of the nonwhite and 20 percent of the white children did so. Only 2 percent of both white and nonwhite children were provided group care such as furnished by day care centers.

Occupations

Most Negro women are employed as service workers. In March 1964, 37 percent were private-household workers and 26 percent were service workers outside the home. (Table 13) In contrast the majority of Negro men are craftsmen and foremen, operatives, and nonfarm laborers. About 60 percent of them were employed in these occupations in March 1964.

Figures on the employment of nonwhite women and men in 1950 and 1960, although not strictly comparable (about 93 percent were Negro), indicate the movement of Negro workers into white-collar occupations. (Table 14) The proportion of women in this type of work rose from 13 to 19 percent over the 10-year period. The comparable percentages for men were 9 and 13 percent. It would appear that more nonwhite women than men hold professional or technical jobs. But most of these women are working as school teachers in rural areas in the South. Over half of the nonwhite women, but only one-fourth of the nonwhite men, in professional and technical occupations in 1960 were employed as teachers (except college).

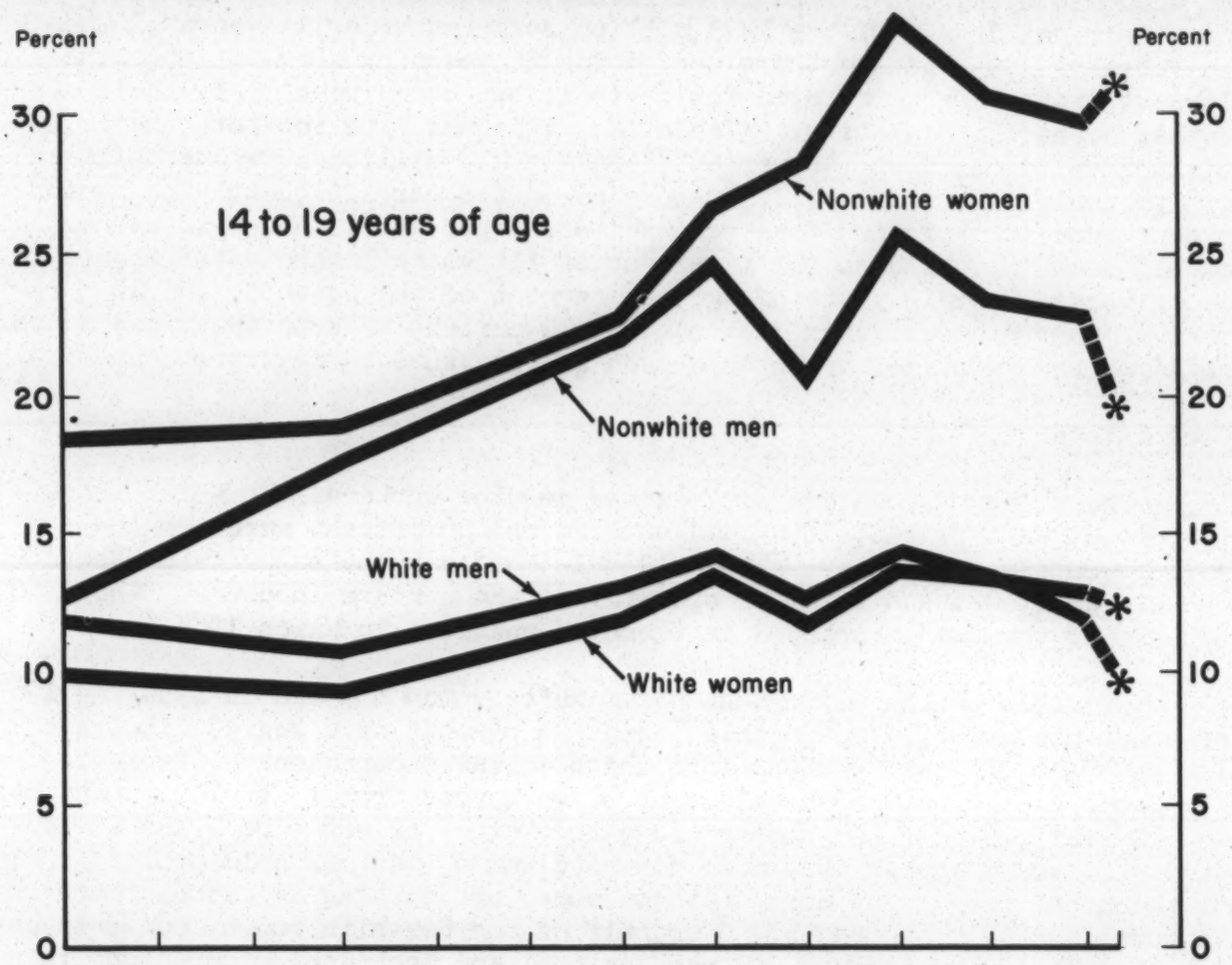
Unemployment

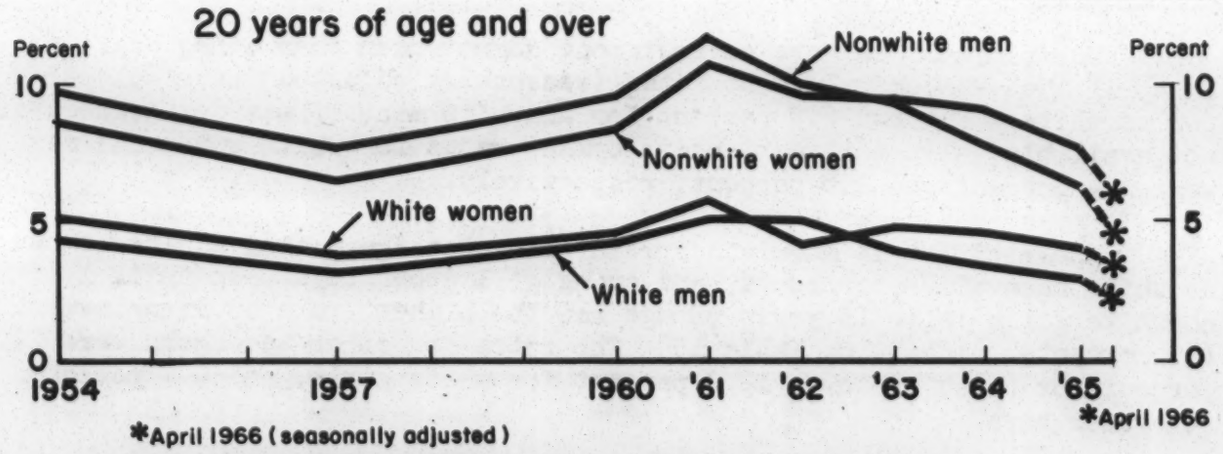
Unemployment is more severe among Negro women than among Negro men. In April 1966 the unemployment rates (seasonally adjusted) were 8.1 percent for nonwhite women and 6.3 percent for nonwhite men. (Data for Negroes are not available.) In contrast, unemployment rates for white women and men were 4.4 percent and 2.8 percent, respectively.

Unemployment is more widespread among teenagers than adults, among nonwhite than white teenagers, and among girls than boys. In April 1966 nonwhite girls 14 to 19 years of age had the highest rate of unemployment (31 percent). (Chart C, Table 15) The rates for other teenagers were 19.5 percent for nonwhite boys, 12.2 percent for white girls, and 9.7 percent for white boys.

Chart C. -- Unemployment Rates, by Sex, Color, and Age, 1954 - 65 and April 1966

(Persons 14 years of age and over)





*April 1966 (seasonally adjusted)

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research.

Unemployment among all adult workers has declined steadily since 1961 but at a more rapid rate among men than among women. Unemployment among white teenagers, both boys and girls, and among nonwhite boys has also decreased fairly steadily over the same period. On the other hand, unemployment among nonwhite girls 14 to 19 years of age is higher today than it was in 1961 or even in 1954.

Unemployment is also higher among Negro women than among Negro men at each level of educational attainment. In March 1964, 8.2 percent of Negro women, but only 6.1 percent of Negro men, with some college training were unemployed. (Table 16) The unemployment rates for Negro women and men who had attended high school were 13.8 percent and 10.9 percent, respectively.

Educational Attainment

A larger proportion of Negro males than of Negro females 5 to 34 years of age were enrolled in school in October 1964--62 percent compared with 57 percent. (Table 17) The distribution of these enrollees by level of school, however, was almost identical for males and females. (Table 18) On the other hand, about 6,000 more Negro males than females were enrolled in college.

The median years of school completed by Negro women 18 years of age and over in March 1964 was 9.9 years; by Negro men, 9.0 years. (Table 19) Both white women and men had completed 12.1 years of schooling on the average.

Although more Negro men than women had 8 years or less of schooling (49.7 percent compared with 42.8 percent), a slightly higher proportion of Negro men (9.5 percent) than of Negro women (9.1 percent) had completed 1 year or more of college. (Chart D)

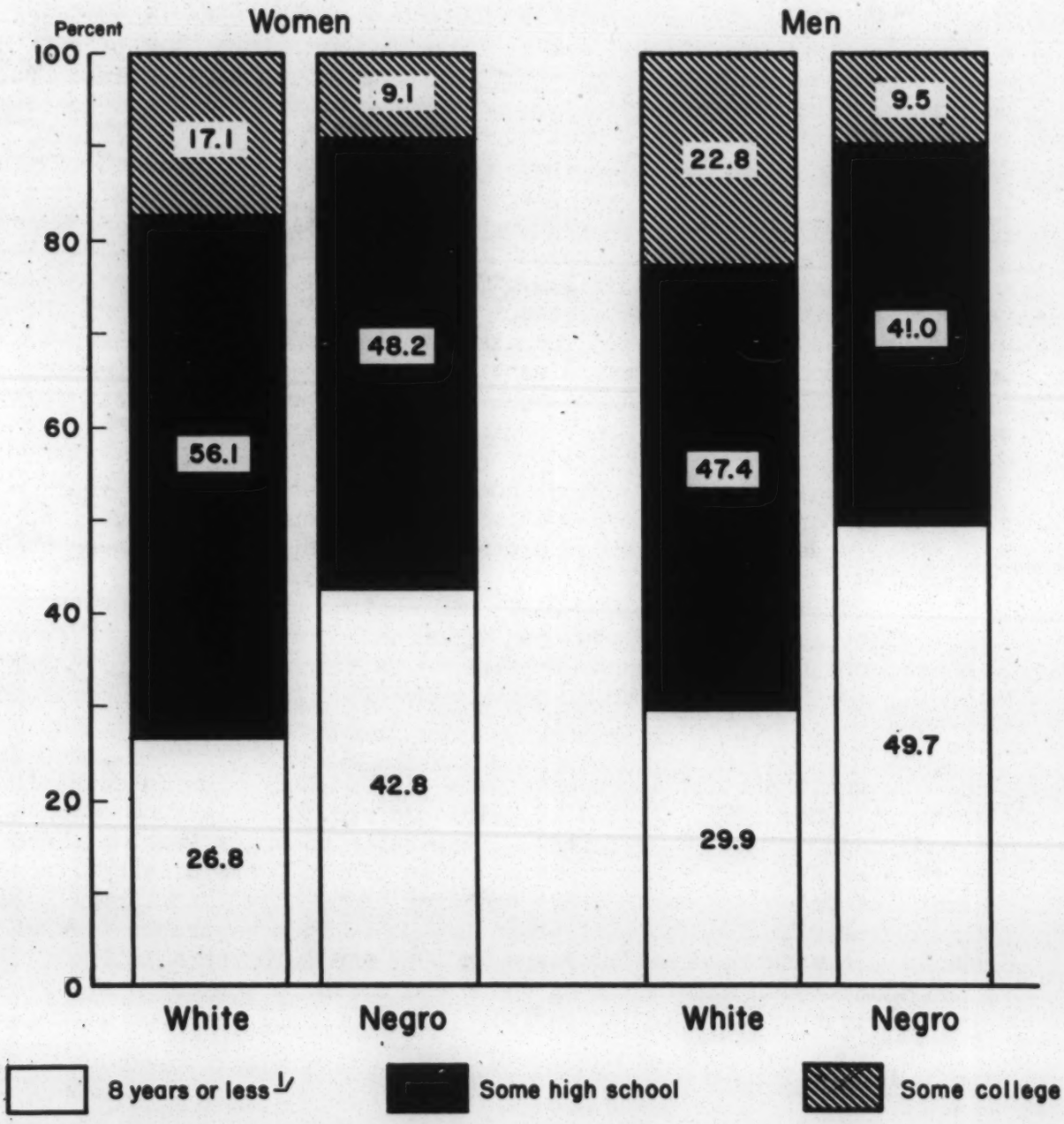
Nonwhite men and women have made significant gains in educational attainment since 1952. (Table 20) This is particularly true of nonwhite men and women in the labor force. (Comparable data for Negro men and women are not available for earlier years.) The median years of school completed by nonwhite women 18 years of age and over in the civilian labor force rose from 8.1 years in 1952 to 11.1 years in 1965. The comparable figures for nonwhite men workers were 7.2 years in 1952 and 10.0 years in 1965. The gap in the educational attainment of white and nonwhite workers has narrowed considerably over the 13-year period.

Wage or Salary Income

Among year-round full-time workers, the wage or salary income of nonwhite women has been consistently lower than that of all other workers throughout the period from 1939 to 1964. (Chart E, Table 21) However, the gap has narrowed. Between 1939 and 1964, the earnings of nonwhite

Chart D. -- Educational Attainment of the Population, by Race and Sex, March 1964

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

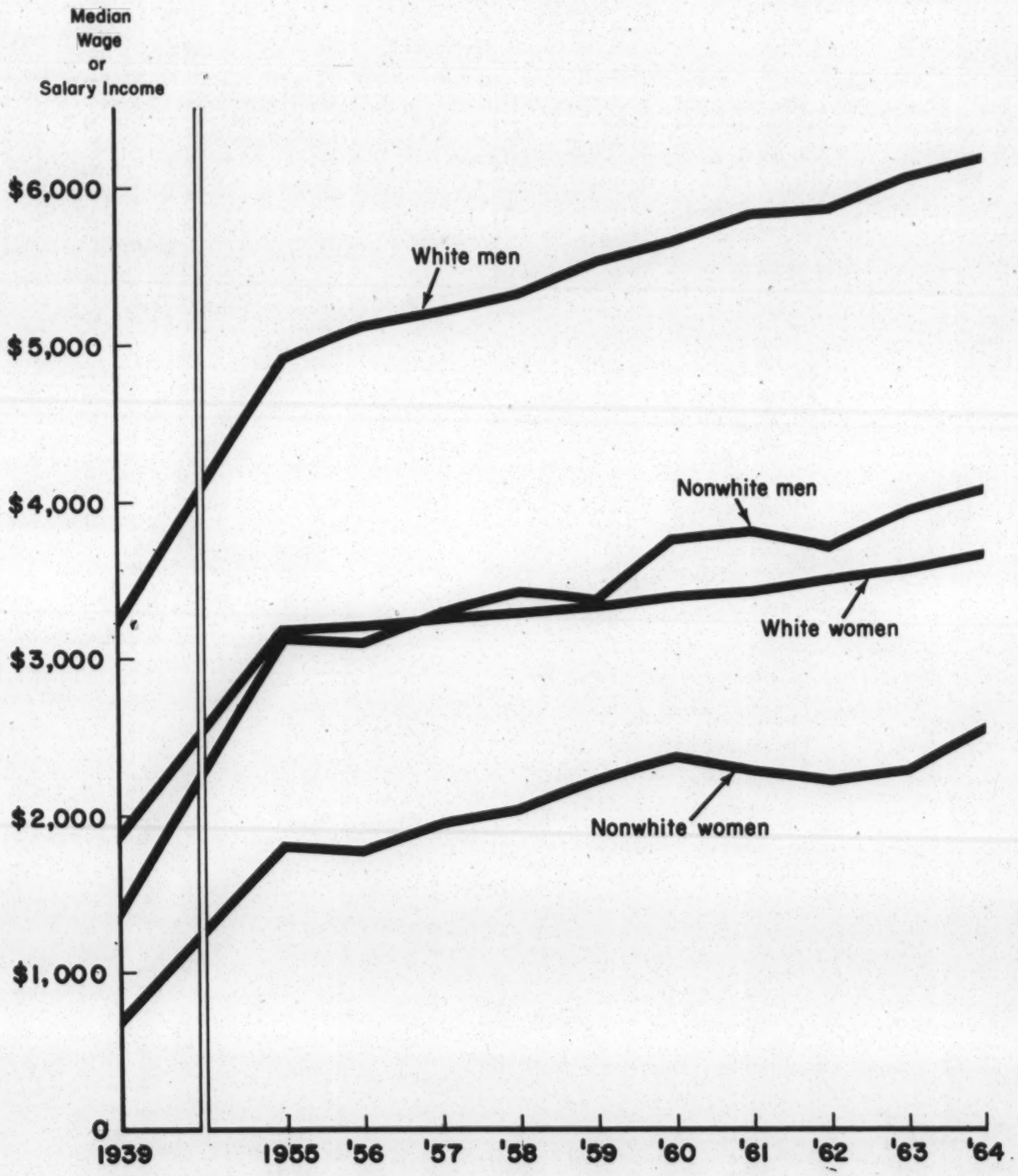


1/ Includes persons reporting no school years completed.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Chart E. -- Median Wage or Salary Income of Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Sex and Color, 1939 and 1955 - 64

(Median wage or salary income in 1960 constant dollars)



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

women who worked year round full time increased by 266 percent. (Chart F) This compares with an increase of 200 percent for nonwhite men, 105 percent for white men, and 100 percent for white women. However, nonwhite women's earnings in 1964 were still only 62 percent of those of nonwhite men and 69 percent of those of white women.

Coverage by Minimum Wage

There were 5,611,000 Negroes employed in nonsupervisory jobs in 1964--3,114,000 men and 2,497,000 women. 4/ Of these, 67 percent of the men, but only 25 percent of the women, were covered by the minimum wage provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. Some of the remaining 1,040,000 Negro men and 1,877,000 Negro women were covered by State protective labor legislation. However, many Negroes, and especially women, work in low-paying service occupations such as hospital attendant, kitchen worker, cook, and waitress, which are rarely covered by State minimum wage laws or in private-household work where coverage is practically nonexistent.

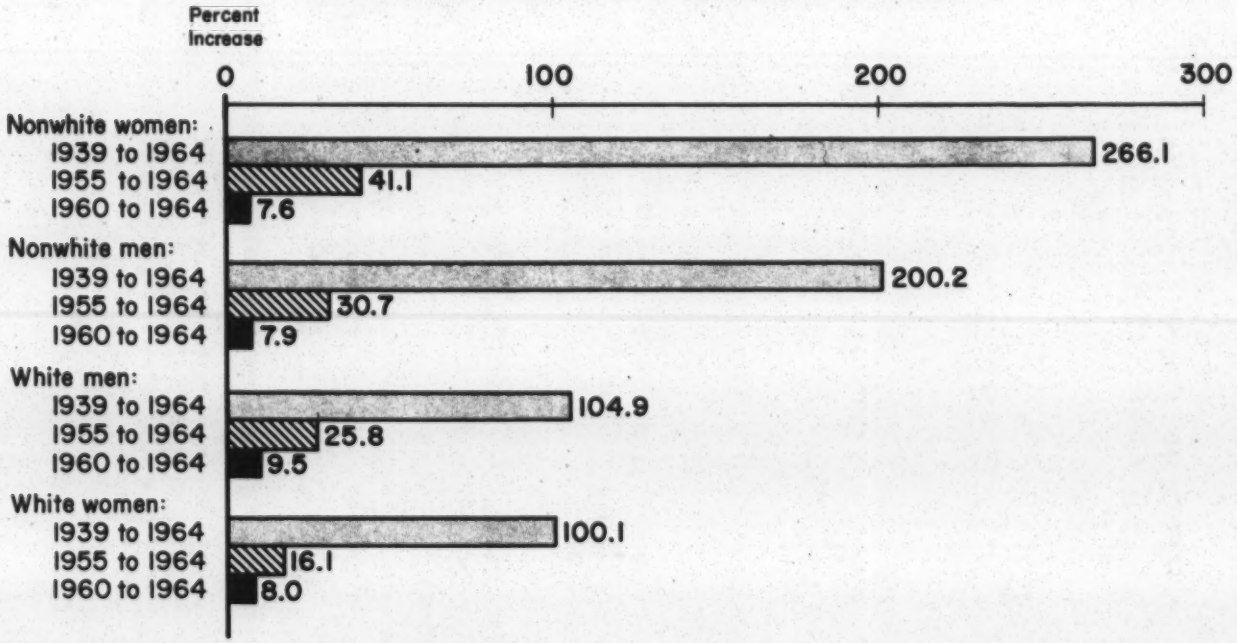
NOTE

Because of rounding, numbers and percentages in statistical tables do not necessarily add to totals.

4/ U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, January 1966.

Chart F. -- Percent Increase in the Wage or Salary Income of Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Sex and Color, for Selected Periods from 1939 to 1964

(Median wage or salary income in 1960 constant dollars)



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 1.--Percent Distribution of the Negro Population, by Age and Sex, 1965, 1964, 1960, 1950

	Male				Female			
	1965	1964	1960	1950 1/	1965	1964	1960	1950 1/
Number (in thousands)	10,046	9,970	9,098	7,269	10,898	10,769	9,751	7,758
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	14.9	15.2	15.0	13.0	13.6	13.8	13.9	12.2
5 to 13 years	23.3	23.2	22.2	18.0	21.6	21.5	20.7	17.0
14 to 19 years	11.3	11.1	9.9	9.9	11.0	10.7	9.4	9.8
20 to 24 years	6.7	6.4	6.3	7.8	7.0	6.9	6.6	8.6
25 to 29 years	5.3	5.5	6.0	8.0	6.0	6.0	6.5	8.6
30 to 34 years	5.3	5.6	6.2	7.0	6.0	6.1	6.8	7.6
35 to 44 years	11.1	11.3	11.8	13.7	11.8	12.0	12.6	14.3
45 to 54 years	9.3	9.4	9.7	10.6	9.7	9.6	10.0	10.3
55 to 64 years	6.9	6.5	6.9	6.3	6.9	6.7	7.0	5.7
65 years and over	5.8	5.8	5.9	5.7	6.4	6.6	6.4	5.9
Median age	20.4	20.4	22.3	25.8	22.7	22.9	24.5	26.4

1/ Excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, Nos. 145 and 142.

Table 2.--Percent Distribution of the Population, by Race, Farm or Nonfarm Residence, and Region, 1964, 1960, and 1950

Residence and region	1964		1960		1950 (census)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Number (in thousands)	167,046	20,739	158,838	18,849	134,942	15,042
Residence						
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonfarm	93.4	93.1	92.5	92.1	85.4	79.0
Farm	6.6	6.9	7.5	7.9	1/14.6	1/21.0
Region						
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northeast	26.1	18.1	26.1	16.0	27.7	13.4
North Central	29.4	19.4	30.2	18.3	31.2	14.8
South	27.4	54.4	27.4	60.0	27.3	68.0
West	17.1	8.1	16.3	5.7	13.8	3.8

1/ These figures exclude urban farm residents. (Among whites this amounted to 0.2 percent.)

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142, and 1950 U.S. Census of Population.

Table 3.--Marital Status of Women in the Population, by Race, March 1964

(Women 18 years of age and over)

Marital status	White		Negro	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total	56,052,000	100.0	6,152,000	100.0
Single	6,686,000	11.9	727,000	11.8
Married (husband present)	38,284,000	68.3	3,290,000	53.5
Other 1/	11,085,000	19.8	2,134,000	34.7

1/ Refers to women who are widowed, divorced, or separated, or whose husbands are absent for other reasons.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, Nos. 135 and 142.

Table 4.--Families, by Type of Family and Race, March 1964

Type of family	White	Negro
Number	42,663,000	4,440,000
Percent	100.0	100.0
Husband-wife	88.6	72.6
Other male head	2.5	3.6
Female head	8.9	23.8
Median number of members per family	3.6	4.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142.

Table 5.--Families Living in Poverty in 1963, by Type of Family and Color, March 1964

Type of family	All families	Poor families	
		Number	As percent of all families
		White	
Total	42,663,000	5,158,000	12.1
Husband-wife	37,799,000	3,818,000	10.1
Male head (without wife)	1,067,000	155,000	14.5
Female head	3,797,000	1,185,000	31.2
		Nonwhite	
Total	4,773,000	2,027,000	42.5
Husband-wife	3,511,000	1,204,000	34.3
Male head (without wife)	177,000	55,000	31.2
Female head	1,085,000	768,000	70.8

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration: Social Security Bulletin, January 1965.

Table 6.--Employment Status of the Population, by Sex and Race, March 1964

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Employment status	White		Negro	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
		Women		
Population 1/	55,369,000	100.0	6,081,000	100.0
Civilian labor force	21,182,000	38.3	2,958,000	48.6
Employed	20,034,000	36.2	2,619,000	43.1
Unemployed	1,148,000	2.1	339,000	5.6
Less than 15 weeks	837,000	1.5	248,000	4.1
15 weeks or more	311,000	.6	91,000	1.5
Not in the labor force	34,187,000	61.7	3,123,000	51.4
		Men		
Population 1/	49,576,000	100.0	5,039,000	100.0
Civilian labor force	41,030,000	82.8	4,171,000	82.8
Employed	39,086,000	78.8	3,757,000	74.6
Unemployed	1,944,000	3.9	414,000	8.2
Less than 15 weeks	1,284,000	2.6	261,000	5.2
15 weeks or more	660,000	1.3	153,000	3.0
Not in the labor force	8,546,000	17.2	868,000	17.2

1/ Excludes inmates of institutions and members of the Armed Forces.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report No. 53.

Table 7.--Employment Status of the Population, by Sex and Color, 1960 and 1950

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Employment status	1960				1950			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Number 1/	53,182,610	6,177,090	48,509,453	5,446,559	47,731,440	5,159,190	44,665,470	4,716,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Civilian labor force	35.3	45.3	82.6	78.1	29.3	39.6	83.4	81.2
Employed	33.7	41.5	78.9	71.4	28.2	36.5	79.7	74.9
Unemployed	1.7	3.8	3.7	6.7	1.1	3.1	3.8	6.3
Not in the labor force	64.7	54.7	17.4	21.9	70.7	60.4	16.6	18.8

1/ Excludes members of the Armed Forces.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: 1960 Census of Population, Special Report PC(2)--6A; and 1950 Census of Population, Special Report PE No. 1A.

Table 8.--Women in the Civilian Labor Force, by Age and Race, March 1964

(Women 18 years of age and over)

Age	All women			Negro women		
	Number	Percent distribution	As percent of woman population	Number	Percent distribution	As percent of woman population
Total	24,326,000	100.0	39.3	2,958,000	100.0	48.6
18 to 24 years	4,429,000	18.2	48.4	499,000	16.9	46.9
25 to 29 years	2,103,000	8.6	37.8	337,000	11.4	52.4
30 to 34 years	2,096,000	8.6	37.1	337,000	11.4	51.6
35 to 44 years	5,585,000	23.0	44.7	724,000	24.5	56.3
45 to 54 years	5,659,000	23.3	51.4	642,000	21.7	62.6
55 years and over	4,454,000	18.3	24.7	419,000	14.2	29.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Employment and Earnings, April 1964.

Table 9.--Marital Status of Negro Women in the Civilian Labor Force, March 1964

(Women 18 years of age and over)

Marital status	Number	Percent distribution	As percent of woman population
Total	2,958,000	100.0	48.6
Single	439,000	14.8	60.6
Married (husband present)	1,510,000	51.0	46.0
Other 1/	1,012,000	34.2	48.9

1/ Refers to women who are widowed, divorced, or separated, or whose husbands are absent for other reasons.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142.

Table 10.--Percent of Nonfarm Family Income in 1963 Contributed by Wife, by Color, March 1964

Wife's contribution to nonfarm family income	Percent distribution	
	White	Nonwhite
Total	100.0	100.0
Less than 5.0 percent	22.8	18.4
5.0 to 9.9 percent	8.1	7.2
10.0 to 19.9 percent	14.7	16.3
20.0 to 29.9 percent	15.5	18.8
30.0 to 39.9 percent	16.9	14.4
40.0 to 49.9 percent	11.9	11.6
50.0 to 74.9 percent	8.1	11.2
75.0 percent and over	2.1	2.2
Median percent	22.9	24.3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report No. 50.

Table 11.--Mothers in the Population and Labor Force, by Marital Status, Ages of Children, and Color, March 1965

(Mothers 14 years of age and over)

Marital status and ages of children	Number (in thousands)		Percent distribution		Percent in labor force
	Population	Labor force	Population	Labor force	
		White			
Mothers with children under 18 years	24,664	8,283	100.0	100.0	33.6
Married, husband present	22,546	7,021	91.4	84.8	31.1
Other women ever married 1/	2,118	1,262	8.6	15.2	59.6
Mothers with children 6 to 17 (none under 6)	11,881	5,284	48.2	63.8	44.5
Married, husband present	10,545	4,392	42.8	53.0	41.7
Other women ever married 1/	1,336	892	5.4	10.8	66.8
Mothers with children under 6 2/	12,783	2,999	51.8	36.2	23.5
Married, husband present	12,001	2,629	48.7	31.7	21.9
Other women ever married 1/	782	370	3.2	4.5	47.3

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 11.--Mothers in the Population and Labor Force, by Marital Status, Ages of Children, and Color, March 1965--Continued

(Mothers 14 years of age and over)

Marital status and ages of children	Number (in thousands)		Percent distribution		Percent in labor force
	Population	Labor force	Population	Labor force	
Nonwhite					
Mothers with children under 18 years	3,021	1,399	100.0	100.0	46.3
Married, husband present	2,171	932	71.9	66.6	42.9
Other women ever married 1/	850	467	28.1	33.4	54.9
Mothers with children 6 to 17 (none under 6)	1,238	716	41.0	51.2	57.8
Married, husband present	788	444	26.1	31.7	56.3
Other women ever married 1/	450	272	14.9	19.4	60.4
Mothers with children under 6 2/	1,783	683	59.0	48.8	38.3
Married, husband present	1,383	488	45.8	34.9	35.3
Other women ever married 1/	400	195	13.2	13.9	48.8

1/ Refers to women who are widowed, divorced or separated, or whose husbands are absent for other reasons.

2/ May also have older children in addition to one or more under 6.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report No. 64.

Table 12.--Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers With Children Under 14 Years of Age, by Ages of Children and Color, February 1965

Type of arrangement	Age of children							
	Total		Under 6 years		6 to 11 years		12 and 13 years	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Number of children (in thousands)	10,056	2,231	3,066	730	4,953	1,137	2,037	365
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Care in childs own home by--	46	44	48	44	47	47	39	32
Father	16	10	16	9	16	11	15	9
Other relative	19	28	15	28	22	31	21	22
Under 16 years	4	7	1	5	6	9	5	3
16 to 64 years	11	19	11	20	12	20	12	17
65 years and over	4	2	3	3	4	3	3	2
Nonrelative who only looked after child	5	4	9	6	4	4	1	1
Nonrelative who also did household chores	6	1	8	1	5	1	2	--
Care in someone else's home by--	15	22	28	41	10	14	4	8
Relative	7	12	13	24	5	7	3	4
Nonrelative	8	10	15	18	5	8	1	4

Table 12.--Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers With Children Under 14 Years of Age, by Ages of Children and Color, February 1965--Continued

Type of arrangement	Age of children							
	Total		Under 6 years		6 to 11 years		12 and 13 years	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Other arrangements	39	34	24	15	43	39	57	60
Group care (day care center, etc.)	2	2	6	6	1	(1/)	(1/)	1
Child looked after self	8	10	1	--	7	12	20	26
Mother looked after child while working	14	8	16	9	14	7	11	9
Mother worked only during child's school hours	15	13	1	1	21	18	24	23
Other arrangements	(1/)	1	(1/)	--	(1/)	1	1	2

1/ Less than 1 percent.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau, and U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau.

Table 13.--Major Occupational Groups of Employed Negro Men and Women, March 1964

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Major occupational group	Number (In thousands)	Percent distribution
Men		
Total	1/3,758,000	100.0
Professional, technical workers	178,000	4.7
Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)	107,000	2.8
Clerical, sales workers	274,000	7.3
Craftsmen, foremen	404,000	10.8
Operatives	1,005,000	26.7
Nonfarm laborers	831,000	22.1
Service workers (including private-household)	638,000	17.0
Farm workers	321,000	8.5
Women		
Total	1/2,619,000	100.0
Professional, technical workers	186,000	7.1
Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)	48,000	1.8
Clerical, sales workers	287,000	11.0
Craftsmen, foremen, operatives	381,000	14.5
Nonfarm laborers	17,000	0.6
Service workers (except private-household)	678,000	25.9
Private-household workers	979,000	37.4
Farm workers	43,000	1.6

1/ Excludes inmates of institutions and all members of the Armed Forces.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142.

Table 14 .--Major Occupational Groups of Employed Nonwhite Women and Men, 1960 and 1950

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Major occupational group	Women		Men	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
Number	2,565,000	1,882,000	3,887,000	3,528,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical workers	7.6	5.6	4.0	2.3
Teachers (except college)	4.2	3.6	.9	.5
Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)	1.2	1.4	2.3	2.4
Clerical, kindred workers	8.7	4.5	5.2	3.2
Sales workers	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.2
Craftsmen, foremen	.7	.6	10.4	8.0
Operatives	13.0	14.9	23.8	21.1
Nonfarm laborers	1.0	1.5	19.3	23.1
Service workers (except private-household)	21.0	18.9	13.7	13.5
Private-household workers	33.9	40.9	.7	1.1
Farmers, farm managers	.6	1.8	4.5	13.9
Farm laborers, foremen	2.7	6.9	6.4	8.8
Occupation not reported	7.9	1.5	8.2	1.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: 1960 U.S. Census of Population, Special Report PC(2)--7A; 1950 US. Census of Population, Special Report P-E, No. 1-B.

Table 15.--Unemployment Rates, by Sex, Color, and Age, Selected Years 1954-65 and April 1966

(Persons 14 years of age and over)

Color and age	April 1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1957	1954
Women									
White									
14-19 years	12.2	12.6	13.2	13.6	11.5	13.5	11.9	9.1	9.9
20 years and over	3.3	4.0	4.6	4.8	4.1	5.7	4.6	3.8	5.1
Nonwhite									
14-19 years	31.0	29.8	30.6	33.1	28.2	26.6	22.7	18.9	18.4
20 years and over	5.8	7.4	9.0	9.4	9.6	10.6	8.3	6.3	8.5
Men									
White									
14-19 years	9.7	11.8	13.4	14.2	12.3	14.1	12.9	10.5	11.7
20 years and over	2.1	2.9	3.4	3.9	4.0	5.1	4.2	3.2	4.4
Nonwhite									
14-19 years	19.5	22.6	23.3	25.4	20.7	24.7	22.0	17.5	12.5
20 years and over	4.7	6.0	7.7	9.2	10.0	11.7	9.6	7.5	9.9

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President; A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, March 1966 and Bureau of Labor Statistics: Employment and Earnings, May 1966.

Table 16.--Unemployment Rates, by Sex, Years of School Completed, and Race, March 1964

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Years of school completed	White	Negro
Men		
Less than 8 years 1/	8.1	9.6
High school, 1 to 4 years	4.6	10.9
College, 1 year or more	2.4	6.1
Women		
Less than 8 years 1/	8.8	10.0
High school, 1 to 4 years	5.7	13.8
College, 1 year or more	3.2	8.2

1/ Includes no school years completed.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 142.

Table 17.--School Enrollment of the Population 5 to 34 Years of Age, by Race and Sex, October 1964 1/

Age	Girls and women		Boys and men	
	Number	As percent of population	Number	As percent of population
Total school enrollment				
Total	24,809,000	55.3	26,851,000	62.3
5 years	1,379,000	68.1	1,435,000	68.8
6 years	1,985,000	98.4	2,043,000	98.1
7 to 13 years	13,177,000	99.2	13,548,000	98.8
14 to 17 years	6,356,000	91.8	6,658,000	94.4
18 and 19 years	958,000	33.7	1,238,000	50.9
20 to 24 years	716,000	10.9	1,332,000	23.8
25 to 29 years	148,000	2.6	411,000	8.1
30 to 34 years	90,000	1.9	186,000	3.6
Negro school enrollment				
Total	3,093,000	56.9	3,098,000	62.3
5 years	172,000	61.2	175,000	64.3
6 years	270,000	99.3	261,000	97.4
7 to 13 years	1,745,000	99.5	1,706,000	98.5
14 to 17 years	716,000	88.0	752,000	91.9
18 and 19 years	102,000	31.7	116,000	39.9
20 to 24 years	57,000	8.1	51,000	8.3
25 to 29 years	18,000	2.8	17,000	3.5
30 to 34 years	13,000	2.0	20,000	4.0

1/ Includes schools in regular school system, that is public, parochial, and private schools offering a diploma or a degree.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 148.

Table 18.--Levels of School Attended by Students 5 to 34 Years of Age, by Race and Sex, October 1964 1/

Level of school	Girls and women		Boys and men	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total school enrollment				
Total	24,809,000	100.0	26,851,000	100.0
Elementary school or kindergarten	16,698,000	67.3	17,505,000	65.2
High school	6,353,000	25.6	6,459,000	24.1
College	1,755,000	7.1	2,887,000	10.8
Negro school enrollment				
Total	3,093,000	100.0	3,098,000	100.0
Elementary school or kindergarten	2,272,000	73.6	2,273,000	73.3
High school	702,000	22.7	706,000	22.8
College	114,000	3.7	120,000	3.9

1/ Includes schools in regular school system; that is public, parochial, and private schools, offering a diploma or a degree.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 148.

Table 19.--Educational Attainment of the Population, by Race and Sex, March 1964

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Years of school completed	White		Negro	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Number	55,369,000	49,576,000	6,081,000	5,039,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary school:				
None	1.2	1.3	2.2	4.5
Less than 8 years	11.6	13.6	28.8	33.7
8 years	14.0	15.0	11.8	11.5
High school:				
1 to 3 years	18.6	18.0	25.3	24.4
4 years	37.5	29.4	22.9	16.6
College:				
1 year or more	17.1	22.8	9.1	9.5
Median years of school completed	12.1	12.1	9.9	9.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No.142, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report No. 53.

Table 20.--Median Years of School Completed, by Employment Status, Sex, and Color, October 1952 and March 1957, 1959, 1962, 1964, and 1965

(Persons 18 years of age and over)

Year	In labor force				Not in the labor force			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1965	12.3	11.1	12.2	10.0	12.0	9.0	8.9	7.1
1964	12.3	10.8	12.2	9.7	11.8	9.2	8.8	6.8
1962	12.3	10.5	12.1	9.0	11.6	8.7	8.7	6.4
1959	12.2	9.4	11.9	8.3	11.2	8.5	8.6	5.8
1957	12.2	8.9	11.5	8.0	11.0	8.2	8.6	4.6
1952	12.1	8.1	10.8	7.2	10.6	7.7	8.6	5.0

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report Nos. 65, 53, 30, and 1, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-50, Nos. 49 and 78.

Table 21 .--Median Wage or Salary Income of Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Sex and Color, 1939 and 1955-64

(Median wage or salary income in 1960 constant dollars)

Year	Consumer Price Index 1/ (1960=100)	Median wage or salary income			
		Men		Women	
		White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1964	104.8	$6,199	$4,089	$3,682	$2,552
1963	103.5	6,065	3,965	3,597	2,288
1962	102.2	5,895	3,717	3,523	2,229
1961	101.1	5,816	3,841	3,442	2,300
1960	100.0	5,662	3,789	3,410	2,372
1959	98.4	5,545	3,393	3,360	2,232
1958	97.7	5,308	3,447	3,301	2,035
1957	95.1	5,205	3,299	3,267	1,962
1956	91.9	5,125	3,169	3,219	1,781
1955	90.5	4,926	3,128	3,171	1,809
1939	46.9	3,026	1,362	1,840	697

1/ Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (1957-59 = 100) converted to 1960 base.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60.

field agency

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 2, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here's an announcement of our intern program. We've already got one through the good help of Al Ulmer; help us find some more.

Let me thank you again for arranging to go to Washington to meet with Howe. I think it was a good and worthwhile project.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

JAG:jj
enclosure

A n n o u n c e m e n t

Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

INTERNSHIPS IN EDUCATION

New Program Offers Immediate Opportunities

The Southern Education Foundation is offering internships to persons who are concerned with innovative approaches to education. The internships will provide opportunities for participation in developing new programs and for gaining experience in areas of education which have been greatly expanded by recent Federal legislation.

The Foundation seeks applicants near the beginning of their careers in education who want a broad view of possibilities for their own future and who have a deep interest in developing better school systems at every level. Interns will take a six or nine-month assignment with the Foundation. After a two-week training period, interns will be assigned to selected individuals within a state department of education or a college or university in the South. Each assignment will take on an individual character, and it is likely that within the term of service several different assignments will be possible. Supervision as well as continuing evaluation will be provided. At the end of the first six-month period guidance will be given in terms of future career possibilities or possible extension of the internship.

Because the Foundation is concerned to provide immediate assistance to many administrators who are burdened with pressing demands related to new Federal programs, it intends to start the internships immediately and seeks at once persons who are available for the initial appointments.

Qualifications

Applications are sought from those who meet the following qualifications:

1) Because of the mobility of the assignments and the amount of field work and travel that is anticipated, single persons without family responsibility will be given priority.
2) Because of the nature of the Foundation's traditional concern with Negro education and with Southern education, those who are from the South and intend to make their careers in the educational structure of the South will be given priority.
3) Some initial background in education will be necessary, such as teaching experience, a degree or a partial graduate degree in education, a voluntary overseas experience related to education, or other similar experience.
4) Applicants will be interviewed to determine their ability to work in an unstructured situation, adapting to varying needs as the occasion demands. Self-starters who can work under supervision and at the same time be alert to new information from various sources will be sought.

Term of Service

The initial assignment will be for a six or nine month period. The stipends will vary slightly according to the qualifications of candidates, but they will range around a monthly stipend of $625 (this is equivalent to an annual rate of $7,500). Travel and expenses while in travel status will also be paid by the Foundation. The intern will be expected to find his own living accommodations at the place of his assignment and pay for them out of his salary.

Training

Beginning early in the middle of January, 1966, the first training will start for a small initial group of interns. The Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia will conduct a one-week training session on education in America. Special attention will be given to problems and opportunities of education in the South, with particular attention to the impact of new Federal legislation. Interns will then go to Washington for a week of intensive study of Federal education programs. The Washington seminar will revolve around conferences with representatives of Federal agencies administering educational funds. At a later time during the term of the appointments there will be one or two seminars where all interns will be brought together.

Assignments

SEF will assign interns to a senior official. The daily activities of the intern, designed by his supervisor, will be generally concerned with extending the supervisor's ability to review and initiate new educational programs.

After an initial period of several weeks, the assignment will be evaluated by the supervisor, the intern, and by a staff consultant. Where appropriate, changes will be made.

Qualified persons should supply personnel data sheets giving education, experience, and references. Send to:

Dr. John A. Griffin
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Interviews will be arranged in Atlanta, Washington, or New York, depending on the location of the applicant.

South Africans Chill On Negro Blackout

AFRICA AC 9/27/66

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (AP)—South Africa's all-white minority government backed away Monday from one of the most sweeping pieces of apartheid—race segregation—legislation proposed by the ruling white nationalists since they won power in 1948.

The government, through Interior Minister S.P. LeRoux, told Parliament it is not going ahead with a bill which would in effect have prevented all political discussion and contact across the color line.

The measure had raised a nationwide storm of protest on the ground that its sweeping provisions were aimed at abolition of all multiracial parties or groups whose activities impinged in any way on multiracial politics.

It would have meant the end of author Alan Paton's Liberal party and possibly also the Progressive party, though the latter had indicated it planned to carry on despite the proposed restrictions.

The new legislation, called the prohibition of improper interference bill, had been scheduled for second reading — approval in broad principle — by the House of Assembly Monday. With its huge majority the government could easily have forced the measure through both houses of Parliament.

But LeRoux moved that the measure be referred to a select committee, which he said might be converted to an inquiry commission if required. This is parliamentary procedure for postponing the bill at least until all its implications can be studied and reconsidered.

LeRoux told the House the postponement decision stemmed from agreement between Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster and the main opposition leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff of the United party. The select committee or possible commission would have to report not later than March 31 next year.

The government-supporting Cape Town daily, Die Burger, had joined opposition members of Parliament, clergymen, race relations groups and the English-language press in demanding withdrawal of the measure, conceived during the premiership of the late Hendrik F. Verwoerd.

NEGRO CLERIC LAUDS SOUTH AFRICA'S LOT

NYT 10/9/66

CAPETOWN, South Africa (Religious News Service) — An American Negro clergyman who has been in this country 11 months declared recently that he had been "immensely impressed by the South African Government's efforts to improve the living conditions of all the nonwhite races here."

"Houses and hospitals for nonwhites are the best I have seen anywhere," he said, "and on my return to the States, I will tell people what a wonderful country South Africa is, and what is being done for nonwhites here."

The speaker was Bishop Harrison J. Bryant, former pastor of St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Baltimore, who in May, 1964, was assigned by his church to head its 15th Episcopal District on South Africa. However, difficulties in securing an entry visa from the South African Government delayed by 17 months his arrival in the country.

Presiding over the A.M.E. Church in South Africa's annual conference at Paarl near here, Bishop Bryant went on to caution that violence in any form was deplorable anywhere, and accordingly he urged all nonwhites in South Africa to be "law-abiding."

The African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa has more than 100,000 adherents and is reportedly growing rapidly.

Goldberg Asserts South Africa Forfeits Right to Rule Mandate

By RAYMOND DANIELL 10/13/66

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 12—South Africa has forfeited "all right to continue to administer the territory of South-West Africa," Arthur J. Goldberg said in the General Assembly today.

The chief United States representative was speaking on a resolution providing for the United Nations to supplant South Africa as the administering power of the former German territory.

Mr. Goldberg was adding the voice of the United States to those of the many who have spoken in the Assembly and he noted that with "a very few exceptions" members had reached substantial unanimity.

"By virtue of the breach of its obligations and its disavowal of the mandate Mr. Goldberg said: " South Africa forfeits all right to continue to administer the territory of South-West Africa.

Disapproval of U.S.

The United States has in the past deplored South Africa's policies of rigid separation of the races and its administration in South-West Africa, where apartheid has been applied. The U.S. has not before said that South Africa had forfeited her right to remain in control of South-West Africa's 4.5 million inhabitants, most of them indigenous tribesmen.

The only substantial disagreements between the Western powers and the 54 members of African and Asian states are over the timing and method by which the United Nations can replace South Africa, which holds a mandate from the old League of Nations.

Mr. Goldberg said that suggestions made by several members of the United Nations that a commission be appointed to study the problem was "eminently sensible." He said the United States would gladly serve on such a commission.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller, warned, however, that his country would "resist with all the power at its disposal any attempts which endanger the safety of our country or of the peoples committed to our care."

Support Forecast

"And my Government," he continued, "will have the support of peoples equally determined to resist—meaning thereby, most certainly, not only the white people."

Earlier in his statement, Mr. Muller expressed the hope that nothing would happen at this Assembly to make it impossible for the Government at Pretoria to keep up a "dialogue," of a constructive nature with the United Nations.

It was to avoid a head-on collision that Western members have been urging the appointment of a commission to explore all the implications of carrying out the terms of the resolution before the Assembly, including the legality of taking over the administration of the territory.

Mr. Goldberg took these proposals a step further when he declared that the United States would be glad to serve on a United Nations commission to draft a "considered blueprint for united and peaceful action" for the benefit of the people of South-West Africa.

South Carolina 3/13/66

Yancey McLeod, Columbia attorney, announced unexpectedly that he would NOT seek re-election as state Democrat chairman. Several are mentioned for the job which will be filled at the state convention March 30. The Republican chair-

man Harry S. Dent seems to be unopposed. . . . The South Carolina National bank, with deposits of $360,403,452, retains its rank as the largest bank in the state, based on 1965 figures. . . . Ralph T. Link of Pendleton is South Carolina's "outstanding young farmer," and will represent this state in the national finals in Birmingham. . . . Sen. Strom Thurmond backs Gen. Maxwell Taylor in his proposal that Haiphong, the chief North Viet Nam port of supply, be closed by force. He also wants heavier war target bombings. . . . The Battle of Sullivan's Island, fought June 28, 1776, will be reenacted on the original site, off Charleston, as part of a series of observances in this state marking Revolutionary engagements.

Reapportionment Headache Cured in House, Not Senate

3/13/66

SOUTH CAROLINA

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to The Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, March 12 — South Carolina has at least one reapportionment headache cured, a three-judge court having said that this state's long-used House of Representatives formula meets the "one man, one vote" test, but this is far from true for the Senate for which a more equitable organization must be detvised.

However, in view of the fact that this is election year and the time is fast running out, the federal tribunal granted a respite in the form of a reluctantly-approved interim plan — one of the two that the General Assembly had submitted following a December order directing that reapportionment be effected within a prescribed time. By the 1968 elections this plan must be revised so as to eliminate certain objectionable features such as a "residency" clause that favored certain small counties.

AFTER EACH decimal census the House has been reapportioned, but with at least one representative from each county, just as under the composition of the United States congress there is at least one representative from each state.

The Senate, too, has remained the same with one senator from each county, just as there are two United States senators from each state. But the court said "No" to leaving the upper body as it is.

Under the interim plan the state is divided into 50 districts each with a senator. in some instances the district is the same as that covered by a county. In some instances two or more counties will have one senator between them, instead of one each. And some counties, that now have a long senator, will have several, such as Richland (Columbia) which will have four.

THE COURT prescribed the geography but not the modus operandi for the voting, and so in those districts where old county lines overlap, problems of procedure have arisen, some of them perplexing. Who will be in charge of the district election? Who will pay the poll managers? And so on. But by the time election day arrives these questions will have been settled, perhaps with the aid of some new laws.

In the meantime the woods are thick with candidates, and the rumor mill is busy with names of those who may or may not run. There are also party switches, several Democratic office holders going GOP but no GOP apparently turning Democrat, as the Repulicans plan an all-out campaign.

A prominent Democratic legislator, Joseph Rogers Jr. of Clarendon, has resigned his assembly seat and announced for governor as a Republican, causing Ed B. Smith, Greenville attorney, who had announced earlier, to charge the Republican hierarchy" with "hand-picking" a candidate.

Out of a clear blue sky, Marshall Parker, for ten years Democratic senator from Oconee, announced he was quitting, and would seek the GOP nomination for the United States senatorship now held by Donald S. Russell. Parker was defeated for lieutenant governor in the Democratic primary of 1964 by the present governor, Robert E. McNair.

The Augusta Chronicle
The South's Oldest—Established 1785
An Independent Newspaper

A Prize-Winning Newspaper 1963 Better Newspaper Contests

"The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."
—Woodrow Wilson

S.C.

'With dignity and calm'

"What can we do to protect our state from the racial violence which has scarred Mississippi and Alabama?" asks a recent statement published by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. The Council, as quoted by the South Carolina Methodist Advocate, continues with the further query, "How can we make certain that in this period of transition the law of the land will be upheld with dignity and calm?"

The inquiry, insofar as it looks with hope to a reign of dignity, calm and law observance, is a pertinent one not only for South Carolina but for every segment of our nation.

★ ★ ★

The question, unfortunately, is worded so as to lend itself to misinterpretation, because it seems to imply that violence is more prevalent in Mississippi and Alabama than elsewhere — an error which is readily corrected by a glance both at the FBI's annual report on national crime statistics, and at police records in Harlem, Rochester, Chicago, Los Angeles and elsewhere. Disregarding this seeming support for an old myth, however, the question asked by the Council is relevant to the thinking of an informed and conscientious citizenship. What can we do?

★ ★ ★

● At the very top, we can demand a U.S. Supreme Court which will interpret law in a manner which concerns itself more with the victim and less the violator. As long as high courts are preoccupied with technicalities which result in setting free known killers, rapists, terrorists and embezzlers, so long will law enforcement officers find it impossible to make sure that "the law of the land will be upheld with dignity and calm."

● The parole boards and governors of state should exercise greater care in releasing dangerous criminals whose records and whose mental conditions indicate likelihood of repeating heinous crimes.

● Law enforcement must be on a single standard rather than on a double standard. The Ku Klux Klansman who wants the other fellow to live by the law but who thinks himself privileged to ignore the law and mete out personal punishment must see the error of his way and, if necessary, be restrained and punished by law. The false leaders in the field of civil rights who maintain that the government must tolerate not even a slight departure from rights laws, but who insist on their own privilege to violate with immunity those laws which prohibit illegal incendiary agitation, must see the error of their ways or suffer the prescribed penalties.

● Among all groups we need a conviction (and Southerners regardless of race do have this conviction, in the aggregate) that laws must be obeyed as long as they're on the statute books, no matter how distasteful; and that the democratic remedies to bad laws lie in action by the courts and the legislatures, state and national.

● Above all what we can do to assure the situation envisioned by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations is to develop an atmosphere of understanding, and of neighborly cooperation, so that citizens regardless of race can work out their problems with mutual respect and consideration. This approach rejects the whole philosophy of violence, disorder, promotion of antagonisms and blind entrapment in the hatreds which world communism seeks so relentlessly to promote in America.

★ ★ ★

These conditions will provide a constructive answer to the question which has been posed by a concerned group of our neighbors in the state of South Carolina.

Study Will Test Liquor Sentiment

By S. L. LATIMER JR. 5-1-66

The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, April 30—In an effort to find out what the people of his Capital City want, Mayor Lester L. Bates of Columbia, in coordination with President Jack Fuller of the Chamber of Commerce, has named a blue ribbon committee of 15 to study the liquor sale situation and formulate a proposed solution.

And when this group has completed its work, the mayor will hold a city-wide referendum, open to all qualified voters, that they may express their views on the committee's recommendation.

As he pointed out, the vote would have no legal or binding effect, but, at least, he said, it would be a guide as to the people's feelings.

SOUTH CAROLINA

THE PRESENT law is very restrictive and has been openly violated, more in some places than in others. In fact in many instances persons have been guilty of transgression when they didn't know that what they were doing was against the law, such as giving cocktail parties, and possession of liquor, other than in their homes.

State stores, the only legal retail source of supply, open at sunrise and close at sunset. They must buy from licensed wholesalers. No sale of less than a pint is allowed, and whiskey can be possessed only in the home or when enroute with it from a store to a home.

AS TO BEER and wine the situation is different. They can be sold any where save on Sunday (at all times of the day or night except where liquor is handled, provided a license is secured). They can be served at parties anywhere and kept anywhere. The furor is over hard liquor.

In Columbia plush clubs, where bars were maintained for members only, as well as places where sale of drinks was conducted publicly, have been raided recently. One club got an injunction restraining the city from further interference until certain legal points raised by the raided, were cleared up. In the meantime the state tax commission, which handles liquor regulation in South Carolina, and which was not included in the order, proceeded with a seizure in the same club that had appealed.

The General Assembly has been wrestling with the question. Anything it does must be in the form of amendment to the state constitution giving it the right to act. At present all regulation is by constitutional statement, not by statute.

Elect Own, King Urges In Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

AC 5/9/66

KINGSTREE, S.C. (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King called Sunday for a united Negro front in South Carolina to elect Negro candidates in this year's elections.

"You've got to do more than clap hands, give loud cheers and assemble in crowds," said Dr. King. "You've got to go out and get Negroes registered to vote."

The leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference spoke to a crowd of about 5,000 in behalf of four Negro candidates from Williamsburg county.

THAT'S DEMOCRACY

Dr. King urged South Carolina Negroes to use the vote "unitedly . . . we will get further together than apart.

"The opportunity to send to the state house and to Congress dedicated, competent black men and women . . . is what democracy is all about," he declared.

"We've had a long turbulent struggle to gain the freedom we now have," the civil rights leader said.

He said the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling outlawing segregated schools was the beginning of the Negro's struggle for freedom.

NEARER INTEGRATION

"That ruling," he said, "made it possible for us to leave the age of slavery. Today we stand on the border of the promised land of integration."

He said the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will "stand as a tribute to President John F. Kennedy and to the efforts of the Negro people."

"Once we stand with our backs straight," he added, "we will have a new day because a man can't ride your back if it isn't bent."

Virgil Dimery, candidate for the state senate; Jesse Lawrence and Purvis Easley, candidates for the state house of representatives; and Paul Murray, a candidate for county road commissioner.

5-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1966

NEWS OF THE
SOUTHEAST
Empire

5-Month Session Finally Ending

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, May 14—The second and final session of the 96th General Assembly has come to a close—almost.

The wearisome session began with a special sitting starting last Dec. 13 to consider Senate reapportionment. It has continued without interruption for five months.

Now, the bone-tired legislators are taking a brief rest. But they'll be back in ses- Friday to consider local bills, resolutions regarding constitutional amendments and other matters. These are usually routine, but this year they carry thorns.

SOME OF THE issues that confront the lawmakers:

Shall the constitutional limit of 50 Senate seats be fixed or shall the number be left subject to change from time to time by legislative action?

Shall women sit on juries? Both houses voted to put this question to the people, but they disagree over a Senate proviso requiring a sixth-grade education. The lower house feels such a requirement would make the action subject to an adverse court ruling.

Shall the people be allowed to vote on the liquor questions?

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Senate passed a resolution to allow a vote on whether to relax the present very strict limitations on selling and consumption of liquor, and a local option feature was included. The House failed to give the required majority but the question arose as to whether the matter could be considered during the last two days of the session. The "wets" want another test and will make every effort to force a new vote.

REGARDLESS OF what is done Thursday and Friday, the session has been one of action.

Free text books were provided up to the sixth grade. The minimum driving age was raised from 14 to 15. Teachers and state employes were given pay increases. A good sum has been added to the state reserve. All business law was codified in one 951-page act, said to be the longest bill ever passed. Revolutionary changes were made in the small loan law. And congressional districts were reapportioned.

CAROLINA CUSTOM IN POLITICS FADING

S. C.

Stump Speakings Are Fewer and Crowds Are Smaller

5/21/66

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

COLUMBIA, S. C., May 18 — "Dignity!" snorted the candidate, throwing his chest out and his head far back in exaggerated imitation of his opponent's posture.

"He says he's going to give us 'Dignity' in Washington," John Bolt Culbertson shouted, as his supporters in the audience roared their approval in laughter.

"The only thing he'll not do that's any different from Strom Thurmond," Mr. Culbertson said, dropping his caricature, "is stand on his head or wrestle in the halls of Congress. Otherwise, he stands for the same things that Thurmond does."

State Senator P. Bradley Morrah, the man competing in the Democratic primary with Mr. Culbertson for the chance of opposing Republican Senator Strom Thurmond, was not safely out of earshot of Mr. Culbertson's derision. He was seated on the same platform in the Memorial Auditorium at Greenville Tuesday night.

While Senator Morrah fidgeted, Mr. Culbertson recalled another claim that his opponent had made during his turn at the podium a few minutes earlier.

'Who Believes That'

"He says he's not obligated to anybody," Mr. Culbertson said. "Who believes that?"

Pointing back and down toward the floor, suggesting that Senator Morrah might, by then, be sulking under a chair, Mr. Culbertson shouted, "You can't serve the interests the way that man has and not be obligated to anybody."

Senator Morrah turned to United States Senator Donald S. Russell, seated beside him waiting his turn to speak, and grinned and shook his head to indicate that neither he nor the audience took Mr. Culbertson seriously. Nevertheless, he wore a blush.

Senator Morrah was victim and participant in an old South Carolina custom that calls for Democratic candidates, friends and foes together, to present themselves on the same plat-

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Senator Morrah was victim and participant in an old South Carolina custom that calls for Democratic candidates, friends and foes together, to present themselves on the same platform from time to time to be scrutinized by the voters.

Some 600 Piedmont voters turned out at Greenville to study Mr. Culbertson and Senator Morrah; Senator Russell and his opponent, former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, and about a dozen other candidates competing in the June 14 primary for nomination to statewide office.

The stump speakings are dying in spite o fthe advantages in providing maximum exposure to all candidates at minimum cost, along with entertainment for the voters.

The candidates used to appear together in all 46 counties. With the advent of television and the decline of oratory, the number of appearances was reduced to one in each of the state's 15 judicial circuits.

Only one appearance in each of the six Congressional districts is being held this year.

Party officials say the cusom may be dropped after this. The rallies no longer draw crowds.

One reason for their waning popularity seems to be the absence of big name entertainment at the modern rallies. In the old days, orators like Benjamin R. (Pitchfork Ben) Tillman and Coleman L. (Cole) Blease could captivate an audience and hold it for hours.

Now the giant personalities are gone, replaced by sober, polished men like Senator Russell, who spent his 10 minutes Tuesday discussing the one-price cotton law, and Mr. Hollings, who spoke of the state's industrial growth during his tenure as governor and of the need for greater care in spending the taxpayers money.

Except for Mr. Culbertson's occasional outbursts, entertainment in the 1966 stump speakings is left mainly to the minor candidates such as Dero Cook, a convicted moonshiner and perennial candidate whom the voters have steadfastly refused to take seriously. Mr. Cook is running for Lieutenant Governor on a platform advocating horse racing, dog racing and open bars.

Voter Rolls for Primary Closed With Lists Swelled

5/22/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.

The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, May 21 — Those South Carolinians who are going to vote June 12 in the Democratic primaries, state and local, either have their names on the books now, or they won't be there, for a certificate to be honored must have been issued at least 30 days prior to its use.

As would be expected, due to the 1965 federal voting statute, thousands of Negroes have been added to the polling lists, but all of the new voters are not from that race. A number of white illiterates have taken advantage of the opportunity to participate, and caused a number of persons, white and Negro, who were already eligible, but had not bothered to qualify to do so.

ELECTION officials realize that with so many unlettered persons making their debuts as voters, complications could arise, such as slow moving line, so every effort is being made to facilitate the procedure. For one thing, extra help will be provided in all precincts with 500 or more enrollment.

Under a revised election law, passed in the closing days of the 1966 Assembly, the stipulation in the statute that a person can remain in the booth only five minutes was left unchanged, but an hour was added to the closing time —7 p.m. instead of 6 p.m.

Also the old rule that a person desiring assistance in preparing his ballot can get help, was retained, with the same provision that he be accompanied in the booth by one of the managers and a "bystander." However, it is now required that the "bystander" be a voter from that precinct.

Other changes in the election law are to take care of complications caused by senatorial reapportionment, or to correct minor inconsistences.

IT WILL BE some time before official registration totals for the state will be available, but competent observers feel the total is around 800,000 and that about half of those registered will vote in the Democratic primary. Even when the Secretary of State gets his report on registration, the list will not be broken down by races nor by party.

For several reasons the vote in the primary is not expected to be as heavy as it will be in the general election. One factor is that the GOP, which has candidates for many offices, will surely put on a strong get-out-the-vote drive which the Democrats will meet in kind. Further there is no statewide race in the primary with compelling racial overtones, which will not be the case in November, when Strom Thurmond, said to be a prime target of the NAACP will be seeking reelection as a Republican.

Also persons who didn't qualify in time for the June voting will be eligible for the general election, and there shoud be a considerable number in this category to swell the voter potential.

Russell Downed By Interim Jinx

S.C.

6/19/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.

The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, June 18—Many observers had thought that incumbent Donald S. Russell could overcome the jinx that has plagued governors who have arranged an interim appointment to the U.S. Senate—as he did in 1965—but when he faced the test in Tuesday's primary the voters overwhelmingly denied him the nomination for the remaining two years of the late Olin D. Johnston's term.

Chosen over Russell was former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings of Charleston, who now will meet GOP nominee State Sen. Marshall Parker of Oconee in the general election.

Nominated, as expected, to oppose Republican Strom Thurmond for a full six-year term, was State Sen. Bradley Morrah of Greenville, who downed John Bolt Culbertson, also by a decisive majority, but not by as large a margin as had been anticipated. In fact, Culbertson's vote was neck and neck with Russell's.

SOUTH CAROLINA

RIDING to an easy first primary victory for the nomination for lieutenant governor was State Sen. John West of Kershaw who licked two other opponents. He now takes on GOP candidate Marshall Mays of Greenwood.

There will be runoffs June 28 for comptroller general and superintendent of education.

For the former, Henry Mills, sergeant-at-arms of the House, and W. C. Ouzts, Columbia city councilman, will meet, and for the latter, Cyril Busbee of West Columbia will face William B. Royster of Columbia. Otherwise all state officers were renominated and are unopposed later.

All Democratic nominations for Congress were won unopposed, five of the six going to incumbents; the other to a newcomer, Fred LeCerq of Columbia, who will face Republican Albert Watson. Two incumbents also have GOP opposition. Mendel L. Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee, is sure of re-election.

FOR THE STATE Senate, where all places were open, old-timers generally fared well, and the same was true in the House. Both the president pro-tem of the Senate, Edgar A. Brown, and Speaker Sol Blatt were returned, and neither has a GOP opponent.

The Negro vote seems to have been divided, and, like the white vote, light. Negro candidates did not fare too well but several are in runoffs, and it is possible that the legislature will have a Negro House member for the first time since reconstruction. In one magistrate's race, both nominated candidates are Negroes.

To what extent persons who expect to vote Republican in November participated in the Democratic primary cannot be determined, but anyone who is not officially a Republican had a right to do so. Furthermore, any one who voted Tuesday has a right to cross the line in November if he wishes to do so.

APATHY MARKS TOP RACES WITH ELECTION 10 DAYS OFF

By S. L. LATIMER JR.

The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

6/6/66

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, June 4 — Despite efforts on the part of politicos, particularly the candidates, to quicken the interest in the forthcoming Democratic primary, the election has not aroused the "peepul" to the fever heat that for generations has characterized top-spot races in this state.

Even on the local level apathy seems to be the order of the day.

However, much water will go over the dam during the remaining 10 days of the campaign, and the situation could change. If not, it won't be because a try has not been made. There is abundant evidence of a desire to "pep things up," as some developments show.

Since Gov. R. E. McNair, hoping to succeed himself, has no Democratic opposition, he has no primary worries, but there are hard fought contests for nominations for the two United States senatorships that are up—one for full six years, and one for the two years remaining of the term of the late Olin D. Johnston.

SEN. DONALD S. Russell, who resigned as governor after Johnston's death in 1965, and was given an interim appointment by McNair, his successor, is in a battle with Former Gov. E. F. Hollings for the right to oppose the GOP nominee, State Sen. Marshall Parker, in November.

William C. Johnston, an active politician, brother of Olin D., has announced for Hollings, proving, as one observer commented, that, in fact, "politics makes strange bedfellows."

In 1962 Hollings lost decisively to Olin D. in a race marked by harsh criticism. But W. C. Johnston's plug for Hollings did not come as a surprise. For some time it has been an open secret that the Johnstons, who had been friendly with Russell, were now against him, some say because Russell, as governor, did not give a member of the Johnston family the interim appointment that he, himself, got. There has been no statement from the Johnstons to this effect, but it is known that a member of the Johnston family thought of offering in the present race.

THE SOUTH Carolina Labor Council (AFL-CIO), representing 40,000 workers, announced this week it would not choose officially between Hollings and Russell.

In the contest between State Sen. Bradley Morrah and John Bolt Culbertson, civil rights and labor protagonist, to see which later will meet Strom Thurmond, who has turned Republican since he last faced the people, it has been charged by Culbertson that news media are playing down his candidacy and that Democratic officials are not cooperating. To these and other allegations Morrah has replied that Culbertson's comments are childish. In this race, the Labor Council in April indorsed Culbertson.

S. C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1966.

4 NEGROES LOSE IN CAROLINA VOTE

Legislature Bids Beaten by Heavy White Turnout

Special to The New York Times

COLUMBIA, S. C., June 29—Negroes lost their strongest bid this century to break the South Carolina Legislature's color line as four Negro candidates were defeated in the Democratic primary runoff Tuesday.

White voters in two small rural counties turned out in strength to defeat the Negroes, three of whom ran for the House and one for the Senate.

Each of the Negroes had led in the first primary, June 14, but failed to get a majority.

No Negro has served in the Legislature since 1901.

Registration is fairly evenly divided between Negroes and whites in the two counties, Clarendon and Williamsburg.

In Clarendon, the Rev. John Hunter, seeking nomination for a House seat, lost by 213 votes to Joseph Coker, a white insurance man. Mr. Coker had 3,878 votes to 3,665 for Mr. Hnuter.

Mr. Hunter said he would protest the vote because of the results in two precincts. He declined to say on what basis he would lodge the protest.

In Williamsburg County, three Negro candidates lost decisively.

Virgil Dimery, a funeral director, seeking a Senate seat, received 4,345 votes to 5,964 for Lanue S. Floyd.

In two House races, Jesse Lawrence, an insurance agent, and Purvis Easley, a retired Army warrant officer, lost to J. Henry Stuckey, incumbent. Easley had 4,073 votes, Mr. Lawrence 4,179, Mr. Stuckey 5,989 and Mr. Carter 5,949.

The state runoff had races for 13 House and four Senate seats in 10 of 46 counties.

The only statewide races were for Controller General and State Superintendent of Education. In the former, House Sergeant-at-Arms Henry Mills was the apparent winner, with 60,582 votes to 57,327 for Columbia City Councilman William C. Ouzts, with 1,555 of 1,615 precincts reporting. There is no Republican opposition.

In the race for Superintendent of Education, Cyril B. Busbee, superintendent of the Brookland-Cayce School, had 58,857 votes to 58,072 for Dr. William B. Royster of the State Department of Education, with 1,555 precincts reporting.

The winner will face the Republican nominee, Dr. Inez C. Eddings, superintendent of Richland County schools.

Athlete Dies of Auto Injuries

ABINGTON, Pa., June 29 (AP)—William E. Stanley 3d, 20-year-old co-captain of the Lafayette College cross-country team, died yesterday at Abington Memorial Hospital of injuries suffered in a two-car crash June 19.

Stop-Gap Solution Leaves a Problem

7/17/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.

The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, July 16—Though South Carolina is in the throes of electing a full state Senate, acting under a 1966 law passed with approval of the federal courts, its reapportionment worries are not over—not by a jug full!

The formula being used is a temporary one — a "stop gap," so to speak — passed late in the 1966 legislative session to get the Senate show on the road.

Under this statute, all senatorial 1966 races are for seats to be held two years, instead of the customary four. Even those senators who were

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elected in 1964 to serve until 1969 find themselves similarly situated, since they were elected by counties, and the new plan sets up 28 districts, without regard to county lines, for a total of 50 instead of 46 seats.

APPARENTLY THE order of business will be for the 1967 legislature to take up where the 1966 assembly left off, in so far as reapportionment is concerned, the court may be asked to go along with the present interim setup, or it could be asked to approve changes, in view of the experience gained this year. Or, the court itself might offer its own suggestions.

The district plan gives urban areas a much better break than was their lot under the one senator per county apportionment, regardless of population. It was argued in defense of the latter that South Carolina had exactly the same plan for its membership as does the United States except that each state, small and large, gets two senators.

THE COURT did not order the Lower House to redistribute its members, since after each decimal census representation has been altered accordingly.

Regardless of how well GOP candidates run in their bids for places in the General Assembly, both Houses will be controlled by the Democrats, since, if all of the Republicans who are running were successful in their races, they couldn't overcome the number of Democrats who are already assured of election.

Negroes Add 44,000 Voters While Whites Gain 28,000

8/21/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, Aug. 20 — Despite a light turnout in August registration in South Carolina has added some 72,000 voters to the rolls in the year since the new voting act went into effect.

Of these, it is estimated that 44,000 are Negroes and 28,000 are white.

The estimates just announced show a total of 714,071 white voters and 186,752 Negroes.

The heavy gain in Negro registration was expected as a result of intensive campaigns during the past year, but experienced observers were surprised by the large increase in white registrants.

AN OFFICIAL overall count is due soon. County boards are reporting their figures to Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton so he will know how many ballots to have printed for the November election. However, under a new rule, there will be no breakdown by races. The only place such a notation is made now is on a voter's personal certificate, where a "W" or a "C" is placed for identification purposes.

Some months ago county boards were told to examine their rolls and strike the names of persons known to be dead or to have moved away. And since there were supposed to be many in these categories, this purge could affect the overall registration total. However, the racial proportion should not be altered.

August was expected to be a heavy registration month, but this has not proved to be the case. In fact Richland (Columbia) officials saw fit to call attention to their idleness and to urge those who had delayed to take advantage of the lull. The books stay open on schedule until 30 days prior to the voting, and this, of course, will be taken into account by Secretary Thornton as he makes up his printing order.

THERE WAS a time when the Negro population exceeded that of the white, and this is still true in some "low country" counties, but statewide the ratios began to change early in this century, when migration first got under way in earnest, and each decimal census has shown a further drop in the Negro percentage.

In 1960 whites outnumbered Negroes about 67 to 33 per cent, and migration has been heavy since then, so that the ratio now is more like 70 and 30. At that, Negro registration of 187,000 would be considerably shy of its potential.

Despite all the efforts to get Negroes to register, and the increased number who hold certificates, their vote in the June primary was light, but that was true also of the whites. It is believed however that both races will go to the polls in larger numbers in November.

Legal Wrangle Stirred By Death of Candidate

9/11/66

By S. L. LATIMER JR.

The Columbia State
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, Sept. 10 — The recent death of State Treasurer Jeff B. Bates, unopposed for reelection, has created a political hullabaloo akin to the historic 1954 hassle that sent Strom Thurmond to the United States Senate by the write-in route.

There is this difference. The present battle royal is a product of the new two-party rivalry in this state, whereas the earlier upheaval was a fight solely among Democrats, Thurmond, a former Democratic governor, aligning himself with the Democrats, as expected, when he took his Senate seat, and remaining until he defected to the GOP in 1964.

UNITED STATES Sen. Burnet R. Maybank had died shortly before election time with a full term ahead. The state committee, without a primary, substituted the name of Sen. Edgar A. Brown. The people rose up and repudiated the committee's action. The memory of this no doubt prompting the present committee to order a primary Sept. 20, regardless of cost, to nominate a replacement for Bates.

That the Democrats had a

SOUTH CAROLINA

legal right to nominate is not questioned, but the Republicans are raising cain because they say that no matter what Atty. Gen. Dan McLeod may have ruled, they have a right to nominate a candidate, too. They say the death of Bates brought about a new day in so far as candidates are concerned. They charge that Democratic state officials are using the power of their positions for partisan purposes. The reply is that what's the law is the law and it can't be changed, or misinterpreted to suit GOP whims.

GOV. McNAIR rejected a GOP proposal that he call a $200,000 extra session of the General Assembly to amend the law and the Republicans began circulating petitions to nominate W. W. Wannamaker, Orangeburg accountant and former Republican national committeeman. The attorney general then ruled that it was too late for this method, too.

Regardless, it is certain that Wannamaker will be a candidate but he may have to run as a "write-in" with GOP backing.

When Democratic primary entries closed there were five candidates but the right of two of them — Columbia councilman W. C. Ouzts and Spartanburg accountant W. N. Garrett — to seek the office was questioned.

Both had been defeated in the earlier primary for comptroller general. Ouzts withdrew but Garrett remained in awaiting a court decision on the ruling. The other three candidates are Richland county treasurer Tom Elliott, assistant Atty. Gen. Grady Patterson and former tax investigator Mason T. Motes.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

WHAT'S GOOD FOR GOOSE IS GOOD . . .

BUENOS AIRES, Sept. 10 (UPI)—Labor relations, a new twist:

Employes of Argentina's largest labor union, the General Labor Confederation, are beginning a series of strikes to back demands for more pay from the union.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NEW YORK TIMES, SA

G.O.P. DRIVE JOLTS SOUTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

Keeps Democrats Anxious With Plenty of Fervor

10/8/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 7—With other Southern Democrats breaking and running to the right, the Democrats of South Carolina are holding steady in the middle of the road.

They are anxious, though. Some fear that resentment against President Johnson and unrest over racial violence in other states may sweep Republicans into office here in the general election Nov. 8.

One Democratic candidate for high office told a friend this week that he wished Hurricane Inez would hover off the coast of South Carolina for two or three weeks and get the minds of the citizens off the election.

Perhaps not even an act of God could quiet the South Carolina Republicans this year. They have momentum, an emotional issue and one of the loudest campaigners in the South.

The Leading Issue

The issue is wrapped up in the person of President Johnson. As the Republicans portray him, he is a symbol of Federal domination and racial violence.

The campaigner is Senator Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat chieftain who switched to the Republicans in 1964 to fight for Senator Barry Godlwater for President.

Mr. Thurmond led a Democratic bolt in 1948 as the States' Rights, or Dixiecrat, Presidential candidate.

Having Senator Thurmond, South Carolina has no need for a candidate like Lester G. Maddox, the pistol-waver who won the Democratic nomination for dox, the pistol-waver who Georgia. Senator Thurmond is no pistol-waver, but he is a major thunderer in the cause of "states' rights."

He is also the biggest vote-getter in South Carolina, and the Republicans hope to elect several candidates on his coattail.

Senator Thurmond flew from Washington last night to exhort a crowd at nearby Sumter against President Johnson and the Democrats.

"Send people to Washington," he shouted, "who will stand up against Lyndon Johnson and what he's doing to the coun-

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Senator Thurmond flew from Washington last night to exhort a crowd at nearby Sumter against President Johnson and the Democrats.

"Send people to Washington," he shouted, "who will stand up against Lyndon Johnson and what he's doing to the country."

Five hundred well-dressed white persons applauded vigorously, as they did at almost every derisive mention of the President during the rally.

The evening's absentee hero was Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, who is widely appreciated among white Southerners as the man who killed the 1966 civil rights bill. Senator Thurmond praised Senator Dirksen four times in one five-minute period.

Issues Under Attack

While praising Republicans, Senator Thurmond and other candidates on the program attacked the school desegregation guidelines, civil rights legislation, riots, socialism, inflation and a "no-win" policy in Vietnam.

They attributed all of these to President Johnson, occasionally throwing in Vice President Humphrey and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, for good measure. Then they tied the President to the Democrats of South Carolina.

Like their colleagues in other Southern states, South Carolina Democrats are disclaiming the connection.

Gov. Robert E. McNair has made it clear that President Johnson would not be welcome to speak for Democratic candidates here.

Former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, the Democratic nominee for the Senate seat held by Senator Donald S. Russell (both the state's Senate seats are being contested, has been a special target for the Republicans because he is known as a friend of the Kennedy family. He has protested that he has not seen Robert Kennedy for two years and is so disenchanted with the Johnson Administration that he probably will not vote for Mr. Johnson in 1968.

Mr. Hollings is opposed by State Senator Marshall J. Parker, a dairyman who switched to the Republicans last year. Mr. Hollings is favored.

The only Republicans considered certain to win are Senator Thurmond, who is opposed by a Democratic State Senator, P. Bradley Morrah, and Representative Albert W. Watson, who also switched to the Republicans to help Senator Goldwater. Mr. Watson was re-elected by a landslide. He is opposed by Fred LeClercq, a young liberal and intellectual.

Beyond those two, the Republicans' best hope may be State Representative Joseph O. Rogers, who is opposing Mr. NcNair for Governor.

Mr. Rogers has a reputation for being slightly more conservative than Governor McNair on the race issue, but he is not considered a hard-line segregationist. He may benefit from a backlash vote simply by being identified with the Republican party and its somewhat more conservative image in South Carolina.

South Carolina's Democratic Governors have been steadfastly moderate for many years. The Democrats believe that racial peace in the state is their best issue. They are gambling that white resentment is not so deep here as elsewhere.

"We're basing our campaign on reason, not resentment," State Senator Earle E. Morris, Democratic party chairman, said yesterday.

President's Club Donation

The Republicans have accused Governor McNair of donating $1,000 to the President's Club, a national Democratic party campaign fund.

They are circulating "funny money" $1,000 bills showing a two-faced man, one face belonging to President Johnson and the other to Mr. McNair. The Governor has said the $1,000 was donated by a friend without his knowledge.

The Governor may be hurt by the same "self-appointment" issue that apparently defeated Senator Russell in his primary fight with Mr. Hollings. When Senator Olin D. Johnston died last year, Mr. Russell resigned as Governor and had himself appointed to the Senate. The man who made the appointment was Mr. McNair, stepping up to the Governor's office from Lieutenant Governor.

11/10/66

DEMOCRATS BUOYED IN SOUTH CAROLINA

S.C.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 9 (UPI)—South Carolina Democrats, who withstood an ambitious Republican challenge to retain their margin in Congress, today hailed yesterday's vote an "endorsement of the 20th century."

Former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, a Democrat, defeated a strong Republican contender for the remaining two years in a vacant United States Senate term, and the two incumbent Democratic Representatives easily whipped G.O.P. opposition.

In the gubernatorial contest, Gov. Robert R. McNair, a Democratic supporter of President Johnson in 1964, soundly defeated State Representative Joseph O. Rogers, a Republican who accused Mr. McNair of catering to Negro votes.

Both Senator Strom Thurmond, a Republican, and Representative Albert Watson, who bolted the Democratic party in 1964 to become a "Goldwater Republican," won expected victories. But the Congressional margin remained 6 to 2 in favor of the Democrats.

The state Democratic chairman, Earle Morris, said "the people of South Carolina have endorsed the 20th century," adding however, that they also showed independence.

"No political party can hereafter take South Carolina for granted," Mr. Morris warned.

SOUTH CAROLINA

RACE IS KEY ISSUE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Candidates Exploit Anger at Desegration Steps

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

COLUMBIA, S.C., Nov. 5—The emergence in South Carolina of a well-financed Republican organization with a slate of candidates in statewide electoral contests has raised political tempers to fever pitch.

Not since the days of "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman has there been such a ferment of political activity.

Tillman, a former South Carolina Governor and United States Senator, became a particular object of attack by Northerners for his leading role in the reprisals of whites against Negroes during the Reconstruction.

The type of racist policies used by Tillman are a thing of the past, and none of the statewide candidates this year has mentioned the race issue. But it is the underlying and motivating issue in all contests.

White South Carolinians, who gave Barry Goldwater his biggest state majority in his 1964 try for the Presidency, are bitterly resentful toward President Johnson for his militant civil rights and desegregation policy.

With Senator Strom Thurmond running for the first time as a Republican to succeed himself, even the moderates are agreed that it would be political suicide to suggest an accommodation with the Johnson Administration's insistence on the earliest possible stepping up of school desegregation and Negro voting rights.

The severest criticisms against the Administration and President Johnson in particular have been from Senator Thurmond. He charged at the beginning of the state campaign that President Johnson was "a traitor to the nation as well as to the South."

The day after Mr. Thurmond made this charge, his Democratic opponent, State Senator P. Bradley Morrah Jr., demanded that the former Democrat and Dixiecrat apologize.

Senator Thurmond replied that he had intended to say that Mr. Johnson had "turned traitor to the principles of the Constitution."

Senator Thurmond broke his own rule and departed from political custom the other day by endorsing his Republican running mate, State Senator Marshall J. Parker, another former Democrat. Mr. Parker is running against former Gov. Ernest L. Hollings for the United States Senate seat vacated by the death of Senator Olin D. Johnson and filled temporarily by Donald S. Russell. Two years of the term remain.

Tall, debonair and well-spoken, the 44-year-old former Governor has been running well ahead of his Republican rival of the same age despite Mr. Parker's repeated attempts to picture him as a friend of President Johnson and Democratic Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

Mr. Hollings denies that he has any ties with Senator Kennedy. He says Mr. Kennedy "represents the liberal thinking in New York and there's nothing similar about the liberal thinking in New York and our thinking in South Carolina."

Another attempt to hook up the candidate with President Johnson is being used by Republicans in an effort to elect State Representative Joseph O. Rogers as Governor over the incumbent Democrat, Robert E. McNair.

Governor McNair, former Lieutenant Governor, assumed office in 1965 on the resignation of Mr. Russell. He then appointed Mr. Russell to the Senate.

Mr. Rogers charges that Governor McNair received "a direct line to the White House and L. B. J." by contributing $1,000 to become a member of The President's Club.

Governor McNair explained that the contribution had been without his knowledge to the Democratic party and not to The President's Club.

South Carolina has six seats in the United States House of Representatives. Only one of them—the Second District, embracing this state capital—is safely Republican. The winner is expected to be Albert W. Watson, Columbia lawyer who won the seat as a Republican last year after formerly holding it as a Democrat.

Just as safely Democratic are the First, Fourth and Fifth Districts, where the incumbent candidates are running unopposed. These are L. Mendel Rivers of Charleston, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, in the First; Robert T. Ashmore of Greenville-Spartanburg, in the Fourth; and Tom S. Gettys of Rock Hill, in the Fifth.

A different situation exists in the Sixth District, embracing Florence and Myrtle Beach, where Representative John L. McMillan, Democrat, is "running scared" for the first time during his 28 years in the House.

Mr. McMillan is opposed by Archie C. Odum, a gregarious, handshaking campaigner and another former Democrat who was hand-picked for the race by Senator Thurmond.

In the Third District, Representative W. J. Bryan Dorn, Democrat, faces strong opposition from John K. Grisso, Anderson lawyer and former Solicitor for the Tenth Judicial Circuit.

SOUTH CAROLINA

At Integrated Schools

Columbia Record 12/6/66

Harassment Charged

By TOM WALKER
Record Staff Writer

South Carolina is not really making "substantial" progress towards desegregation of its public schools, a S. C. Human Relations Council audience was told in Columbia today.

M. Hayes Mizell, community relations director in South Carolina for the American Friends Service Committee, said 95 per cent of the Negro school children in this state are attending segregated schools.

Mizell, who has made an extensive study of desegregation in this state, said there is considerable harassment of those Negro pupils who have enrolled in "previously all - white" schools, and that this is known only to those who take the trouble to speak with Negro parents.

* * *

MIZELL'S talk was made in a workshop conference on education, one of seven workshops dealing with all facets of human relations problems and progress in this state.

Other conferences were held on "The Administration of Justice," "Economics and Employment," "The Anti - Poverty Program," "Welfare," "Housing" and "The Church and Human Relations."

The day - long series of meetings in Hotel Wade Hampton and Hotel Columbia is sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Purpose of the sessions is to come up with "constructive action programs" to be carried out by those attending the meetings from all over the state.

Mizell said the greatest failure in integration of schools has been in faculty desegregation. The state is not meeting the requirements set forth in the U. S. Education Office's desegregation guidelines released last spring, he said.

* * *

HE CAUTIONED THE audience of educators and interested citizens against being misled by the increase in numbers of Negro pupils enrolled in integrated schools this year compared with previous years. There are still all-Negro schools in most of the state's school districts, he said.

"What we are talking about is abolishing the dual school system" in South Carolina, said Mizell, which is a point "that has not been made clear."

He noted that 12 years have passed since the U. S. Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, and that successful desegregation has been slow because the educational and political leaders in this state — what Mizell termed the "establishment" —have "given the Negro citizens of this state the distinct impression they were not welcome in white schools."

* * *

MIZELL SAID there is some question about how effective the withholding of federal funds from school districts really is as a sanction against continued segregation of schools. Cutting off federal funds hurts Negro pupils, he said, and there are districts which are content to do without this money.

Mizell said South Carolina educators have failed to take advantage of certain federal programs that would enable local districts to pinpoint and solve the problems raised by integration of schools.

He said that, from the General Assembly and the governor down to the local school district, "there is not a commitment in this state to deal with the problems of desegregation in such a way that they can be solved."

He said the Human Relations Council, and similar organizations of citizens at the local level, can be of value in recruiting Negro teachers to work in South Carolina.

During the afternoon session, Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, delivered the main address. Tonight, Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, will address the banquet session on the "Lessons from Atlanta."

First Big Two-Party Test Shaping Up for November

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, Sept. 3—Now that September's here, and the November election is only two months away, South Carolinians are squaring off in earnest for the first real test of the two-party system in this state since it became respectable in these parts to be a Republican.

And if the preliminaries are indicative of what's to come, the "politicking" is going to get downright hot, and perhaps bitter, during the forthcoming weeks.

The Johnson-Goldwater battle in 1964 was no slouch in arousing the people, but in 1964 practically all of the interest was centered in the presidential race, largely because it was something of an "off year" in state and county openings, but also because the GOP had not quite reached the local organiaztion point it desired.

NOW THAT the Republicans are really feeling their oats, they have greatly widened their office - seeking scope, and are prepared to fight it out with the Democrats on all levels, though they have not let their ambitions run away with them completely, being still selective in the offices they seek.

Practically every elective job in the state is up for grabs, including, for the first time in this century, every seat in the General Assembly, even the senators who were elected in 1964 to four-year terms being forced, through reapportionment, to run again.

Another unusual phase is the rarity of having both United States senatorships open. Incumbent Republican Strom Thurmond and Democratic nominee Bradley Morrah Jr., vie for a full six years, while Democratic nominee E. F. Hollings and Republican Marshall Parker run it out for the remaining two years of the late Olin D. Johnson's term.

THE REPUBLICANS also seek the governorship sending State Rep. Joseph Rogers against incumbent Robert E. McNair, and for lieutenant governor, pitting former Rep. Marshall Mays against Sen. John C. West, but they are not trying to oust any incumbent holder of a state constitutional office except McNair. They are after three seats in Congress, and 93 places in the General Assembly, as well as numerous local and county jobs.

The congressional line up is: Second district, Watson (R) vs. LeClercq (D); Third, Dorn (D) vs. Grisso (R); Sixth, McMillan (D) vs. Odom (R).

The big prize in the general election is the independent vote, and both parties are centering on it, since it has been shown that South Carolinians no longer mind crossing lines.

GOP 'Takeover' Bid Falls Short

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, April 2—Both the Democratic and the Republican state conventions have been held, entries for all local and county offices are closed and the deadline (April 13) is nearing for higher posts.

SOUTH CAROLINA

It is now apparent that though the GOP has fielded its largest number of candidates since Reconstruction, the Republican bid to make South Carolina a two-party state is not as all inclusive as was anticipated.

Reportedly the GOP has its eyes on taking control of the legislature, but it qualified for only 20 of the 50 senatorial districts and 53 of the 124 House seats, which in itself preclude a "takeover." However, there is no doubt about the party's hope of becoming a formidable factor in the Assembly, where as of now it has only five seats (four of them recent switches) in the House and no place in the Senate.

ON THE TOP level, the GOP's program is more comprehensive, with candidates already endorsed for both of the United States senatorships, the governorship, the lieutenant governorship, and some other offices. And the state convention is ready to meet again April 9 if nominations for more places is decided upon.

Nominated so far are: Thurmond and Oconee Sen. Marshall Parker for the senatorial togas; Rep. Joseph Rogers for governor, Former legislator Marshall Mays for lieutenant governor; Dr. Inez Eddings, Richland county superintendent of education for state superintendent; Former Solicitor J. K. Grisso of Anderson for the congressional seat now held by W. J. B. Dorn; Archie D. Odom, Florence clerk of court, for the seat held by Congressman McMillan, and Congressman Albert Watson to succeed himself. All except Thurmond and Watson are recent GOP converts.

DEMOCRATIC nomination will be in the June primary. Already there are candidates for every office, and more than one for some, with the situation still fluid as to some top spots.

It had been expected that a number of Negroes would offer but this has proved not to be the case, only a few so far qualifying, and they for minor offices. All Negroes who have announced are Democrats. One, Mrs. John Barfield, is opposing Speaker Sol. Blatt for the lone seat in the House from Barnwell. The Republicans do not have a candidate for this place.

A survey of the General Assembly list shows that several veteran Democratic senators, who had wondered what reapportionment would do to them, have come through with no opposition either in the primary or the general election.

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Cites Political Stability

SOUTH CAROLINA

Jones Gives Plan For Boosting Education, Income

The president of the University of South Carolina said in Columbia Monday that one reason South Carolina is ready to take "the big step" to improve income and education because it has avoided "ridiculous political developments."

Dr. Thomas F. Jones, speaking to Columbia Civitan Club, listed six steps he said could raise the state from last place in per capita income and education.

The USC leader said South Carolina is ready to take "the big step" because it has avoided "ridiculous political developments" like those in Georgia and Alabama, per capita income rose 9 per cent in South Carolina last, compared with the national gain of 8 per cent, and, "Sophistication is on the rise, and new industry is beginning to saturate the labor market in many parts of the state."

Although he did not elaborate, Dr. Jones apparently referred to the stalemate over election of a governor in Georgia and to the election of the wife of segregationist George Wallace as governor in Alabama.

Jones said his sophistication theory is testified to in just investments as the Greenville-Spartanburg and Columbia airports, the Columbia Post Office, USC's Memorial Hall, Humanities Center and Capstone House, the expansion of the Medical College at Charleston, new industries, the Hilton convention complex and new, luxurious motels in Columbia.

Upgrading of education and income could be accomplished with "lightning speed" under these six steps, Dr. Jones said:

1. A survey of the potential of all the state's high school graduates to see what they are actually capable of contributing to progress.

2. South Carolina should attract industry of increasing sophistication. "Such industry will make use of the maximum skills of our people and thereby increase per capita income," he said.

3. Guide development of the state "into a sensible urban pattern." The USC Bureau of Urban and Regional Affairs will study such "sensible" urban development.

4. The state must broaden and deepen its culture. "If we are to preserve the best of what we have, we must share it with the multitudes," Dr. Jones said.

5. Develop large numbers of competent leaders for education, industry and government because "South Carolina must have them to move into the mainstream," the president said.

6. Think less about the past and more about the future, but not to the extreme. Think less about the identity with the South and more about the identity with the U. S., and dream, plan and work accordingly.

From the study of
Martin Luther King, Jr.

Agency
SCLC

March, 1966

MEMO: To Our Friends
SUBJECT: Chicago Project

Three years ago when SCLC challenged Birmingham we said if but one defeat could be inflicted upon that colossus of segregation, tremors would be felt across the entire South. Birmingham and the segregated South met defeat not once but in many places and times. Today a traveller from the past would be bewildered by new aspects of many communities. The job is still far from finished, but it is well begun.

THE JOB AHEAD

Chicago is the colossus of the North. Its slums are malevolent, afflicting the lives of Negroes with unbearable burdens. If anywhere, it is in Chicago that the grapes of wrath are stored. Last summer – after Watts, SCLC organized a task force of its most gifted nonviolent organizers to move into Chicago at the invitation of virtually all the leading organizations there.

AN HISTORIC UNITY

In the months they have worked there with the host organization, the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, an historic unity of Negro and white concerned groups has developed. To date 168 organizations are involved in a program to end the misery of the slums. In this great assembly are represented all civil rights groups; churches and synagogues; academic societies; trade unions and social agencies embracing all religions and races.

Together they have adopted a program to seek to bring tens of thousands of ghetto dwellers into a tenants' organization so that landlords and the city administration may be dealt with by combined, responsible and militant strength. Simultaneously, the substantial army of unemployed is to be organized so that the demand for jobs may relentlessly be pressed upon the State, City and Federal governments.

Dealing with another of the bleak aspects of slum life, a campaign will be developed to achieve both quality and integrated schools. All effective tools will be employed, from scholarly studies to flexible boycotts.

In a city of one million Negroes the preparations must be extensive and precise. Workshops on nonviolence have been held with frequency to train local leaders for future tasks. No group in the community is excluded. One of our workshops consisted entirely of neighborhood youth gang leaders who participated with genuine interest in discussions and training in nonviolent methods. They quickly developed respect for our SCLC organizers who had battle credentials from Birmingham and Selma and who spoke a common language about police brutality, humiliation and deprivation, but who also spoke a new language about nonviolent resistance that wins battles without bloodshed.

WASHINGTON INTERVENES

Though the campaigns are still in formative stages, the movement of people to prepare for confrontation has generated pressures on Washington. The Health, Education and Welfare Department for the first time in history withheld Federal funds from the Chicago Board of Education because evidence of deliberate discriminatory practices existed. Although counter pressure effected the release of the funds for this year, the H. E. W. once again, in an unprecedented move, sent a staff of investigators into Chicago because it was dissatisfied with the explanations offered by the Board of Education. Thus the past freedom of local government to impose any kind of education on the Negro community is already circumscribed by Federal investigations and community organization.

EARLY DIVIDENDS

Some additional dividends of social action have already been realized in slum areas. An alarmed city administration recently piously proclaimed that everyone is entitled to decent housing. In a gesture to evidence concern, approximately 100 inspectors have been combing buildings for violations. The Welfare Department has discontinued rent payments to owners of some 40 buildings for failure to make repairs. We have welcomed these token efforts and encourage more. But Chicago Negroes, so long neglected, are not deluded by theatrics. They know their threat to organize and obtain political power forced these reluctant concessions. They are aiming far higher than for superficial token changes – they have their sights set on a new life.

I have moved into a typical slum apartment to be able to reach a maximum number of people where they work and live. My apartment is reached from broken sidewalks strewn with bottle fragments and other disagreeable debris. The unpainted wooden stairways are often used by derelicts who seek their darkness to drink and avoid the piercing winds of the winter nights.

The gloom is pervasive and depressing. The neighborhood has the ominous nickname "the Bloody 16th". In short, it is typical of the homes of hundreds of thousands of Negroes imprisoned in the malignant slums which we have made the target of our crusade.

M. L. K.

From the study of

Martin Luther King, Jr.

March, 1966

MEMO: To Our Friends

SUBJECT: SCLC Voter Registration

Approximately one year has passed since SCLC selected Selma, Alabama as the cornerstone of Southern injustice and applied nonviolent pressure to fissure its deeply rooted foundations. In President Johnson's words Selma became the Concord of 1965. By today Selma has almost as many Negro registered voters as white, and Sheriff Jim Clarke no longer commands an armed, mounted posse to beat Negroes. His posse is disbanded and his arrogance curbed. Today Jim Clarke meets in his office with Negroes whom he treats with respect as he contemplates the forthcoming elections in Selma which will select the next sheriff.

NEGRO REGISTRATION EXCEEDS WHITE

The events of last Spring have radiated far beyond Selma, however. For the first time since Reconstruction, Negro registration exceeds that of white in five counties adjacent to Selma. Bullock, Greene, Wilcox, Perry and Hale counties, all organized by SCLC, can now elect local officials in genuine democratic freedom. In the eighteen counties where we have made an intensive drive, 50% of the eligible Negro voters are now registered. From passage of the Voting Rights Act on August 9, 1965, to December, 177,443 Negroes have registered in the South. Of these, approximately 98,000 have been registered as a result of canvassing and voter registration drives of SCLC. Therefore, about 55% of the new registrants are due greatly to activity on the part of SCLC.

We have had a field staff of over 80 persons working in six states; Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. This is exclusive of the 600 Northern volunteers and 400 local workers who participated in the SCLC-SCOPE summer project and who registered some 49,000 persons.

NEGRO LEGISLATORS POSSIBLE IN ALABAMA

When fifty thousand Americans, Negro and white, stood before the Alabama State Capitol at the end of the Selma to Montgomery march, we declared that we had come to bring

about the day in which Negroes would take seats in the sacrosanct white legislature of Alabama. We have already created the conditions for electing an estimated 9 Negro representatives and 1 senator to the state legislature in the next election.

Earlier, SCLC had concentrated on Georgia in concert with other organizations, and ten Negro legislators were elected to the state legislature by the close of 1965. Democracy, long deferred in the South, is finally rooting itself there. Though the progress is painful and arduous it does justify the hopes and sacrifices that brought it into being.

ADMINISTRATION LAGGING

Although our progress is discernable and encouraging it is not yet enough. Far more achievement could have been recorded, particularly in the SCLC Alabama campaigns, had the Voting Act of 1965 been implemented with vigor. The Administration, in our judgement, is relying too heavily on voluntary compliance by Southern communities whose past and present practices warrant little confidence. Although the law empowers the government to appoint Federal registrars to facilitate registration, only 37 out of more than 500 eligible counties have received such registrars. In Alabama, merely 11 counties are covered – most in rural areas. The Federal government supplied registrars in only one large Alabama city up to January 20th. SCLC's daily mass marches in Birmingham forced Justice Department action and Federal Registrars were finally appointed.

The limited use of Federal registrars in merely 7% of counties covered by the law constitutes a tragic default in implementation. The efficacy of Federal registrars no longer is a question – they have demonstrated their worth in the rural areas they have been serving. Despite the tradition of intimidation in these communities, nearly 70% of eligible Negroes have registered, a figure exceeding the national average for white registration.

60 CANDIDATES IN HISTORIC CONTESTS

Despite all our handicaps, more than 60 Negroes for the first time in nearly a century will run for local and state offices in Alabama in the May primaries. They participated in a workshop recently conducted in Atlanta by SCLC, designed to acquaint the Negro political hopefuls with the duties of the elective positions they are seeking. A variety of experts and consultants in political science and related subjects tutored the political candidates in the fundamental responsibilities of various state and county positions to which they seek to be elected.

Each candidate literally risks his life in this electoral challenge, yet our nominees include young and old – family men with as many as 12 children – lifetime residents of their communities who never possessed the most elementary rights of citizens. They are prepared to confront and conquer terror, to work tirelessly for a decent existence. They, too, are America's heroes on battlefields set within the borders of our nation.

M. L. K.

ALABAMA

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

In the face of pressure from the state's top officials and congressional leaders, nearly one-fourth of Alabama's 118 school districts have said they would follow the federal government's new guidelines for school desegregation.

This means they have promised:

1. To bring an end to the system of separate schools for whites and Negroes.

2. To desegregate their faculties, as well as their student bodies.

3. To close small, inferior, all-Negro schools immediately.

4. To protect students and parents who exercise their rights under school desegregation plans.

State and congressional leaders last week told the school boards to resist the government's new guidelines. But according to the U.S. Office of Education, many school boards have ignored Governor George C. Wallace and the other officials.

A spokesman for the Office of Education said 93 school districts in Alabama were required to sign forms saying their desegregation plans were in compliance with the federal guidelines. (Many of the remaining 25 districts did not have to sign the forms because they are already under court orders to desegregate.)

Of the 93, he said, 29 had submitted signed compliance forms as of May 6.

Wallace's home county, Barbour, is one of the districts that agreed to comply during the 1966-67 school year. This was a turn-about; last year Barbour almost lost its federal aid for refusing to comply.

Last fall, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare began steps to cut off funds for Bibb County, Tarrant City, and Barbour County. But last week, the department announced that funds would be stopped only in Bibb County and Tarrant City.

HEW Secretary John Gardner explained that Barbour County had filed a desegregation plan for 1966-67, showing "at least an intention to comply with the (Civil Rights) Act."

Barbour County Schools Superintendent Raymond E. Faught said grades one, seven, eight, nine, ten, 11, and 12 would be desegregated next fall under the county's freedom-of-choice plan. He said the county's staff already includes a Negro supervisor--"We had that all the time."

Most of the turn-abouts in Alabama, however, went the other way. Many of the 107 school districts that complied in 1965-66 have refused to follow the new, tougher guidelines.

Last year in Perry County, said Schools Superintendent L.G. Walker, "we had a plan, but Washington never accepted it." But under the plan, he said, 10 Negro students integrated two county high schools.

This year, Walker said, the county is refusing to sign the compliance forms, because of "pressure from the home folks, and the governor's request not to."

What the home folks didn't like, he said, was the requirement that teaching staffs be desegregated in the fall. "They'll go along with the rest of it," said Walker. But, he said, the faculty desegregation requirement is "a stumbling block."

If Perry loses its federal money, he said, it will have to do without 20 per cent of its school budget, and a lot of "things we never had before," like a summer program--with free lunches --for retarded children, summer study for teachers, and physical improvements.

Walker said Negro children would lose the most if federal money is withheld. "They're the ones that are going to suffer," he said.

Wallace 'In Charge' At Guidelines Meeting

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY--Governor George C. Wallace was feeling his oats on a rainy Friday afternoon last week when he had all of Alabama's Washington delegation come to his office.

The subject of the meeting was, of course, the federal government's 1966 guidelines for desegregating schools. The opinion expressed by everyone was that the guidelines are "illegal...arbitrary...totalitarian...shocking."

The governor, the only tanned one in the crowd and the most lively, called Alabama's two senators and its eight congressmen into his office at 2:30 p.m. There on his desk were coffee and Coca-Cola and out-of-town newspapers with stories about Mrs. Wallace's great primary victory.

In the group were five Republicans including Congressman James Martin, who will try to beat Mrs. Wallace in November.

There was a long exchange of criticism about the guidelines and then a joint statement was prepared and signed by everyone.

Four and a half hours later, the little governor charged out of his office to a room across the hall where the TV cameras and reporters were waiting.

"We'll have that statement for y'all in just a minute, gentlemen," he said to the newspapermen. And then to the congressmen and senators: "All of you stand right around here so we can all see you." "John, you over here," he said to Senator John Sparkman, who earlier had demonstrated to Wallace how Mrs. Wallace had learned the political art of shaking hands.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

JOHN LEWIS

JAMES FORMAN

New SNCC Leader Aims For Rural Negro Power

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--"Stokely Carmichael, tall, slim, brown-skinned, gives the impression he would stride cool and smiling through Hell, philosophizing all the way." Carmichael this week walked cool and smiling into SNCC headquarters in Atlanta to direct what the youngest and angriest civil rights group in the country would be doing from now on.

Carmichael, who helped organize the black panther party in Lowndes County, had been elected chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at a meeting of 150 staff members in Nashville, Tenn., two weeks ago.

Out of office went John Lewis, 25, national chairman since 1962. James Forman, 37, who with Lewis is a veteran of civil rights battles in the South since the Freedom Rides of 1961, decided earlier this year to quit as executive secretary. He will stay in SNCC to run the Atlanta office.

Mrs. Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, who has handled personnel and office affairs for SNCC, was elected to take Forman's place.

Both Mrs. Robinson and Carmichael are graduates of civil rights field work in Mississippi, Alabama, and elsewhere, including confinement at tough Parchman State Penitentiary in Mississippi. Both were Freedom Riders in 1961; both joined SNCC when it began in 1960.

Does Carmichael's leadership mean a change in SNCC's direction? Upon his election he said SNCC would "intensify its efforts in the area of independent politics."

This means, said one of Carmichael's associates, that SNCC will work mostly in rural South counties where there are Negro majorities and also in city ghettos where Negroes could control district elections.

Carmichael, a 24-year-old Howard University graduate from The Bronx, N.Y., also said, "We will struggle in the future as we have in the past for human rights, and join with those

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"Where's Senator Hill?" Wallace yelled out to the hallway.

Someone located Senator Lister Hill, who had gathered up his papers and had put on his raincoat, ready to go. Hill noticed what was going on, dropped off his raincoat, and jumped in front of the cameras. Wallace insisted that the senator have the honored spot on the governor's left.

Wallace sat down, and the others stood behind him and he began to read his statement, so quickly it seemed he had somewhere else to go in a hurry.

Republican Congressman William Dickinson apparently did have somewhere to go. He asked to leave while reporters were still asking questions.

The statement urged local school districts to "continue to resist" the guidelines and urged Southern governors and congressmen to make a unified stand against the regulations.

Standing at the far right was Martin, who was asked what he had to say. Martin said he agreed with what was happening at the meeting. The only hint of opposition to Wallace came when the Republican candidate said that he suggested such a meeting five weeks ago and that the Democratic primary delayed Alabama's organizing opposition. "The hour is late," said Martin.

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN JAMES MARTIN (AT RIGHT) WAS GREETED AS HE ARRIVED FOR GOVERNOR'S MEETING ON FEDERAL GUIDELINES ON DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS.

"we had a plan, but Washington never accepted it." But under the plan, he said, 10 Negro students integrated two county high schools.

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In the Muscle Shoals city system in North Alabama, 23 Negro students took advantage of an all-grade freedom-of-choice plan in 1965-66. The desegregation plan was "very successful," said Schools Superintendent James F. Moore Jr. One Negro boy played on the varsity football team, he said.

Muscle Shoals will follow the same plan in 1966-67, he said, but the district has not signed a compliance form. Moore said Muscle Shoals sent a letter to the Office of Education, saying it "planned to comply with the laws of the land," but would not sign the form. No explanation was given.

Why did some school districts defy the governor and the other leaders?

In Auburn, where all grades will be desegregated next fall, School Superintendent E. E. Gaither said it was because "the board of education is interested in the best educational program we can have."

Auburn city students have until Wednesday to exercise their freedom of choice.

In Florence and Lauderdale County, two of the most integrated school systems in 1965-66, the governor's warnings seem to have had some effect.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

EVERYBODY WAS ALL SMILES BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S MEETING BEGAN LAST WEEK. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT ARE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR JAMES ALLEN, U.S. SENATOR JOHN SPARKMAN, THE GOVERNOR, U.S. SENATOR LISTER HILL, U. S. CONGRESSMAN GEORGE ANDREWS, AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE ALBERT BREWER. THE ENTIRE ALABAMA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION WAS IN THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

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Carmichael, a 24-year-old Howard University graduate from The Bronx, N.Y., also said, "We will struggle in the future as we have in the past for human rights, and join with those around the world who know the same oppression that we know, and the same deceptions on the part of the so-called U.S. government in its claim of concern for democracy."

RUBY DORIS SMITH ROBINSON

Carmichael's associate said he was elected because "he can tighten the organization, make it more efficient. The direction of SNCC hasn't changed."

Howard Zinn, a Boston University professor who has written a book on SNCC's history and who has been an advisor to it, agreed.

It was Zinn who visualized Stokely

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

Court Hears Clark, Baker Vote Dispute

BY TERRY COWLES

SELMA -- Two well-known lawmen seeking the Democratic nomination for sheriff of Dallas County were left waiting this weekend for a federal judge to decide about their primary contest.

U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile adjourned court Wednesday after he listened to two days of arguments by attorneys involved.

Lawyers from the U.S. Department of Justice asked Thomas to order the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee to include over 1,600 Negro votes, plus 140 white votes, that the committee had previously refused to count.

If counted, the votes would have given former Selma Public Safety Director Wilson Baker enough votes to gain the Democratic nomination for sheriff without a run-off election.

In a run-off, Baker would face incumbent Sheriff Jim Clark.

Baker was present during the entire hearing, but Clark stayed away. Mrs. Clark, who said she was there reporting on the proceedings for a Birmingham weekly newspaper, said her husband was absent because "he doesn't want to antagonize the judge."

Attorney Frank Mizell, who represented the county committee, argued that the court, which he at one point called "alien," had no right to decide the case. Early in the hearing he moved that the case be thrown out for that reason, but he was overruled by Thomas.

After that, Mizell and the committee, ordered by the court to "show cause" why the disputed votes should not be counted, tried to do so.

The Justice Department called witnesses who had been polling officials at the six boxes that contained the votes in question. All the witnesses testified as to the procedure used by the polling officials in conducting and assisting voters. They all said they had never been officials before.

Both John Rosenberg of the Justice Department and Mizell brought out that there been many irregularities. Mizell called the officials "incompetent."

Rosenberg said in his closing argument that the county committee had neglected to properly instruct the officials beforehand.

One man, Joe Bell Jr., testified that

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)

WHEW!

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The federal Public Health Service has started a program for 700 students to work with mentally retarded persons this summer. The program is called Student Work Experience and Training.

The Public Health Service apparently plans to give the students plenty of work. Take a close look at the name of the program. In short, it spells SWEAT.

Chairman Lists Goals Of White House Talks

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

CHICAGO--A recent anti-poverty conference in Washington almost ended in a riot when the poor people began booing and jeering at Sargent Shriver, head of the federal government's War on Poverty.

Now another big Washington meeting is coming up--"To Fulfill These Rights," the first White House Conference on Civil Rights. Will this conference also end in bitterness?

"White House Conferences don't come very often in the civil rights field," said Ben Heineman, chairman of the conference and head of the Chicago & North Western Railway. "I would think the leaders would want to get the maximum constructive advantage out of it."

Some 2,400 people, including some from Alabama, have been invited to the conference. Heineman said there wasn't room for any more.

"Undoubtedly there will be thousands whose claims to an invitation are just as legitimate as those who were invited," said Heineman. "Mr. X will point to Mr. Y and say, 'What Y's been doing for 13 years I've been doing for 27 years. So how come Y's invited and I'm not?'"

If the conference were just for 2,400 civil rights leaders, he said, few people would feel left out. But the list of 2,400 also has to include business, labor, and community leaders, he said.

The men and women who were finally chosen should have received their invitations this week. They will go to Washington June 1-2.

"This conference is a great opportunity to help the whole rights situation," said Heineman. "I haven't the slightest doubt that demonstrations have been of great value. But this is a time to consolidate our position a little bit."

The conference won't solve everything, he said--"I don't think the next

BEN HEINEMAN

day, everyone will have a job who doesn't have one now."

But, said Heineman, the meeting should produce at least five developments "well worth having a conference for":

1. Middle-class white Americans, including business and labor, will become more involved in the fight for equality of opportunity--"assuming the conference goes well and reasonably smoothly."

2. State and local governments will also become more involved.

3. President Johnson's new civil rights and fair housing bill will get strong support, and maybe some recommendations to improve it.

4. The President's "demonstration cities" bill--which would try to wipe out Negro ghettos in a number of Northern cities--will also receive support.

5. The conference will produce definite plans for action in the fields of jobs, education, housing, and justice.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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Layout Editor: Amy R. Peppler

Vol. II, No. 21 May 21-22, 1966

Editoral Opinion

Tennessee-Tombigbee

Take a look at a map of Alabama. In the far north, you will see a great water system--the Tennessee River, which flows north and connects with the Mississippi River and the Midwest and central plains of the United States.

Look to the south, and you will find Mobile, one of the ten busiest harbors in the country, served by more than 100 steamship lines connecting Mobile with the Gulf of Mexico ports, South America and beyond.

What a great water transportation system Alabama and America would have if the north and south waterways were connected. There is a plan to do just that --the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

Editoral Opinion

Behind Bars

It is clear Governor Wallace is going to pressure local school boards not to comply with the federal guidelines on school desegregation. This makes it less likely that local school superintendents will voluntarily comply with the guidelines.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has threatened to stop federal money to any school system that does not comply. HEW has started procedures to stop funds to 12 Southern school districts, including Bibb County and Tarrant City in Alabama. But HEW has not yet stopped federal funds anywhere, even though it has had the authority since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. To do so would be unpopular among a lot of people in the school system, because even the innocent would suffer. And, in the past, political pressure has scared off the Commissioner of Education after he had threatened to withhold federal dollars.

A far more interesting way for HEW to assure compliance with the guidelines would be through the courts.

At least a dozen school systems in Alabama are under court order to follow the court's desegregation plans. HEW could have the Justice Department put pressure on the school systems that do not comply fully with the court orders. The Justice Department could persuade some federal judges in the South to put the school superintendent in jail for failure to comply (contempt of court).

Then, the innocent people would not suffer, the politicians could have no influence with the judge, and the school superintendent would be locked up until he agreed to enforce the U. S. Constitution in his school system. And school superintendents all around the country would start to shape up.

'. . . SURE WE'VE COMPLIED, HERE'S OUR NEGRO!'

From The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution

Federal Government Offers Jobs, Loans for Students and Teachers

One out of every four Americans goes to school today, and the federal government's role in financing that education is increasing all the time.

One college student out of every four has received some kind of federal aid towards his educational expenses this school year. Three years ago, only one out of 15 received such help.

One of every five public high school students participates in a vocational education program paid for by the federal

comes of less than $3,000.

2. The Office of Education in Washington is looking for 50 young men and women who now work for state universities in education. They would be selected to work with the Office of Education for one year (at a salary of $8,961) as research, program, and administrative assistants.

Applicants must have a doctorate degree or be well along towards receiving a doctorate. Write Office of Edu-

agencies, boys clubs, community action and anti-poverty programs.

The federal government pays 90 per cent of the wages, and the college pays the rest. The program is financed for six months beginning July 1.

For information write James W. Moore, Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 20202.

5. Another government program provides jobs at public institutions and agencies for needy vocational school

school jobs are available.

The federal money is paid out by the state department of vocational education.

6. Federal student loans are available through schools of nursing. Applications are available at nursing schools after students are accepted or enrolled.

All of these government programs must be operated in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits segregation from

The proposed waterway would link the north-flowing Tennessee River to the Tombigbee River, which flows south from the western edge of Alabama's Black Belt to Mobile.

Transportation by ship is cheaper than by airplane, train, or truck, and so such a great waterway would provide low-cost shipping for products Alabama makes and grows for the rest of the nation and the world. It would also provide an easier way for Alabama industries to get the materials they need in manufacturing.

Coal could move from North Alabama at the rate of about two million tons per year for sale to foreign steel mills.

Fertilizer from Florida would be moved into Alabama at cheaper rates. Grain from the Midwest could be shipped to the great beef-growing areas of Alabama and Mississippi. Missiles and rockets from Huntsville could be shipped to Cape Kennedy and other areas more quickly and easily.

And a new waterway would provide facilities for an increased tourist trade. All of this means more money for the communities located along such a busy waterway. Where waterways go, industry goes. And where there are industry and shipping, there are jobs.

Between the rich north part of the state and the busy port of the south is the poor section of central Alabama. The people who gain political power in that area and who continue to live there may be glad they did someday. The Black Belt is poor, but it may not always be that way.

To build such a waterway as proposed is, of course, a big job. The Army Corps of Engineers is now studying how it could be done. After that, the money to build a connecting link would have to come from Congress and the President in Washington.

If the money is supplied and the waterway is built, the poor people of today's Black Belt shacks may have a chance for a better life right on the land where they have lived and worked for years.

Two Meetings

After the May 3 primary, two very similar meetings were held at almost the same time. One was a gathering in Birmingham of "white liberals." They discussed what they could possibly do in November when they are faced with a choice of what they consider are two undesirable candidates for governor.

The other meeting was in Montgomery, where members of the John Birch Society, the Citizens Council and other such organizations worried about November also. Jim Martin is too good a man, they said to each other, to have to run against a fine candidate like Mrs. Wallace. They wondered whether the election clash could be avoided in some way.

And that is just about the state of things in Alabama.

school superintendent would be locked up until he agreed to enforce the U.S. Constitution in his school system. And school superintendents all around the country would start to shape up.

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One of every five public high school students participates in a vocational education program paid for by the federal government.

In the past three months, federal agencies have announced opportunities available for students and teachers. These are some of them:

1. For teachers who want to work with children in rural and city poverty areas, the federal government has a National Teacher Corps. The deadline for applications is May 31.

Recruits spend 12 weeks in summer training (for $75 a week plus $15 for each dependent). After training, teachers are accepted by local school systems and are paid at the local salary rate.

About one-fourth of the Teachers Corps will be teachers with an advanced degree and several years of experience. Congress has not yet made money available for the program, but the U.S. Office of Education wants the applications ready by the time funds are supplied.

Write National Teacher Corps, 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20202.

School districts may qualify for a Teacher Corps team if at least half of the children in at least one school in the district come from families with incomes of less than $3,000.

2. The Office of Education in Washington is looking for 50 young men and women who now work for state universities in education. They would be selected to work with the Office of Education for one year (at a salary of $8,961) as research, program, and administrative assistants.

Applicants must have a doctorate degree or be well along towards receiving a doctorate. Write Office of Education, Washington, D.C. 20202.

3. The U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare needs 200 permanent, professional staff members to work in its civil rights compliance program. In addition, HEW will hire 100 professionals and 200 graduate students for summer jobs.

HEW wants physicians, attorneys, welfare or hospital administrators, public health officers, chief school officers, and civil rights leaders.

The jobs will be in Washington and in field offices around the country.

Get an application blank at the post office and send it to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Room 5316 North Building, c/o Mrs. Charles Dawson, 330 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201.

4. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 grants money for colleges to provide work for needy students. Students can earn $1.25 an hour or more for up to 15 hours work a week when school is in session, and 40 hours a week at other times.

On campus, students will work in library, laboratory, research assistant, maintenance, and clerk jobs. Off-campus jobs are in libraries, social work agencies, boys clubs, community action and anti-poverty programs.

The federal government pays 90 per cent of the wages, and the college pays the rest. The program is financed for six months beginning July 1.

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All of these government programs must be operated in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits exclusion from any program on the basis of race.

BY MARY MOULTRIE

Dear TV Viewer,

The winter cold has left, and spring has busted out all over. It is time for outside living, fresh air, and fun.

If you leave the house this summer, don't forget to take along your best friend, the TV set. Remember, your TV set is responsible for all your boredom during the long winter's hibernation, and who wants to miss all the action of Batman, The Munsters, and other such junk in the repeat performances of last season?

Besides, you may find that the pleasant outdoor life isn't what you are looking for. The birds are singing the same old songs they sang last year. The trees and flowers are the same as they were last year.

So why trade a miserable boring evening at home in the comfort of your humid living room for the fresh air and fun of outdoor life?

Stay with your TV set 'cause that's where the action is. Let your neighbor do all the outside living. He'll find out what he is missing when he gets back in front of the television set.

Where else could you find Cassius Clay, Miss USA, Gidget, and Batman all in one week?

SATURDAY, MAY 21

WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS--"The Heavyweight Championship Fight." Cassius Clay meets Henry Cooper for the heavyweight championship title of the world in London, England. This bout will be telecast live, via Early Bird satellite, 3 p.m. Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 31 in Huntsville, and Channel 32 in Montgomery.

CASSIUS CLAY

MISS USA BEAUTY PAGEANT--Chosen beauties throughout the USA compete for the Miss USA crown, and a first prize of $5,000. Pat Boone, June Lockhart, and Jack Linkletter are hosts on the program, which takes place in Miami Beach, Fla. Live and in color, 9 p.m. Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

SUNDAY, MAY 22

EMMY AWARDS--The 18th annual presentation of the Emmy Awards for television's best performances--from the Hollywood Palladium. Danny Thomas is host in Hollywood, and Bill Cosby in New York from the Americana Hotel, 9 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

TUESDAY, MAY 24

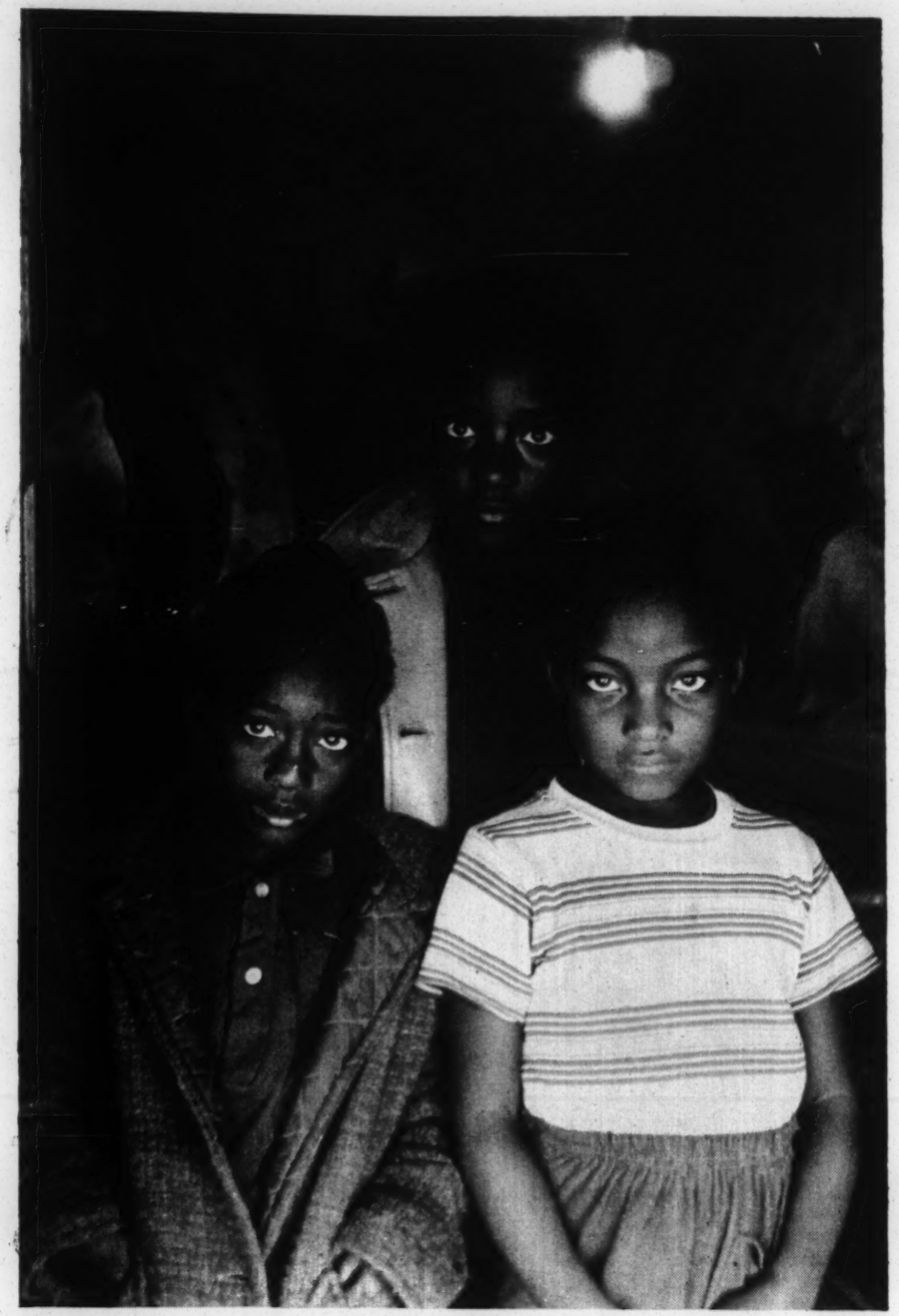
PETTICOAT JUNCTION--Bobbie Jo finds an Egyptian "good luck" ring which she is sure will guarantee her winning the Hooterville Valley spelling bee, 8:30 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25

BATMAN--"The Joker is Wild"--Batman and Robin are captured by the Joker (Cesar Romero), who prepares to unmask them on Gotham City television, 6:30 p.m. Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.; Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 31 in Huntsville, and Channel 32 in Montgomery.

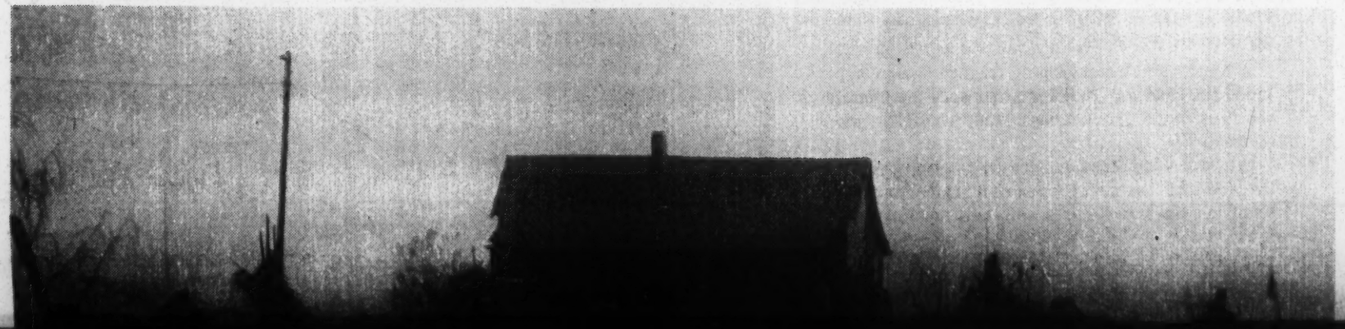
THURSDAY, MAY 26

GIDGET -- "Ego-A-go-go"-Gidget sets out to mend the fractured ego of shy unpopular "Durf The Drag," only to have the psychological tables turn on her, 7 p.m. Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 31 in Huntsville, and Channel 32 in Montgomery.



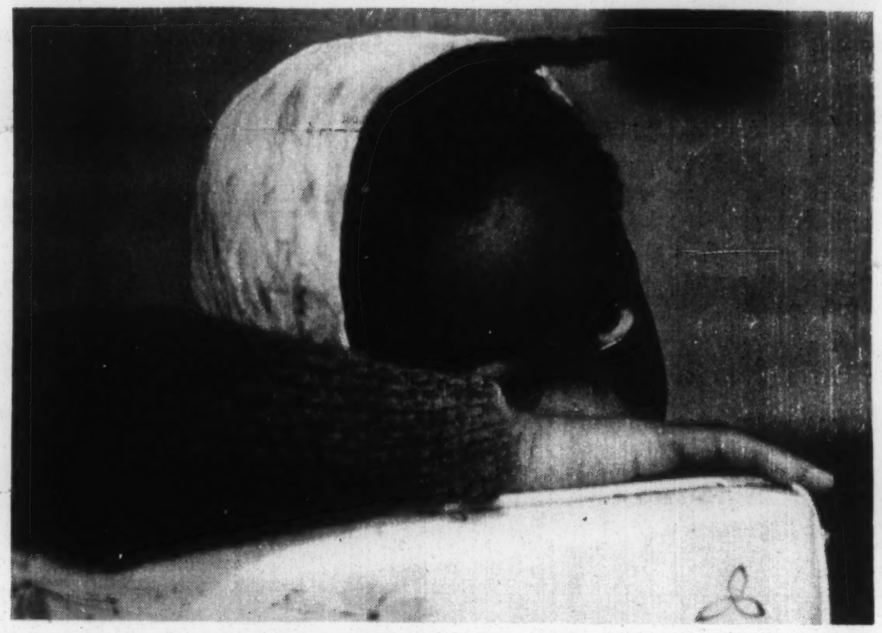
The Mississippi Delta In Winter

Last January, Photography Editor Jim Peppler spent several days in Sharkey and Issaquenna counties in the delta area of Mississippi. While it takes a longer association with a place (or a person) to understand and feel enough to write about it, even in a quick glance some things can be SEEN. These are some of the things Peppler saw in Mississippi in winter.

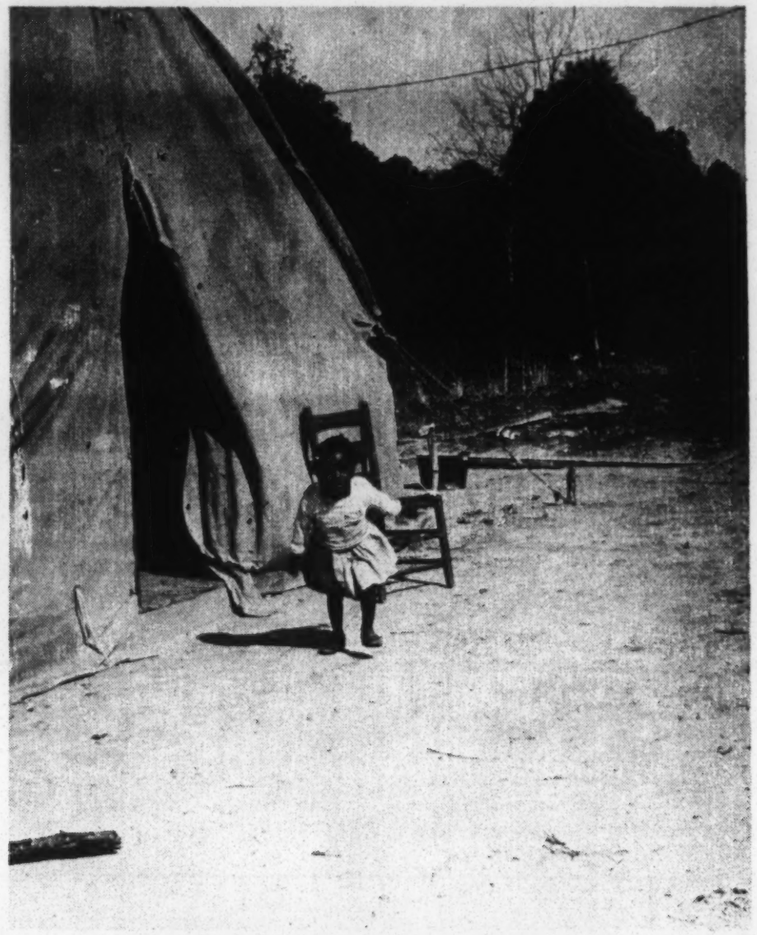


In Winter

Last January, Photography Editor Jim Peppler spent several days in Sharkey and Issaquenna counties in the delta area of Mississippi. While it takes a longer association with a place (or a person) to understand and feel enough to write about it, even in a quick glance some things can be SEEN. These are some of the things Peppler saw in Mississippi in winter.



Photographs by Jim Peppler



AFTER YEARS AS TENANT FARMERS ON A PLANTATION IN FORKLAND, GREENE COUNTY, FOUR FAMILIES-ALL ACTIVE IN CIVIL RIGHTS WORK-WERE EVICTED. TWO MONTHS AGO THEY SET UP TENTS ON A FRIEND'S LAND. UNTIL THEY FIND A WAY TO BUILD HOUSES, TENT CITY IS HOME.

SEVENTEEN CHILDREN LIVE IN TENT CITY.

Four Families Find A New Home

City of Tents in Greene County

BY LARRY FREUDIGER

FORKLAND--At the end of last year, a group of families in this Greene County town were told to leave the land which they had farmed as tenants for many years.

They were much like hundreds of other Negro families who have been evicted throughout the Black Belt in the past year. They were very poor. They had many children. The fathers were the fourth generation of tenant farmers on one man's plantation.

And they had all been active in the civil rights movement. Most of them were members of the Greene County Freedom Organization, the independent political party they and other Negroes created with help from SNCC.

A few days after they received eviction notices, most of them found their land being plowed by someone else.

They were given the choice of staying in their homes without the use of the land. The rent was set at $25, which is about half of what a farm worker can earn in a month. There was no choice but to move.

Most of the families that have been evicted for civil rights participation in the Black Belt have managed to stay in their county, living with friends.

But among families that average $30 a month for advances on their crops, it's hard enough to support your own family.

Following the example of the Lowndes County Freedom City, the group set up a Tent City two months ago. It now houses four families, including 17 children, in four tents on a small plot of land.

SNCC paid for the tents with money from an emergency fund. The Greene County Community Fund has been supporting the families, with help from a group at Stillman College headed by Professor Robert Weinberg.

A Negro small landowner, George Yubanks, provided the land for Tent City. He said the homeless families could stay as long as they wanted or needed to stay.

But SNCC workers are trying to get money from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (the "war on poverty") for a self-help housing project.

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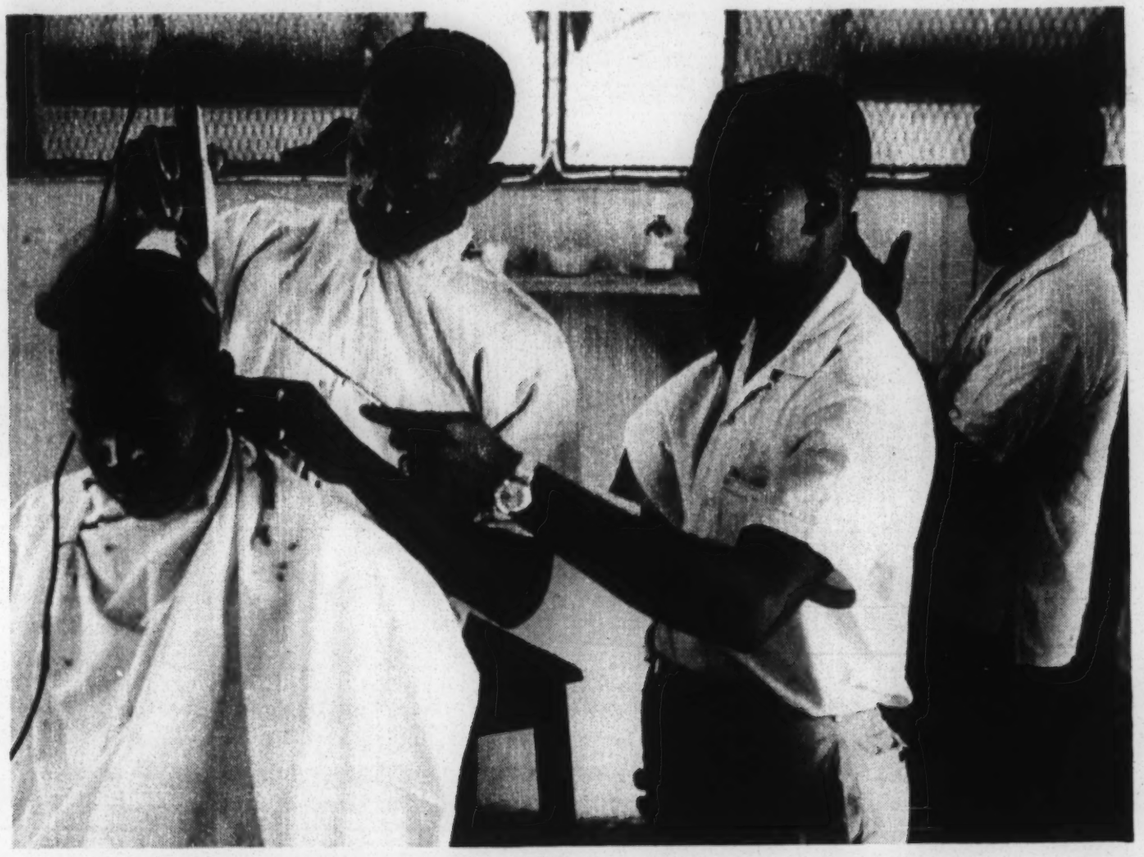


OSCAR WILLIAMS OF BOLIGEE, ALABAMA, IS A PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER IN JAMAICA. HE TEACHES YOUNG MEN HOW TO CUT HAIR...HOW TO MAKE SHOES, AND HOW TO TAILOR CLOTHES.

OSCAR WILLIAMS

An Alabamian in the Peace Corps Says:

'Tomorrow Is Always A Busy Day'

BY DAPHNA SIMPSON

BOLIGEE -- A new breed of young men and women has grown up in America. They are the people who think that school, marriage, a new car are not enough. They are the people who want to make this world a better place.

There are many ways to fill this need. For some it means teaching or becoming a doctor or working in civil rights.

For Oscar Williams, and for many other people like him, the answer is serving in the Peace Corps.

Oscar Williams, a serious man of 24, is from Boligee, near Eutaw. He was a student at A & M College in Huntsville when he first talked to some people with the Peace Corps. He applied for service, and when he graduated with a degree in agriculture, he began training.

Training for the Peace Corps takes about three months. It includes learning the language of a country and that country's history, geography, economy, and customs. American history and culture is also taught, for each volunteer always represents America and he must expect to answer most questions about the United States.

Training also includes learning more about the special skills that he will be teaching in the assigned country.

Following these three months, which are spent at a college, the volunteer is sent to one of the Peace Corps training sites in Puerto Rico or Hawaii, where he learns still more of the language and his duties, and completes his physical conditioning program.

Peace Corps volunteers are serving in 46 countries located in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Each volunteer may choose the country in which he wishes to serve, and is usually assigned the country of his choice.

What does a volunteer do once he gets into a country? He may teach better ways to farm or fish. He may help build a school or train nurses. The volunteer's job is not to set up an office and become a big shot, but to teach, help, and work with the people.

Oscar Williams is working in Spaldings, Jamaica. He works in a camp where he teaches barbering, tailoring, and making shoes.

Who may become a volunteer in the Peace Corps? Anyone, as long as he is qualified. He may be of any race and religion. He does not have to have a college degree. He must be 18 years old, and he may be past retirement age. Married people may apply, as long as there are no children under 18.

An applicant does not need to know any language because the Peace Corps will teach the language of the country. No special skills are required, for these are taught, too.

The standards are high, though. A person interested must fill out a detailed application giving references, jobs he has had, and hobbies. He then takes the Peace Corps placement test. If he passes, he is sent to the training school.

A volunteer is helping people in other countries, and this is important. But many volunteers say that they get more out of the Peace Corps than they put in.

One woman who was teaching in Nigeria wrote:

"I have been here for more than a year and it has been one of the happiest experiences of my life. Every day I learn something new. The contact with the Nigerians, both pupils and friends, is the best part."

Oscar Williams wrote in The Vision, a magazine published by the Jamaica Youth Corps:

"Everyone would agree that youth today faces a world quite different from the world we faced as children 30, 20, 15, or even ten years ago. We were not pestered with notions of land reform, farm mechanization, moon voyage, rockets and nuclear weapons. The youngsters today are faced with these ever-pressing issues.

"If we are able to do these boys justice, then we must prepare them to walk boldly in the world of the 20th century. We must prepare them as best we can, to meet the unprecedented challenges that come tomorrow. We must understand and work with them within the madness we have created around them. We must attempt to understand their fights, brawls and emotional outbursts.

"Finally--and this is the blessed beauty of our work--we must attempt to channel these energies into socially and morally constructive paths. For, who knows, we may have in our midst a Lincoln."

Williams' thoughts travel back to Alabama, even though he is busy with his work at Cobbla, a boys' camp in Jamaica. His mother, Mrs. Courtney M. Porter of Boligee, lives on a beautiful 57-acre farm. Here the family, including Williams' brothers and sisters, raises cotton, peanuts, corn, and potatoes.

He writes long letters to his mother telling her about his work. But most of the letters are about home: how is the family, what is going on. In a letter written last January, he asked questions:

"How is the integration situation in Eutaw? What about the schools? How is the boycott holding out? Who is leading the movement? I would like to know what the local paper--Greene County Democrat--is saying about the whole thing. Do you have any clippings from the paper? You mentioned something about food may be sent in. Has there been any mention about putting people off places, or not letting Negro

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

Dallas Voters March Against Democrats

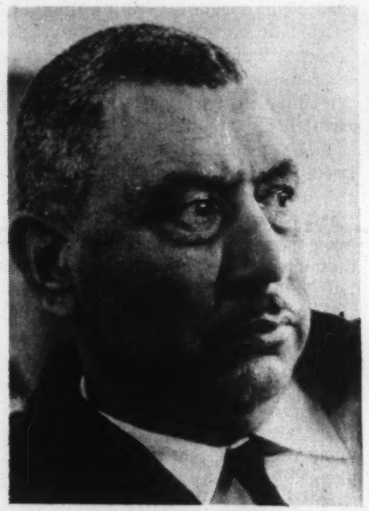
SELMA--The Dallas County Voters League led demonstrations for two days last week protesting the lack of Negroes on the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee and the committee's decision not to count votes from six mostly-Negro boxes.

The group (above) marched quietly to the office of M. Alton Keith, chairman of the committee. While leading the march downtown, the Rev. P.H. Lewis, an unsuccessful candidate in the Democratic primary (at right), was approached by a white man who gave Lewis a piece of paper. Lewis read the leaflet and discovered it invited him to join the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Bullock Run-Off Candidates Say They Should've Won the 1st Time

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MIDWAY--"Don't take my campaign signs down," said the tall man on the platform. He leaned over the speaker's stand as if it were a fence between him and the audience.



H. O. WILLIAMS

"Let them stand as a symbol of wrongdoing--of the difference between what you wanted and what you got."

The same man had stood on the same platform a dozen times in the weeks before the primary election. He had faced many of the same people. But nothing else was the same.

Before May 3, Thomas Reed, the tall man, was a candidate for the state House of Representatives, place 1, in the 31st district (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties). After May 3, he was just another loser.

But he was a loser with a difference. He was still fighting for the rest of the candidates who shared the Merritt High School platform with him Monday night.

One of them, Ben McGhee, is running for the first time in a special election the same day as the run-off. He and another Negro, Alonzo Ellis, are seeking seats on the Bullock County court of commissioners. Their opponents are two white men who planned to hold office for two extra years until the federal courts ruled otherwise.

The other three candidates on the platform will be in the run-off a week from Tuesday--Fred Gray, for House place 2 in the 31st district; H. O. Williams, for Bullock County sheriff, and Rufus C. Huffman, for Bullock County tax assessor.

All three ran in three-man races on May 3. All three outran their opponents by so many votes that they looked like winners until somebody recounted the ballots.

But the way they see it, all three of them were losers too. Like Reed, they think there were some bad reasons for the difference between what they wanted and what they got.

"There is a mass conspiracy in this county--and the others--for white men to do all they can against Negroes," shouted Gray. "I won this election on May 3. Reed at least made the run-off. Williams won. Huffman won. The race was stolen from us."

"A white poll official was caught red-handed by a Negro poll official who peeked through the curtain when he was voting an illiterate," Gray said. "The Negro said, 'You ought to be ashamed--that man told you Reed and you pulled the lever for Paulk.'" (State Representative James L. Paulk won the nomination for place 1 without a run-off.)

"The election official said, 'I'm sorry. I made a mistake,'" Williams added. "I want to know how many other mistakes did he make?"

"Another official who was there when they were counting swore she heard them say, 'Let's take some from Reed and put 'em on Paulk,'" Huffman said. "Many people were told they would lose their homes or jobs if they voted for Negroes."

The candidates urged the voters to join them in trying to see that none of it happens again. Gray said he was going to talk to the Justice Department. Huffman, Williams, and McGhee said they had already sent telegrams to U.S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

They asked for enough federal poll watchers to watch every polling place place in the county.

"We want every group in the county to send telegrams," Gray said.

The candidates had something else they wanted the voters to do for them.

They reminded the audience that although nearly all the 2,300 registered whites voted May 3, more than 1,000 of the county's 3,500 registered Negroes

RUFUS HUFFMAN

didn't go to the polls.

"We lost this election because a lot of our people didn't vote or fooled around and voted wrongly," Gray said. "It couldn't have been stolen if we had all turned out for each other.

"Over 213 white people registered today in Union Springs. They were expected. There were nine whites there to register them. They intend to give all of us a real licking on the 31st.

"But your leaders brought 199 Negroes in to register, too. So all they really did was stay even. If you all vote, we'll win."

"I saw white people today I never saw before," said Williams, "and I've lived here all my life. But unless we can prove it, they're going to vote here.

"All I'm asking you to do is sneak up behind a curtain and throw five little levers. Don't let your 'good white folks' make you sell us out. Let's learn to respect each other as human beings."

...So the Kids Moved Out Into the Street

BY JAMES E. SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--When residents of the Vine City neighborhood got tired of having no playground for their children, they moved the kids--swings, table tennis tables, and all--out into the street to play. Every day after school for six straight days, two cops directed traffic around one block of the neighborhood's main street.

Last week the Vine City Council, directing the "play-in," bounced the ball into the laps of the city Aldermanic Board, which gave a temporary playground and the promise of a permanent one.

The residents of the neighborhood, who missed representation in the state legislature this year after Representative-elect Julian Bond was refused a seat, had asked the board for a park almost a year ago, but nothing came of it. Washington Park, the nearest recre-

So on a Friday afternoon in April, Hector Black, head of the council, aided by a few SNCC people and two former VISTA workers, moved playground equipment, donated by a local church, and 150 Negro children into Magnolia Street.

At its meeting last week, the Aldermanic Board promised to hold a vote for funds within the next two weeks.

The Vine City Council had turned down a proposal from the director of the police crime prevention bureau to provide a temporary playground because the residents wanted assurance from the Aldermanic Board, which controls the city's money, that they would get a full-time playground.

While they are waiting for the real one, Black says the new one, located behind the football field at Atlanta University, "may be adequate--if we get the proper equipment and if it is buil-

SNCC CHANGES LEADERS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Carmichael philosophizing through Hell.

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The SNCC writer said that SNCC believes in replacing its leaders at the top with people from the bottom.

"Lewis and Forman represent the same thinking as Carmichael and Mrs. Robinson, but they don't express it as starkly as Stokely and Ruby," Zinn said.

Carmichael will now spend most of his time in Atlanta directing SNCC's 150 workers. He will get to Selma and Lowndes County occasionally, an associate said. Lewis will continue to speak to groups around the country and Forman will be office manager.

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REID CLEANERS

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"And since 1964 there has been a move in SNCC towards the black people in the rural South," the government professor said.

"John Lewis is a Southern Negro, as close to the earthy passion of the movement as anyone. In the last two years he has been called out of the South to make speeches and attend White House conferences. This has not changed his outlook but it has changed the picture of him," Zinn said.

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SNCC workers in Atlanta and in Alabama refered to the change in leadership as "a coup," mostly jokingly. They all said that SNCC's future would not change much because of the switch.

Zinn said, "Whatever happens at the top, the work of SNCC seems to go on in the rural South just the same."

Think and Grin

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

RIDDLES IN RHYME
(Look for answers on Page Six)

1. I claim no magic power.
   Yet a fast I can make a feast.
   I am never among the first,
   But the last I can make the least.

   The gust of the wildest storm
   I can change to a welcome guest.

   In the North or the South I'm unknown
   But am found in the East or the West.

2. There was a man who was not born,
   His father was not before him;
   He did not live, he did not die.
   His epitaph is not o'er him.
   Who could this have been?

3. Unable to think, unable to speak
   Yet I tell the truth to all who peek.

4. I often murmur, but never weep;
   Lie in bed, but never sleep;
   My mouth is larger than my head,
   In spite of the fact I'm never fed;
   I have no feet, yet swiftly run,
   The more falls I get, move faster on.

5. It wasn't my sister, nor my brother,
   But still was the child of my father
   and mother.
   Who was it?

6. It shoots you when you're looking,
   It shoots you when you're not.
   This candid instrument, indeed,
   Can put you on the spot.

7. What is it that no man ever yet did
   see,
   Which never was, but always is to be?

8. Three of us in six, and five of us in
   seven,
   Four of us in nine, and six in eleven.

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Peace Corps

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

people have more credit? How is the white community reacting to Negro demands?

"All I can say is hold out. Don't give up! . . .'The race is not given to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but to the one who holds out and endures to the end.'

"Well I'd better go to bed. For tomorrow is a busy day--as tomorrow always is. But anyway you take it easy. And be as good as you can."

A normal tour of duty lasts about two years. Oscar Williams celebrated the end of his second year in the Peace Corps last February by signing up for another year.

Integrated Tuskegee School Vandalized

TUSKEGEE--Somebody put a match to racial tension Sunday night, and the bleachers at the Tuskegee Public School baseball field went up in flames. Nothing was left but charred timbers and twisted metal.

"There's no question in my mind but that it was arson," said Mayor Charles M. Keever. "I cannot prove it--but there's no electricity over there. I don't see any way a fire could start by itself."

The school fielded a desegregated baseball team this spring for the first time in its 70-year history. White children and Negro children sat in the grandstand to watch the team play.

"They were practicing football together," the mayor pointed out. "You could go by and see both races scrimmaging. . . . So then you could have your thoughts about how that fire started, and why."

Alton B. Taylor, city director of public safety, said the state fire marshal's office had sent an investigator.

ry. I made a mistake,'" Williams added. "I want to know how many other mistakes did he make?"

"Another official who was there when they were counting swore she heard them say, 'Let's take some from Reed and put 'em on Paulk,'" Huffman said. "Many people were told they would lose their homes or jobs if they voted for Negroes."

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Tuscaloosa Students Meet First, Then March to City Schools Office

BY DAPHNA SIMPSON

TUSCALOOSA--The movement is being revived in Tuscaloosa, and the point of concern is the City Board of Education.

More than 500 young people crowded into St. John's Church Tuesday before a march on the board of education. Stomping, clapping, and swaying, they sang freedom songs until the Rev. T.Y. Rogers arrived.

Rogers spoke to the crowd about the purpose of the march. He reminded them that they were going to inferior schools with inferior teachers, and that Negro employees of the city school system were being paid low wages.

After asking that everyone please remove his chewing gum, Rogers left to meet with H.D. Nelson, superintendent of the city schools.

Lined two abreast, the marchers left the church building quietly and walked the three miles to the superintendent's office.

The day was a sharp contrast to the first march on the board of education. On April 27 about 75 people, mostly older women, walked this same distance in heavy rain. But Tuesday was sunny and hot for the student marchers.

As the long line came to the building housing the board of education offices, the students began singing again. The marchers sat on the lawn as Rogers spoke of his meeting with Nelson.

"We talked with the board of education a year ago today. Because of this talk, the schools of Tuscaloosa are now integrated.

"The problem now exists in the psychosis of the Southern white man, which does not include giving us freedom. If lying will do the job, they will tell a lie."

"There was some progress made since the first talk with Dr. Nelson a month ago.

"Nelson has assured us that by signing form 441B, teachers in schools will be integrated by September. Dr. Nelson is the Great White Father of education," Rogers said.

"He says a committee will work out the problems of our lunch room workers," he said.

But the major issue has not yet been resolved. The city is building a new junior high school. The school will supposedly be integrated. However, it is being built in a large Negro community in Tuscaloosa, and TCAC (Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee), headed by Rogers, feels that the school will be a Negro school in practice.

"We are prepared to march and picket," Rogers said. "We are prepared to go to Birmingham and tell a black attorney to stop building a Negro junior high school."

After a prayer, the marchers formed a line again and walked back to the church, still holding signs reading "We demand an end to slave labor" and "Dr. Nelson, are you afraid of George Wallace?"

THE REV. T. Y. ROGERS

Welch in Mobile

Birch Leader Speaks

MOBILE--About 1,000 people came out Wednesday night to hear Robert Welch, the friendly, fatherly head of the John Birch Society, tell them that the "vile communist conspiracy could be stopped."

But individuals cannot do the job. "It is too late for that," Welch said. He declared that only an organization like the Birch Society could succeed, because it is as tightly organized and dedicated as the communists.

The powerful local branch of the Birch Society sponsored the meeting. School Board member Dr. Sidney P. Phillips was master of ceremonies, and City Commissioner Arthur Outlaw welcomed Welch to Mobile, saying that the society is "pro-American and pro-police. We need more of this. God bless you."

Welch said we need less of Viet Nam and of "this fraud called civil rights."

He objected to the war because communist officials and influences "in our own government" are using it "to distract our attention from the steady advance of socialism and a totalitarian state here at home." Welch, of Belmont, Mass., recommended ending the war quickly with whatever military power is necessary.

He called civil rights a fraud because, he said, communists control the movement and will eventually use it to try creating "a black soviet nation in Dixie." Unless the Birch Society stops the communist plan, "thousands of white citizens will be murdered, tens of thousands of the best Negroes will be terrorized, to force them into line," he said.

Welch's speech was well received by the all-white audience, which included Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark.

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Schools Reveal Mix Plans

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

In 1965-66, 142 Negro students were attending previously all-white Florence city schools. When someone asked Schools Superintendent Rufus G. Hibbitt Sr. to explain last year, he said:

"The issue posed for Southern schools . . . is not whether they will desegregate. It is whether they will desegregate with or without continuing federal assistance."

But this year Hibbitt would not even say whether Florence had agreed to comply in 1966-67. "It's a fluid, unsettled situation," he said. "We've gotten along wonderfully, but we don't know what might be stirred up in the future. We're being very cautious and very careful."

In Lauderdale County, where 81 Negroes took advantage of desegregation in 1965-66, the board attached an "amendment" to its 1966-67 compliance form. The amendment said the district reserved the right not to follow any guideline if a court said the guideline was not authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The government's new guidelines are much stricter than last year's, especially about freedom-of-choice desegregation plans. "A free choice plan," say the guidelines, "tends to place the burden of desegregation on Negro or other minority group students and their parents."

Therefore, it will no longer be enough to promise to allow students to choose the schools they want to attend, the guidelines say. "The single most substantial indication as to whether a free choice plan is actually working...is the extent to which Negro or other minority group students have in fact transferred from segregated schools."

The guidelines tell the school districts how many Negroes they ought to have in desegregated schools. If eight or nine per cent of the Negro students transferred last fall, the guidelines say, the total should be twice as many in 1966-67. If only four or five per cent transferred last fall, the total should be three times as large in the coming school year.

The guidelines also plug some of the loop-holes that existed last fall. Transfer applications can no longer be denied because students don't have the right health or birth records, or because they haven't had some kind of physical or mental examination.

White students can't be sent to school in another county to avoid desegregation, as was done in Crawfordville, Ga., and other places last fall.

And Negro students can't be forced to walk to desegregated schools, as they were in Luverne and other localities this year. Next fall, school buses have to carry all the students, on an integrated basis.

The Office of Education would not reveal all the school districts that filed compliance forms. Some of them are Troy (freedom of choice--all grades but three, four, five and eight), Selma (freedom of choice--first eight grades), and Lee County (freedom of choice--all but the fourth, fifth, sixth, and ninth grades).

Lee County had a desegregation plan in 1965-66, but, according to School Superintendent Francis J. Marshall, no Negro students took advantage of it.

Among the systems under court jurisdiction are Montgomery County, Macon County, Mobile County, Bullock County, Lowndes County, Wilcox County, Birmingham, Gadsden, Huntsville, and Madison County. The U.S. Justice Department has moved to speed up court-ordered desegregation plans in the last four.

BAKER-CLARK CASE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

he did not know that he was supposed to be a polling official until the morning of May 3. He said he arrived at his Selma home early election morning after driving all night from Mobile. His wife told him that police officers had brought a ballot box to their home and told her that he was to be an official at the polling place at Top Cola Bottling Company.

Mizell's main witness was Jesse W. Pearson, a member of the county committee who had done a recount of some of the questioned ballots under the direction of the committee.

Mizell said in his closing argument that to count the questioned votes "is in a reality, useless."

He called the Justice Department's action in the case "arrogant."

Assistant U. S. Attorney General John Doar answered that the case was one of arrogance. "But it is not a case of arrogance on the part of those 1,600 voters; not arrogance on the part of the United States; not arrogance on the part of the Justice Department.

"It is the arrogance of those people who happen to control 23 votes on the Dallas County Executive Committee," he said.

Judge Thomas asked attorneys to give him written arguments on the hearing Monday morning. He will not give a ruling until he has studied the briefs.

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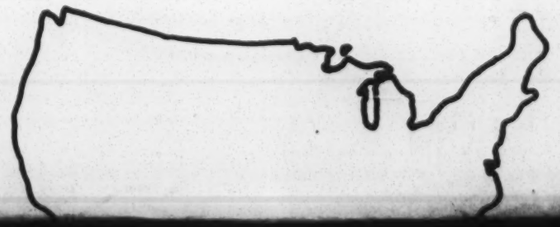
Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

Weekly meeting will be held at 6:30 p. m. Monday at New Hope Baptist Church, 1154 10th Ave. South, Birmingham. The Rev. H. Stone, pastor.

They're Reading Us In:



the students began singing again. The marchers sat on the lawn as Rogers spoke of his meeting with Nelson.

"We talked with the board of education a year ago today. Because of this talk, the schools of Tuscaloosa are now

THE REV. T. Y. ROGERS

clared that only an organization like the Birch Society could succeed, because it is as tightly organized and dedicated as the communists.

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Tuesday is Run-Off Day

Here We Go Again

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

Alabama voters go back to the polls Tuesday to clear up some unfinished business left over from the May 3 Democratic primary.

The excitement of the governor's race is missing this time, but to dozens of candidates the Tuesday run-off is every bit as important as the first primary. Still, only about 550,000 Alabamians are expected to vote in the run-off--a big drop from the 888,000 who cast ballots May 3.

The candidates in the run-off are the first- and second- place finishers from all May 3 primaries in which no one got a majority of the votes. Tuesday's winners will go on the ballot in November as the Democratic candidates.

Twenty-three Negro candidates are in run-off races--one for the state Senate, seven for the state House of Representatives, four for sheriff, and 11 for other county offices. They all face an uphill battle, because the people who voted for third- and fourth-place white candidates on May 3 are likely to support the remaining white candidates on Tuesday.

Races are still on for Democratic nominations for three state-wide offices and three seats in the U. S. House of Representatives.

In Alabama, the state treasurer and and state auditor are almost always women, and on Tuesday four women will be fighting for the two jobs. Mrs. Agnes Baggett, now secretary of state, and Mrs. Bettye Frink, now state auditor, are running for the treasurer's nomination. Mrs. Melba Till Allen and Mrs. Juanita McDaniel, both from Montgomery, are the auditor candidates.

This means the Democrats are sure to have five women running for statewide office in November--the nominees for treasurer and auditor, along with Mrs. Mabel Amos for secretary of state, Miss Sybil Pool for the Public Service Commission, and Mrs. Lurleen Wallace for governor.

There may be another woman on the Democratic ticket in the Second Congressional District, if Miss Mary Grice of Bay Minette can hold her first-round lead over Bob Whaley of Montgomery. Miss Grice and Whaley have fought a rough campaign for the U. S. House nomination. Whaley has called his opponent a "tool" of the federal government because she worked in the War on

Atlanta Braves Say:

They'll Be Good Neighbors

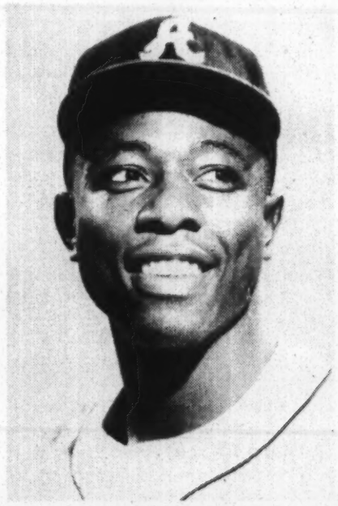
ATLANTA, Ga. -- The Atlanta Braves baseball team has started a "Good Neighbor Program" to improve playgrounds and recreational facilities for boys and girls who live near the Braves' stadium.

"We are going to play a game every year with the Minnesota Twins," said Braves public relations director Jerry Sachs. "The Braves' share of the proceeds will go to the Good Neighbor Program."

He said the Braves wanted to give their home-town children a good place to play because "everybody is our neighbor."

This year's game with the Twins was played on a cold, rainy night last May 2. Only 2,000 people came to the game, so the Good Neighbor Program didn't get much money. Sachs said the Braves haven't decided yet how to spend the proceeds.

Sachs said Braves stars like Hank Aaron might give instructions to the kids who use the playgrounds. "Aaron might teach them to be good citizens, as well as good outfielders and hitters," he said.



HANK AARON

In Vine City, a Negro neighborhood not too far from Atlanta Stadium, where the Braves play, children recently moved their games into the street because they had no playground.

SNCC Answers Invitation

No Thanks, Mr. President

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The conference's purpose, in the words of President Johnson, is "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

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Baker Named Winner, But Clark Can Fight

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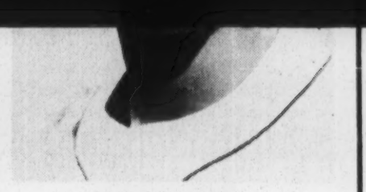

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SNCC had had a hand in the planning and direction of the conference. John Lewis, SNCC chairman until three weeks ago, was a member of the 29-member council that planned the conference.

Under the leadership of new SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, however, the organization listed several reasons why it would no longer be represented at the meeting next Wednesday and Thursday.

SNCC said that because of its opposition to the Viet Nam war "we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy-maker of the Viet Nam War to discuss human rights."

SNCC said further that the President called the conference "at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb. . . . We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to recoup a loss of prestige internationally."

"Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference," SNCC commented on national affairs, "we know that the executive department and the President are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black America."

The planning council for the conference, including Lewis, this week presented the conference representatives with a massive plan for government and private action to aid Negroes in housing, education, economic and job security, and justice.

Everybody Wants to Talk About School Guidelines

Everyone seems to want to talk about the new federal school desegregation guidelines--the ones cracking down on school districts that had only token desegregation this year.

A federal court in New Orleans heard arguments about school desegregation in the Jefferson County, Bessemer, and Fairfield school systems, while three big meetings were being called in Alabama and Washington to discuss the guidelines.

In the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, the U.S. Justice Department asked the judges to use the new guidelines as a model for court-ordered desegregation plans in the three Birmingham-area systems.

Justice Department lawyers argued that the old freedom-of-choice plans were not good enough. "Negro children should be given a good education whether or not they want it," said one. "We don't let the children choose their books or their teachers. Why should we let them choose their schools?"

The new federal guidelines say freedom-of-choice plans will not be approved any more, unless a large percentage of Negro students take advantage of them. If the government does not approve a school district's desegregation efforts, the district can lose its federal aid.

Judge John Minor Wisdom said he was tired of hearing desegregation cases. "I don't expect to live long enough to see the end of these cases," he said.

Meanwhile, Governor George C. Wallace called a meeting of Alabama school board members and superintendents to talk about "the illegal guidelines on education." Wallace didn't say what he was going to tell the educators in the June 6 meeting.

U.S. Representative James D. Martin of Gadsden, who has also opposed the guidelines, said there would be a meeting of Southern congressmen next Tuesday in Washington to plan a fight against the new desegregation requirements.

A state-wide meeting will be held next month in Birmingham to explain the guidelines to Alabama school officials. The meeting, to be held June 11 in the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel, is sponsored by the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Soldier's Family Finds Cemetery Is

Viet Nam Not Segregated

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

WETUMPKA--A wake was held Wednesday night for a dead soldier of the Viet Nam war, and the talk at the funeral home was that no cemetery in the boy's home town had room for his burial.

"He was a veteran. He died for us all," said one family friend. "Surely he will be buried in one of the cemeteries."

The youth, Jimmy L. Williams, 19, was killed May 17 by an enemy grenade while serving with the Army's Special Forces (Green Berets) in Viet Nam.

His mother, Mrs. Annie Mae Wiliams of Wetumpka, said she thought burial would be in a national cemetery. "We wanted Jimmy buried here, because the children wanted to put flowers on his grave."

She said that the Army officer in charge of funeral arrangements tried to get the soldier buried in Pine View Memorial Gardens Cemetery, a private lot, but was told that founders of the cemetery had been guaranteed it would be kept for whites only.

The officer, Army Lieutenant Robert L. Kraselsky, was then told by the city clerk and Mayor Demp Thrash of Wetumpka that the public Wetumpka Cemetery was filled, Mrs. Williams and an Army spokesman said.

PFC JIMMY WILLIAMS

The lieutenant reported he was told, "The Negro section is sold out." Mrs. Williams said the city would not allow her son to be buried in any other part of the cemetery.

W.T. Goodman, the funeral director, said the city's reply was "new to me."

The Justice Department said it would investigate.

Mrs. Williams said, "The city has shown no condolence at all. They didn't call or anything. Jimmy died for something. At least we think he did. The folks in this town show more concern when one of their good dogs dies."

The military funeral for PFC Jimmy L. Williams was originally scheduled for Thursday. But Mrs. Williams was not sure where her son's body was to be buried, and so the funeral was set for Sunday at 1 p.m.

One thing is clear to the grieving mother, who has three of her six other children attending previously all-white schools in Wetumpka: "He didn't die a segregated death. And he won't be buried in a segregated cemetery."

of Representatives.

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The only Negro candidate for the state Senate, Lonnie Brown of Alberta, has to find 4,000 new votes in the 19th District (Wilcox, Monroe, Clarke, and Conecuh counties). He was that far behind present State Senator Roland Cooper of Camden in the first primary.

Negro candidates for the state House, and their opponents, are Fred D. Gray,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

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The U.S. Justice Department went to court, saying the committee had taken away the right to vote from people who had cast their ballots in those boxes.

The Justice Department tried to show that the irregularities in the handling of the election was the fault of the Democratic committee itself.

One witness for the Justice Department said in court that he did not know until election morning that he was supposed to be a polling official. He said that he had never been an official before--and had never voted before.

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A sub-committee of the county executive committee met last Wednesday after Judge Thomas' ruling and counted the disputed votes into its official election results and declared Baker the winner. This cleared the way for Clark to ask for a hearing to challenge the votes.

A formal hearing is necessary under Alabama law before any county committee may rule on the legality of any ballots. The Dallas County committee had not held such a hearing before it threw out the six boxes.

Judge Thomas kept control of the case and ruled:

"There shall be no rejection of any ballots in this tabulation on any grounds other than that the ballot does not reflect the intention of the voter."

Tuskegee City Council Suggests Athletic Center for Both Races

Reacts to Burning At Public School

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"None of the schools has adequate athletic facilities," said city councilman J. Allen Parker. "We need something to serve not just one school but the whole community.

"I know we don't have any money. But this is an area we can't afford to neglect."

The area Parker was talking about wasn't really recreation. It was race relations. And his proposal for a city athletic center was an answer to the people who two weeks ago burned down Tuskegee Public School's grandstand, which is desegregated.

Parker made his suggestion Tuesday at the first Tuskegee City Council meeting since the fire. The rest of the councilmen agreeded to consider the idea. In effect, they told the burners that destroying the desegregated facilities will not make desegregation go away.

Instead, the councilmen indicated that the fire persuaded them they must do not less but more to promote racial integration.

"We cannot let lawlessness prevail," said the Rev. K.L. Buford, one of two Negroes on the five-member council.

"I think most people in this community pretty well recognize the fire was arson even though we haven't apprehended the culprits," Parker said.

"But I'm not really as concerned about what's happened as I am about our needs for the future."

He pointed out that neither Tuskegee Public nor Tuskegee Institute High, the city's Negro high school, has room enough for crowds at athletic events.

THE REV. K.L. BUFORD (AT LEFT) DISCUSSES ATHLETIC CENTER WITH J. ALLEN PARKER AS COUNCILMAN L. M. GREGG (CENTER) LISTENS.

"Tuskegee Institute High has the biggest problem because it has the largest enrollment," Parker added. "They play football at the college field now, but that's not a satisfactory situation. We need adequate facilities for all the schools to use for all types of athletics."

Parker also made it clear that he doesn't think the new center should necessarily be placed in the white part of town. "We ought to look at different areas," he said.

He suggested that the city raise taxes or fees if necessary to pay for the center.

"Some people may be pulling the cat's tail to watch him react," he said. "They will be helping pay for the crimes they commit. Unfortunately, the tax will fall on the just as well as the unjust."

Buford said that the burning of the grandstand was only one of many acts of vandalism.

"People are shooting out lights and tearing up street signs," he said. "Things are not getting better. They are getting worse. I've gotten so I sleep with my gun by the head of my bed every night."

Buford said the city's 20-man police force is now working a six-day week. He warned that law enforcement will require more money in next year's budget.

"If this is an indication of what we face in the future," he said, "we might as well prepare for it."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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Vol. II, No. 22 May 28-29, 1966

Editoral Opinion

Funny Thing

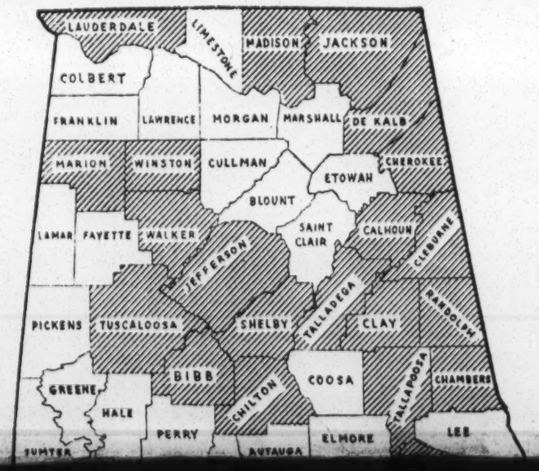
Funny thing about all that anti-poverty money: It never gets to where the poverty is.

The greatest need for money to aid poor people is in counties like Greene, Hale, Marengo, Sumter, Choctaw, Clarke, Wilcox, Lowndes, Dallas, Butler, Autauga, Elmore, Bullock, Pike, and Crenshaw. That is where Alabama's poverty is.

Check the map. The counties that are shaded are those that have had federal anti-poverty funds granted or approved. None of the counties where the money is most needed are shaded. Those are also the counties with great numbers of the state's Negro residents.

Because whites and Negroes have not been able to get together in representative groups to agree on a fair program for all poor people, there has been no federal anti-poverty money sent. Where racial squabbles have not hindered local anti-poverty programs--as in Madison County, Walker County, Winston County, and others--the money keeps coming from Washington.

Not a funny thing really. Not funny to poor folks.



U.S. Judge Johnson Gives Approval

Macon Enlarges Jury Lists

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Justice -- the blindfolded lady with the scales--is back on the job in Macon County after a five-month vacation to have her blindfold readjusted.

The vacation was ordered by a federal court which last January threw out Macon County's jury list. The court told the county to end racial discrimination in the selection of juries and to desegregate its jury rolls.

Last week, U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. said he was satisfied that justice can't see through her blindfold any more. He approved the new comprehensive jury list and the new jury box compiled by the new Macon County Jury Commission.

Hunter Slaton, the commission clerk, said he filled the jury box as soon as he received the go-ahead from Judge Johnson. Slaton said the judge acted on a report from the Justice Department. John Doar, U.S. assistant attorney general for civil rights, reviewed the new jury list and box. He approved them in a letter May 9 to Johnson.

According to Doar's report, the new comprehensive list has 5,277 names. (The old one had 1,138.) The new list includes 2,499 Negroes, 1,975 whites and 853 persons whose race was not known. (The old list included 732 whites and 406 Negroes.)

Slaton listed all male names in the November 1965 Tuskegee telephone directory, 1965 tax assesor's list, and 1964 list of registered voters. Doar certified that these were "most current lists available."

To fill the jury box, the commission considered the qualifications of every fourth and eleventh name on the comprehensive list. Of these 1,710, a total 1,033 (622 Negroes, 396 whites, and 15 unidentified by race) were accepted. The county now will call as jury candidates people whose names are in the box.

A total of 193 (58 Negroes and 135 whites) were rejected because they were non-residents, females, deceased persons, habitual drunkards, or physically unfit persons.

Another 434 (181 Negroes, 159 whites, and 144 unidentified by race) were rejected because they were unknown to the jury commission.

Slaton said he sent the complete list and box to Judge Johnson on March 25. He said Johnson explained the seven-week delay in approving them as time for the Justice Department to investigate the jury commission's action.

In the interval, Circuit Judge Dan Boyd called off the spring term of circuit court in Macon County. Pointing out that there was no jury list, he postponed until October the entire slate of cases.

Among them was a charge of murder against Marvin Segrest of Shorter for the killing last January 3 of Samuel L. Younge Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student and civil rights worker.

Run-off

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

running against Bill Neville Jr. in the 31st District (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties); Arthur D. Shores, L. S. Gaillard Jr., Dr. James T. Montgomery, and David H. Hood Jr., running against Robert L. Ellis Jr., Tommy Watkins, Lawrence A. Lee, and Thomas H. Jackson in the 14th District (Jefferson County); C. H. Montgomery, running against William Grayson in the 37th District (Mobile County); and Albert Turner, running against Ira D. Pruitt in the 27th District (Sumter, Marengo, and Perry counties).

The Negro candidates are trying to change the complexion of Alabama's all-white legislature.

Three Negro candidates are running for sheriff against the men who now hold the job; another is running against a former state trooper.

Lucius D. Amerson is facing Sheriff Harvey Sadler in Macon County, H. O. Williams is running against Sheriff C. M. Blue in Bullock County, and Patt J. Davis is opposing Sheriff W. U. Loftis in Perry County. The Rev. Henry McCaskill's opponent in Hale County is former trooper C. B. (Ben) Kizziah.

Negro candidates for other county

Recent Armed Forces Veterans Qualify for Free Education Aid

And You Get A Free Flag

The new "G. I. Bill" provides veterans since 1955 with the same benefits that veterans of World War II and Korea have had.

The Veterans Administration will guarantee a home loan for you. This means the VA will stand up for you when you ask a bank or loan agency for money to buy a home, repair it, buy farm supplies, get farm working capital, or to refinance a home or farm property.

With the government's guaranty, the private lender will not require a down payment, or he will reduce it.

If you can produce three written refusals from lenders, the VA will make a direct loan to you--that is, if you live in a rural area. If you live within the city limits of Dothan, Opelika, Selma, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, or a town of similar size, you will not be eligible for a direct loan.

Loans made or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration are at five and one-half per cent.

The new law also provides hospitalization for recent veterans on the same basis as that for older veterans. A veteran may be admitted to VA hospitals if hospitalization is found to be necessary, if the veteran is unable to pay for the hospital bills, and if beds are available.

Under the new "G. I. Bill," the federal government will pay from $100 to $150 a month for school or college bills for men and women who have been in the armed forces.

Last March, President Johnson signed a law that extends veterans benefits to men and women who have served in uniform since Jan. 31, 1955.

VA Pamphlet 21-66-1, March 1966

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE
for VETERANS and INSERVICE PERSONNEL

The government figures that when a young man serves his country he may have to interrupt his studies or he may not be able to afford college bills once he returns to civilian life. The so-called Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 tries to make up for this.

The payment program starts June 1, and you have to get an application for it by mail or in person from the Veterans Administration regional office at 474 South Court Street in Montgomery or from your nearest local VA office.

You are eligible if you have served at least 181 days on active duty and if you apply before eight years have passed since your discharge.

For full-time college, vocational, business, high school, or correspondence school courses, the government will send you a check for $100 a month. If you have one dependent, you get $125, and with two or more dependents you get $150.

The government will pay less for part-time education.

For young men who are currently serving in uniform (and have been in service more than two years), the government foots the bill for education also.

Servicemen should apply at the office of their base commander.

The government pays for up to 36

program for all poor people, there has been no federal anti-poverty money sent. Where racial squabbles have not hindered local anti-poverty programs--as in Madison County, Walker County, Winston County, and others--the money keeps coming from Washington.

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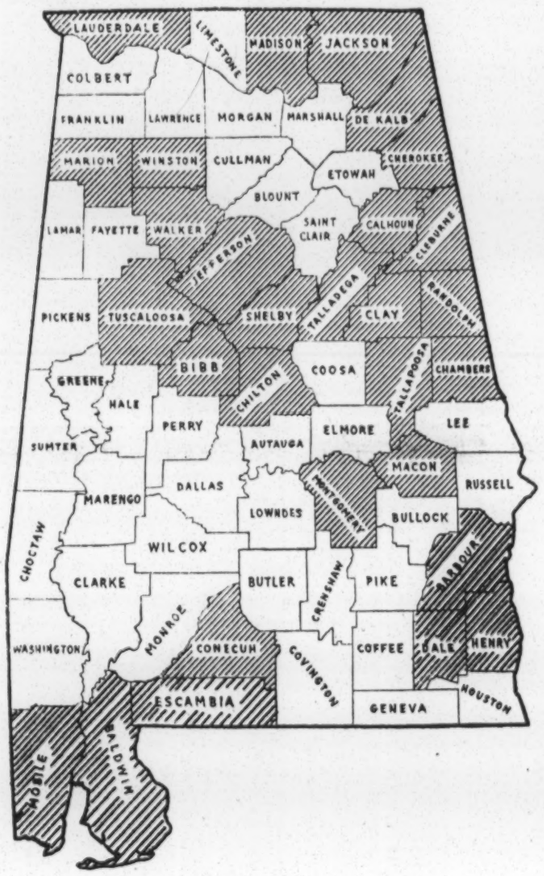

Tell Them

A lot of people from outside the South are going to be wanting to know about this man Wallace. First, they will ask, isn't it true George Wallace doesn't have anything against Negroes?

Tell them Wallace went out of his way to say he would not vote for Fred Gray, a qualified man who may be nominated by Wallace's party to run for the state legislature from Wallace's district. Gray is a Negro. Tell them that George Wallace, the great defender of the state constitution, publicly said he would violate a pledge on the Democratic ballot by not supporting the party's nominee.

People who have been reading about Wallace around the country will ask, "Isn't he a great believer in local government?"

Tell them that depends on what kind of local government. Tell them George Wallace is doing everything he can to take away from local school districts their right and responsibility to comply with federal desegregation rules. Tell them George Wallace doesn't think the state mental hospitals ought to be run by the professional administrators in charge.

But isn't Wallace the country's great defender against the powers of the federal government? Tell them no one in Alabama can remember when George Wallace told the federal government to take its money and spend it elsewhere. Tell them George Wallace claims credit for Alabama's new highways and junior colleges--built with the help of lots of federal dollars.

Isn't George Wallace really the great patriot, the great defender against communism? Tell them where Wallace flies the American flag.

But doesn't he "stand up for Alabama," saying Alabamians are as cultured and refined as anyone? Tell them about Wallace's attempt to cut off any "cultured and refined" debate on the Viet Nam war by trying to expel any Alabama college student who petitions against U.S. policy. And ask them how many cultural affairs Wallace has attended at Tuskegee Institute, an Alabama cultural institution with a world-wide reputation.

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Negro candidates for other county offices include Mrs. Ann H. Braxton, tax assessor, Marengo County; Rufus Huffman, tax assessor, Bullock County; the Rev. L. I. Spears, county commissioner, Choctaw County; Mrs. Alberta Branch, tax collector, and the Rev. Peter Kirksey, school board, Greene County; Dr. W. L. Russell, school board, Mobile County; L. A. Locklair, tax collector, and Harold Webb, board of revenue, Macon County; and the Rev. Obie Scott Jr., tax collector, and Willie Lester Martin and Isom Atkins, county commissioner, Perry County.

guarantee a home loan for you. This means the VA will stand up for you when you ask a bank or loan agency for money to buy a home, repair it, buy farm supplies, get farm working capital, or to refinance a home or farm property.

With the government's guaranty, the private lender will not require a down payment, or he will reduce it.

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Loans made or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration are at five and one-half per cent.

The new law also provides hospitalization for recent veterans on the same basis as that for older veterans. A veteran may be admitted to VA hospitals if hospitalization is found to be necessary, if the veteran is unable to pay for the hospital bills, and if beds are available.

Recent veterans, like those before 1955, get special preference in applying for Civil Service jobs.

Oh, yes. If you are a veteran who served since 1955, you now get a free U.S. flag on your casket when you die. And your next-of-kin gets to keep it.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

for VETERANS and INSERVICE PERSONNEL

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20420

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The government will pay less for part-time education.

For young men who are currently serving in uniform (and have been in service more than two years), the government foots the bill for education also.

Servicemen should apply at the office of their base commander.

The government pays for up to 36 months of free education. If you have served less than three years, you get one free month of education for every month or part of a month that you spent on active duty.

The Veterans Administration also provides free advice about educational and vocational plans.

Sermon of the Week

Where Do We Go Now? Lowndes Seniors Asked

HAYNEVILLE--Where do we go from here?

That is the question that hundreds of high school and college graduates are asking this month. The Rev. H. H. Johnson asked the question to 90 graduates of Lowndes County Training School.

Pastor of the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church in Montgomery, Johnson addressed the baccalureate service on the athletic field of the school this month.

"All of the things we look forward to," he preached, "are to be used as velucies to get us where we are going, whatever our life's work is."

"Every man and every woman end up in one of two places--Heaven or Hell," he told the students.

He took his text from St. John XV: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Johnson later said of the students in Lowndes County, "They were tense. Their ears were set. But I found them very hopeful; they are conscious there is a better life ahead."

Back at his home pulpit before an adult congregation, Johnson preached last Sunday about "the man who stood and fought."

He selected for his text Ephesians VI:13: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. . . ."

Paul was a great soldier, the Baptist leader preached, a hard fighter with long endurance. At the end of his successful warfare Paul was an outstanding Christian hero.

"The same stand will make any individual a hero of Christianity," Johnson said.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

In a pledge to the dead of previous wars the Birmingham Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom joins other branches throughout the country in working for an end to the barbarism of war. "On this Memorial Day we pause to remember with sorrow those who have died in previous wars and those who are dying in Vietnam," said Mrs. Elizabeth Polster, president of the League's United States Section. "Those who have given up their lives have handed down to us the task of saving future generations from the horror of bloodshed and destruction. We must accept this task so that they will have not died in vain.

"The shocking, violent and futile waste of human life, both military and civilian; the burning of homes, the defoliation of plants and food through napalm and other chemicals must be ended. . . .

"Civilization demands that peaceful solutions must be found immediately. Negotiations must be based on the Geneva Agreement with all parties concerned, including the National Liberation Front. We must terminate the bitter and tragic hostilities in Vietnam, before all mankind is engulfed in slaughter.

"We, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom who have concerned ourselves with the cause of peace and freedom for over 50 years, shall continue with every means at our disposal to urge the cessation of the war in Vietnam."

Mrs. J. F. Volker Jr.
Birmingham, Ala.

BY MARY MOULTRIE

With school just about over and the summer vacation break just around the corner, most young people have already made up their minds as to how they will spend the summer.

The school books will probably be tucked away in some forgotten corner to collect dust, while students, free from study and assignments, go all out to have nothing but fun. There's an exception to this--the student who takes his textbooks seriously and continues to study even though he isn't forced to do so. To this particular specimen in the younger set, ETV (Educational Television) is to be recommended.

For a brush-up outside the classroom, ETV is beneficial as well as entertaining. During the summer you can see everything from the arts and sciences to ham operator procedures.

For those who are interested in this kind of viewing, here's a brief rundown on some of the programs that will be presented this week:

MONDAY, MAY 30

HAM RADIO OPERATORS--A discussion on simple radio theory, such as power supplies and microphones. Also points on how to obtain an amateur radio license, plus instructions on how to send codes, 4 p.m. and 9 p.m. Channel 2 in Dozier, Channel 7 in Cheaha State Park, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery, and Channel 42 in Mobile.

WHAT'S NEW--Today's episode in the Adventures of Tom Sawyer features Tom's testimony at the Muff Potter murder trial. He tells the court he saw Injun Joe commit the graveyard murder and Muff is cleared, 5 p.m.

SPECTRUM--"On the Frontiers of Research" explores experiments, phenomena, and field studies that are now under investigation by leading world scientists, 6 p.m.

TUESDAY, MAY 31

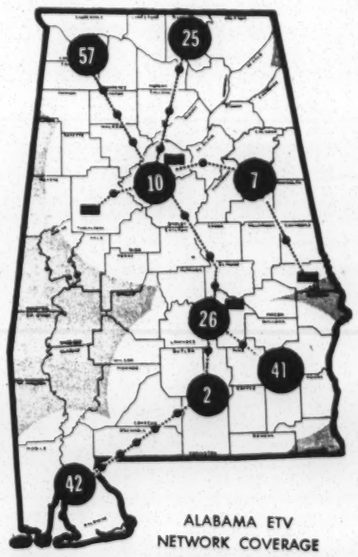
PUBLIC AFFAIRS--"The Great Society" program of President Johnson is studied, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2

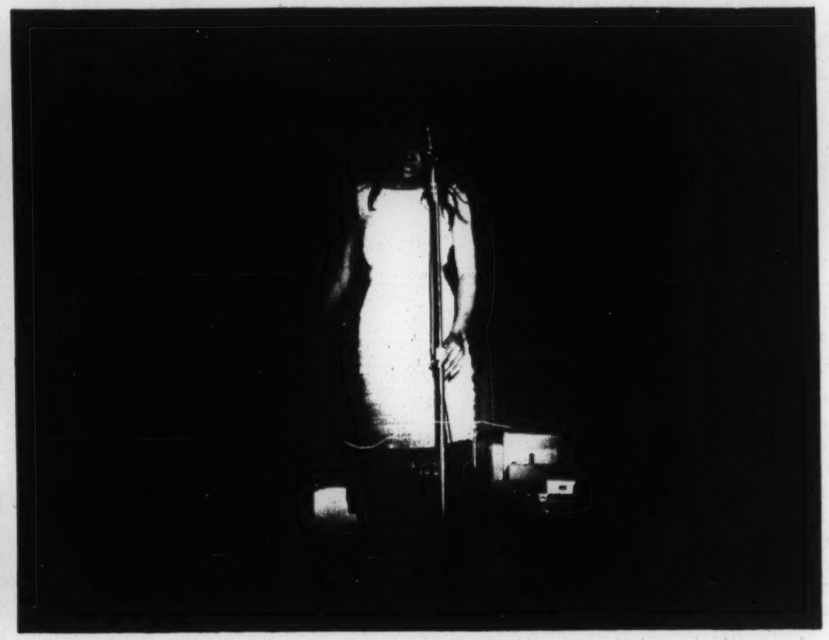
GLENN GOULD -- Pianist Glenn Gould is shown at recording session for Columbia Records. He tapes a performance of Bach's "Italian Concerto in F," 7:30 p.m.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3

INVITATION TO ART III--Cameras go directly to the galleries of the internationally famous Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, 8 p.m.



All educational television programs are seen on Channel 2 in Dozier (number 2 on the map above), Channel 7 in Cheaha State Park, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery, and Channel 42 in Mobile.



IKE and TINA REVUE

Text by Norman Lumpkin

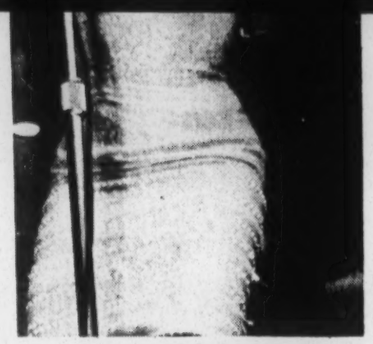
MONTGOMERY--The titillating Ike and Tina Turner show came to town to the Elks Club this month and before the lights went out Tina had rocked the joint, backed by a ten-piece band and her husband, Ike. Tina strutted, wiggled, screamed, and danced until the onlookers got dizzy.

With Ike, who plays the funkiest guitar around and vines like a millionaire, and a thoroughly professional band playing like mad, Tina sang songs James Brown made famous--in her own knock-down-'tell-the-truth-chile' way--like "Please, Please." Along with the typical blues, "I Saw My Love Marry Another."

In the middle of the songs she asks, "How many here now are with another women's man?" "How many going with a married person wonder does he kiss her like he kisses me?" And she scores every time.

The Ikettes add to the show with dancing and vocal back-up to Tina. The show has a pretty good vocal duo but one person is pretty much unsung--a young white musician who plays a guitar like B. B. King could never do. And many Negroes from the "Nobody-can-play-blues-but-Negroes" school have to take notice.

Photographs by Jim Peppler



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Photographs by Jim Peppler

'Somebody Up There Can't Add'

Two Sets of Figures for Mobile County Voters

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--At the program for Emancipation Day here last January, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach surprised everybody when he said that 44 per cent of the adult Negroes in Mobile County were registered to vote.

This unexpectedly good report drew a big burst of applause from the audience.

People were so astonished, in fact, that when Katzenbach held a news conference later in the day, J. L. LeFlore of the Non Partisan Voters League, and Frank Thomas, editor of the Mobile Beacon, asked him if he was sure about his figures. They said their figures on Negro registration in the county were much lower than his.

Katzenbach pulled some papers out of his briefcase and read from them that Negro registration in Mobile County was 22,097 out of 50,793 adults, or 44 per cent, as of Dec. 22.

He said he expected the figures would be even better by the primary election in May. Figures compiled by the Justice Department just before the election showed 24,794 Negro voters, or almost 50 per cent. The Justice Department listed a total of 131,949 voters, Negro and white, for Mobile County.

The only trouble is that the county's official voting list published just before the election by Probate Judge John Moore had only 114,103 names on it.

The difference between the official list and the Justice Department's pre-election figure is 17,846 voters.

If many of the missing 17,846 voters are Negroes, then the actual Negro registration in Mobile County is much lower than the figures given by Katzenbach and the Justice Department.

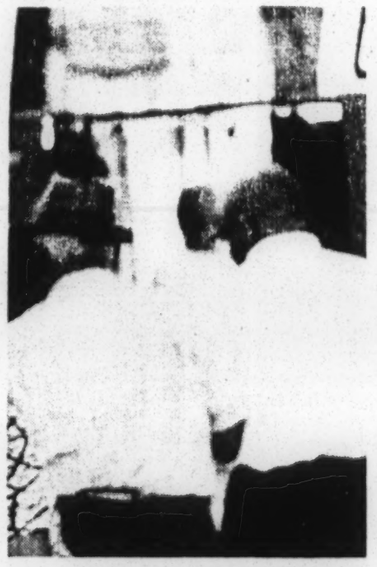
Before this year, it would have been easy to find out how many Negroes were registered, because the official list was segregated. This year, the list has been integrated. Judge Moore refuses to give any explanation for the integration.

The integration makes it very hard to tell whether Mobile County is doing as well as the Justice Department thinks. But there is some fairly strong evidence that the people who questioned Katzenbach's figures last January were right, and that the Justice Department has been wrong all along.

Part of this evidence comes from the primary election. If the Negro registration is really 24,794, as the Justice Department says, then the Negro turnout election day was less than 50 per cent. Many people here do not believe that more than half of the Negro voters stayed home.

Some more evidence against the Justice Department's figures comes from another federal agency, the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. About a year and a half ago, it issued registration figures which were 30 per cent lower than the Justice Department's figures at the same time.

The evidence available from local records fits much better with the Civil Rights Commission's report than with the Justice Department's.



TYPICAL DAY AT REGISTRARS'

In April, 1964, the county's last official segregated voting list was published. It showed a total of about 13,000 qualified Negro voters.

Not all of the registered Negro voters were on it, because people had to pay their poll tax before they were qualified to vote.

But a check of courthouse records last September showed that the difference between the number of registered Negro voters and qualified Negro voters in the city of Mobile was very small. The check also showed that Negro registration in the city, where most of the county's Negroes live had increased very little since the 1964 list was published.

If these things were true throughout the county, then the total Negro registration last September was probably no more than 14,000.

From last September until the publication of the integrated list in April, about 4,000 new Negroes registered.

That would make total Negro registration just before the primary about 18,000, or 6,000 less than the Justice Department says.

This is about 36 per cent, if you work it out, as the Justice Department does, on the basis of 50,793 adult Negroes in the county. But that figure is taken from the 1960 census. The adult Negro population in Mobile County now is around 61,000.

In other words, only about 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes here are actually registered, compared to the nearly 50 per cent which the Justice Department reports. This puts Mobile County close to the bottom in Negro voter registration in Alabama among counties with a large Negro population.

The Justice Department's error comes mainly from its incorrect total on the number of voters, white and Negro, in the county. Probate Judge Moore says, "I think they've got somebody up there who can't add." But he also says they may have been adding right and using the wrong numbers. A Justice Department official said last week that this was possible.

COUNTING THE VOTES....BUT HOW DO YOU COUNT THE VOTERS?

Apparently, the department started with white and Negro totals that were too high when it began checking on registration a few years ago. It has simply been adding newly registered voters to these early incorrect totals.

Judge Moore says the department didn't get any figures, right or wrong, from him. He says he doesn't know where the department's figures came from.

The department says its figures come from local officials, and in Alabama that generally means the probate judge.

Unless someone clears up this confusion, it will be impossible to say whether the department's error was a simple mistake or whether somebody wanted the public to get inflated reports on Negro registration here.

But regardless of the reason for the error, some consequences of it are obvious.

It has given people in Mobile and Washington the impression that Negro registration is moving along very well. This has led Washington to believe that federal voting examiners are not needed in Mobile County. Katzenbach's January speech implied that the department assumes local officials are obeying the voting rights act in counties with a relatively high percentage of Negroes registered.

Evidence of violations could change the department's mind, but a good registration record "tends to deter" the sending of examiners, according to a department official.

LeFlore has twice appealed unsuccessfully for federal examiners. His appeals included evidence of violations of the voting rights act.

One of these appeals came a few months before Katzenbach's surprising remarks on the success of registration in Mobile County. The other came shortly after.

Since then, most Negro leaders and registration workers have accepted the Justice Department's figures as accurate, and no one has been asking for federal examiners or launching any registration drives.

Takes Cash to Get Endorsement in Mobile

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--At least six different sample ballots

Booth has not done a good job of prosecuting organized crime and illegal liquor rings, or of giving equal justice to Negroes.

Palughi would do any better.

Palughi says it's hard for him to understand why he did not get the voters league endorsement and harder to un-

mittee three or four weeks before the sample ballot went to the printer. He thinks there was something besides time involved in the double endorse-

listed a total of [illegible] and white, for Mobile County.

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from the 1960 census. The adult Negro population in Mobile County now is around 61,000.

In other words, only about 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes here are actually registered, compared to the nearly 50 per cent which the Justice Department reports. This puts Mobile County close to the bottom in Negro voter registration in Alabama among counties with a large Negro population.

The Justice Department's error comes mainly from its incorrect total on the number of voters, white and Negro, in the county. Probate Judge Moore says, "I think they've got somebody up there who can't add." But he also says they may have been adding right and using the wrong numbers. A Justice Department [illegible] week that this was possible.

Apparently, the department started with white and Negro totals that were too high when it began checking on registration a few years ago. It has simply been adding newly registered voters to these early incorrect totals.

Judge Moore says the department didn't get any figures, right or wrong, from him. He says he doesn't know where the department's figures came from.

The department says its figures come from local officials, and in Alabama that generally means the probate judge.

Unless someone clears up this confusion, it will be impossible to say [illegible] simple mistake or whether somebody wanted the public to get inflated reports on Negro registration here.

But regardless of the reason for the error, some consequences of it are obvious.

It has given people in Mobile and Washington the impression that Negro registration is moving along very well. This has led Washington to believe that federal voting examiners are not needed in Mobile County. Katzenbach's January speech implied that the department assumes local officials are obeying the voting rights act in counties with a relatively high percentage of Negroes registered.

Evidence of violations could change the [illegible] istration record "tends to deter" the sending of examiners, according to a department official.

LeFlore has twice appealed unsuccessfully for federal examiners. His appeals included evidence of violations of the voting rights act.

One of these appeals came a few months before Katzenbach's surprising remarks on the success of registration in Mobile County. The other came shortly after.

Since then, most Negro leaders and registration workers have accepted the Justice Department's figures as accurate, and no one has been asking for federal examiners or launching any registration drives.

Takes Cash to Get Endorsement in Mobile

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--At least six different sample ballots were passed out for the May 3 primary election by Negro organizations and individuals in Mobile County. They caused a lot of confusion and controversy.

There was confusion because the ballots did not all make the same endorsements.

There was controversy because many people disagreed with certain endorsements.

This confusion and controversy showed up at the polls; there were big splits in the Negro vote. And the controversy has continued past the election.

Much of the talk has centered on the district attorney's race where Peter Palughi lost to Carl Booth, who has held the office for 23 years. Many sample ballots endorsed Palughi, but the Non Partisan Voters League ballot endorsed Booth. The voters league ballot is one of the oldest and by far the most influential in the county. Twenty-five thousand copies were distributed this election.

If Palughi had gotten the voters league endorsement, he probably would have won the election.

Palughi charged in his campaign that Booth has not done a good job of prosecuting organized crime and illegal liquor rings, or of giving equal justice to Negroes.

Palughi's charges about unequal justice centered on last summer's Nathaniel Taylor case.

Taylor, a mentally retarded Negro man, was brought to trial by Booth's office for the murder of a prominent white woman. The prosecution asked for the death penalty, but the judge ruled that there wasn't enough evidence to try Taylor and ordered the jury to free him.

The NPVL helped prepare Taylor's defense and raised much of the money to pay for it.

Palughi's cousin Delano Palughi was one of Taylor's lawyers. Vernon Crawford was the other. Crawford said there was so little evidence against Taylor that he should never have been brought to trial. J. L. LeFlore of the NPVL expressed similar opinions at the time.

But after the NPVL endorsed Booth, LeFlore argued that Booth was only doing his job in bringing Taylor to trial.

Raymond Scott, president of the Non Partisan Voters League, declined to comment on the Booth endorsement or on any other part of the organization's election activities. He said that LeFlore would be the spokesman for the voters league.

LeFlore says he has no evidence that Booth has failed to do his best or that Palughi would do any better.

Palughi says it's hard for him to understand why he did not get the voters league endorsement and harder to understand why he was never asked to meet with the voters league screening committee, which decided on all endorsements.

He says he and his cousin talked twice to LeFlore about meeting with the committee. LeFlore told them to ask Scott for an appointment, and they did. But they say no one ever called back or wrote to tell them when to come.

Two other local candidates who expected to get the voters league endorsement did get it, but so did their opponents. They were Bill Orrell, a 23-year-old running for the legislature, and Tom Sweeney, running for judge of general sessions. Both are relatives and close friends of Mobile Mayor Joseph N. Lagan, who has cooperated with the voters league for many years.

LeFlore said the screening committee thought Orrell "was a fine young man" but that neither he nor his opponent had been prominent in public life before. Therefore, the committee had no records to compare.

LeFlore also reported that Orrell was "late" coming before the committee. They had already decided to endorse his opponent and decided to put an "X" beside Orrell's name as a "courtesy." Orrell said he met with the committee three or four weeks before the sample ballot went to the printer. He thinks there was something besides time involved in the double endorsement.

Sweeney, like Orrell, campaigned publicly for Negro votes and expected to get a clear voters league endorsement over his opponents. But the NPVL gave Frank Alonzo an "X" also. Sweeney has not been active in politics before, but Alonzo has.

"Alonzo has a very bad record on race relations," said a member of another organization, which gave single endorsements to Orrell and Sweeney, as almost all sample ballots did, except the voters league's.

Alonzo was delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1964. He went along with the Alabama delegation's opposition to civil rights proposals and to oaths of loyalty to the national Democratic Party. But LeFlore says Alonzo admitted to the screening committee that this was a mistake, which he made only because he was under great pressure to keep in line with the Alabama delegation.

In the city elections last fall, Alonzo was one of the chief backers of a man who tried to unseat Mayor Langan.

"That Alonzo endorsement was just plain bad politics," says a white politician. "Langan has done a lot for those people." This man said he thinks the voters league screening committee knew it was bad politics but had some reason for endorsing him anyway.

"It is generally believed among politicians downtown that the Negro vote is available for a price," said one of those politicians. But he added that there are occasional exceptions. No amount of money could have gotten many Negro votes for Wallace or taken many away from Flowers.

But, he said when the issues are not so clear, and especially in local races where a few thousand votes can be crucial, the bidding gets pretty active.

A number of other politicians confirmed this. None of them wanted to be quoted by name. "I may need that vote sometime in the future," one explained.

Few Negroes active in politics try to deny that money is involved. Most admit it openly, and they generally add that the money is used to pay campaign expenses, like phoning committees and poll watchers.

But many Negro and white politicians also say that a lot of cash is paid for other purposes to influential individuals and members of various screening committees, or donated to certain churches.

"It's all done in ways which are virtually impossible to trace and prove," says a politician. "Candidate A gives some cash to middleman B, who gets it to Negro leaders C, D, and E."

Many people name C. H. King Sr. as one of the main middlemen. King, a white man, has owned and operated movie theaters in Negro neighborhoods for many years and has always had what LeFlore described as "quite an interest in politics."

SAMPLE BALLOTS OF ALL KINDS, EVERYWHERE

Just before the polls closed on election day, King and his son, C. H. King Jr., arrived at the polling place in Ward 10, the largest Negro ward. When the election officials opened the machines and started reading off the results, the Kings followed right behind copying down results from each machine.

LeFlore says that if King has any big influence over the Negro vote, "I don't know anything about it."

LeFlore said that "over the years, we have found it necessary to eliminate several people from the organization" because of their involvement in improper election deals.

Frank Thomas, acting head of the Mobile County Coordinating Committee, said his organization has been "fortunate enough" not to have such troubles.

The Rev. A. Robert Ray, director of the Mobile County Movement, admitted that his group received some money, but said it was all for campaign expenses.

Jeffery Davis, president of the group, said he has indications of "certain irregularities" within the organization, but everything has been denied and nothing can be proven.

Some smaller groups and individuals also received election money.

LeFlore says that everything received and spent by the voters league "is strictly accounted for in our records. This isn't true for some other groups."

The voters league paid about $2,400 for printing, for a crew of 18 women who worked two days folding and stuffing the ballots in envelopes, and for distribution of the 25,000 copies.

Receipts from candidates endorsed on the ballot were a few hundred dollars more than this.

LeFlore says, "It would be a wonderful thing if you didn't have to get any money from the candidates. But the Negro people just don't support you."

THE KINGS CHECK WARD 10 VOTES

Office expenses for the voters league are about $350 a month; so the excess from the election won't last very long. "When the account gets lean, then we (NPVL officers) have to pay the expenses out of our own pockets," LeFlore reported.

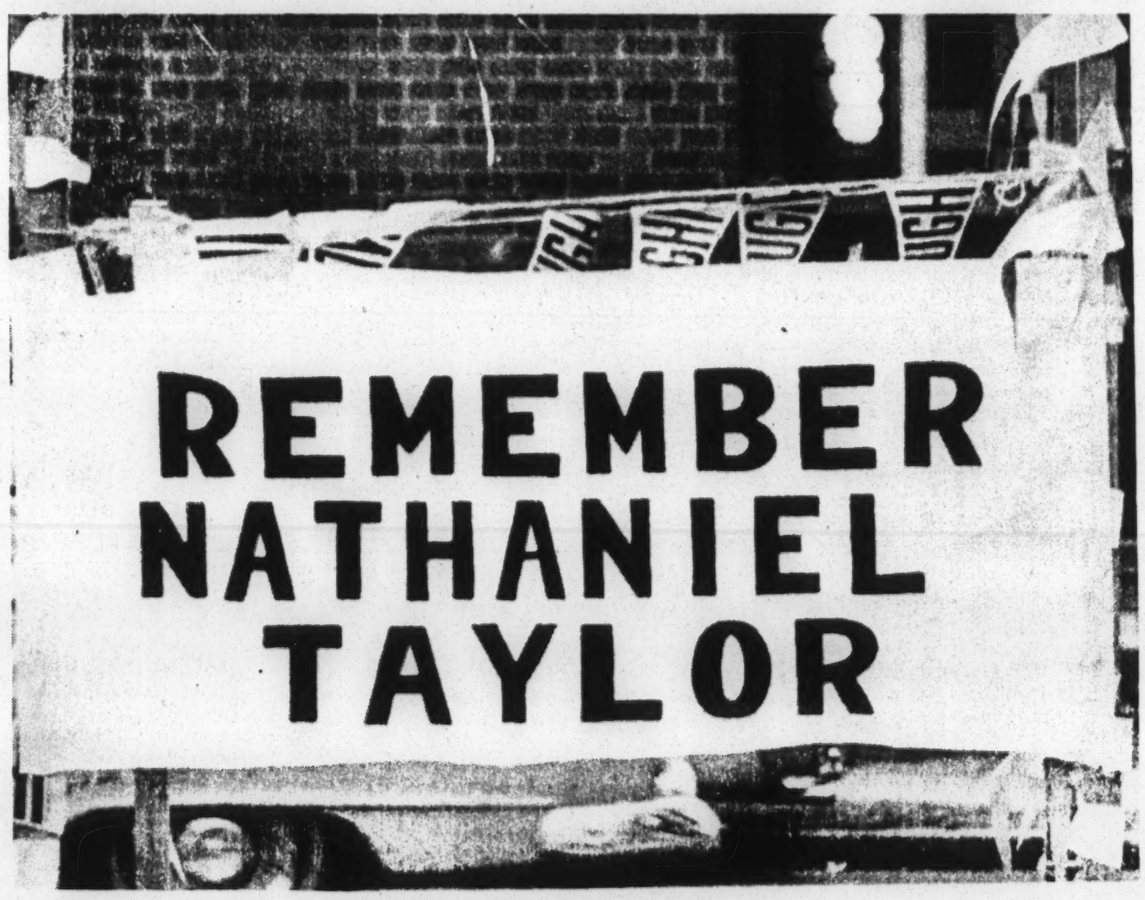
But despite this financial pinch, "nobody pays for an endorsement from this organization," LeFlore said. The screening committee decides whom it will endorse, he said, and then these endorsed candidates are asked for a contribution toward the cost of the ballot.

One candidate reports that a few days after he had been screened he got a call from the voters league saying he had been endorsed and telling him his share of the expenses. He says it was "quite clear" that the endorsement depended on his paying this share.

He didn't pay, and when the ballot came out, one of his opponents had the endorsement.

LeFlore says things like this do hap-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 4)



SOME OF THE VOTERS REMEMBERED

Barbour County Losers: We're Down But Not Out

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

EUFAULA--Wesley McNear folded his arms, leaned against the back of a chair, and thought for a moment. Then he grinned.

"If I could get to be sheriff of this county," he said," that's all I want."

It seemed like a strange thing for him to say. The primary election was long over. Out of the 8,000 votes cast for Barbour County sheriff, McNear received less than ten per cent--just 715.

That's the kind of vote that would make an ordinary candidate think about retiring from politics forever. But McNear wasn't an ordinary candidate.

"On May 4, I started running for sheriff four years from now," he said. He stopped, as if considering what a long time four years can be.

"I'm also thinking of the city elections," he said. "They'll be coming up in just a couple of years. Maybe I'll run for the city council."

Two years isn't tomorrow, and a lot could happen to change McNear's mind. But he doesn't think it will. He has already made some new plans.

"Originally I was going to go back in the Air Force," he said. "But I think I'll stay here with my people now. I can do more for them by staying than by going back."

A couple of miles across town, John Kelly Jr. had just come home from a long day's work. Kelly is the only candidate in Barbour County who lost two races on May 3. He was defeated for the board of education and for the Democratic Executive Committee. But he wasn't discouraged either.

"I feel great," he said, settling into a chair. "We did the important thing. We gave the impression we mean to get in public life." He leaned forward.

"Ninety-five per cent of our people haven't given much thought to government until now. They've just begun to get roused up. Our goal will be focused toward keeping them interested in taking an active part in government affairs--local to national."

Like McNear, Kelly has personal plans to help keep the people interested. He also wants to run in the city election.

"We had a lot of agony May 3," he said. "A lot of our people discouraged others from supporting us. Some sold their vote. A lot of votes were stolen. I think we'll do better next try."

Mrs. Mary Marshall, president of the Eufaula Voters League, was another losing candidate for the board of education. "I didn't really lose," she said. "I gained knowledge and understanding.

"I'm not going to give up that easy. I'll win one of these days. If not the next time, the time after that. I got acquainted with some of my white brothers and sisters. Maybe after a while, they'll see I'm a hard worker and vote for me."

Mrs. Marshall said the Voters League has spent its time and money the last three weeks trying to elect Fred Gray to the state House of Representatives. Gray is in the run-off for place no. 2 in the 31st district (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties) against Bill Neville of Eufaula.

"After Tuesday we're going to start training people for city positions," she said. "By the city election, they'll know the full duties and how to campaign. We'll train more than one for each job, so if somebody drops out, we'll still have a qualified candidate."

The rest of the potential candidates

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

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POLITICIANS CALL NEGRO VOTE A COMMODITY TO BE BOUGHT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

pen. When a man meets with the screening committee, it is understood that he will pay, if he gets the endorsement. The screening committee feels, LeFlore explains, that a man who would break this understanding could not be counted on to keep promises about how he would act in office.

Some candidates are not expected to pay anything. LeFlore explained the double endorsements in Orrell's and Sweeney's races by saying, "It was felt that neither of them had much money behind their campaigns. So, the committee decided to carry them free, out of respect for their apparent sincerity and their connection with Mr. Langan."

In other words, the voters league will endorse a man solely for his political views. But it will also endorse men who don't have the same views but do have some money to help pay for the ballot and other expenses of the organization.

"Almost all the screening committees work this way," said an experienced politician.

This doesn't exactly encourage politicians to respect the Negro vote. Neither do the constant reports of much larger payments which never are entered on the books of any organization.

Politicians downtown talk of the Negro vote as a commodity to be bought and sold at election time and then stored away until the next election.

JOHN LeFLORE

Some retain their respect for a few Negro leaders. One says of LeFlore, "He works too hard to be in this for the money." But, he adds, some other Negroes become Negro leaders "mainly at election time."

Inside the established Negro organizations, a few people are working for changes in the system. So are some on the outside. They say that when a man gets an endorsement by paying for it, then "he doesn't owe us anything after he gets into office."

Davis, of the Mobile County Movement, said he wants to help organize a single, county-wide screening committee that will "override this back-door politics and bring the candidates out into the open. This is the only way to show the candidates that they can be beaten in the Negro wards, no matter how much they pay."

Many Negroes and white politicians doubt this will work. They say there will be some corruption as long as there are screening committees and sample ballots. "The only answer," one man explains, "is well-informed voters who won't let anyone tell them how to vote. That's a long way off."

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A Vote for
ALBERT TURNER
Would Be a Vote for Yourself

ST. REPRESENTATIVE, 27th DIST.
(Perry, Marengo, Sumter counties)

THIS IS IT--MAY 31

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Albert Turner, Marion, Ala.)

Vote
TOM SWEENEY

A couple of miles across town, John Kelly Jr. had just come home from a long day's work. Kelly is the only can-

and sisters. Maybe after a while, they'll see I'm a hard worker and vote for me."

Mrs. Marshall said the Voters

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Cast Your Ballot
for
Henry McCaskill
for
Hale County Sheriff

THAT WE MIGHT EXERCISE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

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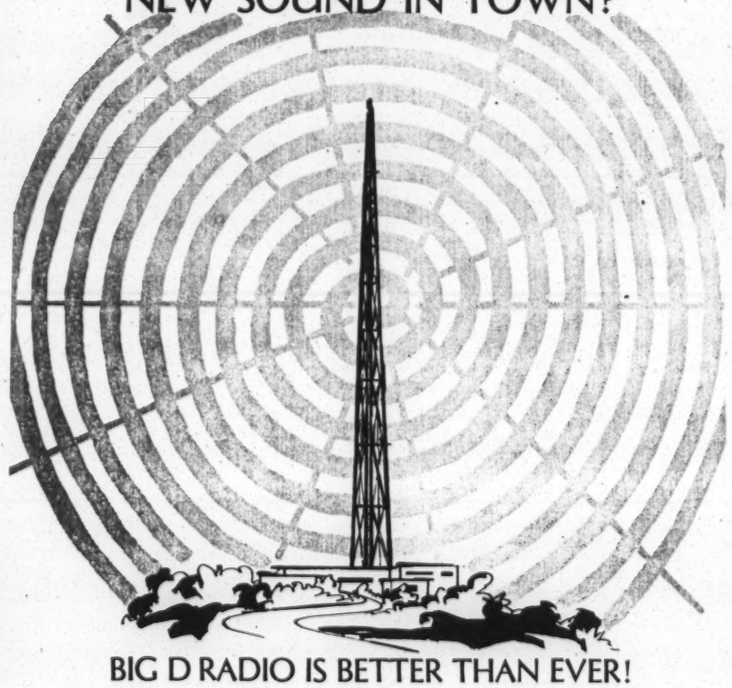

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4. To protect the life and property of all citizens of Perry County.

Vote For Patt J. Davis
for
Perry County Sheriff

Democratic Run-Off Tuesday, May 31

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Patt J. Davis, Marion, Alabama)

Vote

TOM SWEENEY

Judge of General Sessions Mobile County

A FAIR MAN WHO RESPECTS THE RIGHTS OF ALL.
AN EXPERIENCED MAN, 21 YEARS A TRIAL LAWYER IN MOBILE.
AN HONEST MAN WHO MEANS WHAT HE SAYS.

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Harry Witte, and Tom Sweeney, Mobile, Ala.)

Vote Montgomery

Place 10
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Mobile County

If elected to the House of Representatives, Place 10, in the Democratic run-off election, I shall welcome suggestions on how to improve the welfare of the people in the remote sections of our county as well as in Mobile proper.

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With the phase-out of Brookley, we must be sure that enough industry is here to fill the void.

With our natural resources and waterways, there is no reason why Bayou La Batre and surrounding areas, for instance, should not enjoy true prosperity.

There is nothing so seriously wrong with our economy that a little spreading to the forgotten areas will not cure.

Let us all work in harmony and understanding for a greater Mobile County.

Don't Forget to Vote in the Run-Off Election May 31

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Frank Fields, chm.,
Clarence Montgomery Campaign Committee, Mobile, Ala.)

Alabama Rights Fighters Now in Chicago

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

CHICAGO--One day in the middle of May, it snowed in Chicago. And no one was colder than the SCLC workers who came from the South to start a civil rights movement here.

"People don't feel too bad about going to a mass meeting when it's 80 degrees," said Jimmy Collier, who worked in Dallas, Greene, Hale, and Marengo counties last summer before going north to Chicago. "But when it's cold and snowy, they don't feel like going to no damn mass meeting."

The Rev. James Orange, a veteran of every Alabama civil rights campaign since the 1963 Birmingham marches, said the weather bothered him, too.

"The weather's my only hang-up with the North, man," said the big, bearded organizer. "Everything else is okay."

Besides Collier and Orange, many other Alabama rights workers are now in Chicago--the Rev. James Bevel, the Rev. Andrew Young, Bennie Luchion, Jimmy Wilson, Jim Letherer, and, of course, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the Chicago movement.

Their lives are different since they came to this chilly city, which has more people than the whole state of Alabama. Dr. King lives in a third-floor slum apartment, instead of his pleasant home in Atlanta. Andy Young has the flu off and on. Bevel sometimes wears a three-piece suit instead of his overalls.

For James Orange, at least one thing hasn't changed. He's still getting beaten up.

Orange said he was knocked around in Birmingham, Gadsden, Selma, and several other places in Alabama. "Anybody who worked in Alabama in 1963 and 1964 had to get it," he said. "I couldn't tell you, really, how many times I was arrested."

When he came to Chicago, the beatings started again. But this time the attackers weren't hostile white people or state troopers. They were members of Negro street gangs, "testing" Orange's non-violent philosophy. Chicago has many such gangs, with names like the Vice Lords, the Roman Saints, and the Spanish Cobras. SCLC is trying to get their help in the Chicago movement.

"I was beaten up by gangs nine times," said Orange, and there were ten other "incidents" when he was almost, but not quite, beaten up. But he convinced the gang members that he really was non-violent.

The goal of the Chicago movement is to get rid of the slums where most of the city's 1,000,000 Negroes live. Collier said a movement is much harder to organize in a big city like Chicago than it is in a small Southern town.

THE REV. JAMES ORANGE

"In the South, you could get to know the people just in your head," he said. "Here, one block has 400 or 600 people." And, he said, there are many things going on in a big city that take people's minds off the movement.

"You have to fight to get their time and interest. You can't do it just by saying you're going to fight for freedom."

Are the people the same in the North and the South?

Collier said they were--but then he changed his mind. "The people in the North are more beaten down," he said. "Here in the North, people have lost hope. In the South, people at least thought there was hope in the North."

Orange said the Negro organizations were more militant in the North, but the people were about the same. "Basically, the people here are the brothers, sisters, nieces, and nephews of the ones down South."

Even though Chicago is big and cold, Collier and Orange said that's where they had to be.

"This has to be done," said Collier, who has become the number one song leader for the Chicago movement. "Until this is done, the cities in the South face the same kinds of problems as the cities in the North."

"I'd rather be back where I started," said Orange. "But at this moment, I don't think there's too much I could do in the South with my organizing ability. My presence is more needed here than down South."

Orange asked to be remembered to all his friends in Alabama. And then he said sadly, "I do want to get back South."

CHICAGO MASS MEETING IN WARMER DAYS

BARBOUR COUNTY LOSERS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

pointed out that Eufaula has about six whites to every four Negroes, and talked about the city council. But Mrs. Marshall is used to running things. "It's time we had a Negro mayor," she said thoughtfully.

Mrs. Mary Hunter is one of six Negro women who ran for what used to be precinct seats on the county Democratic Executive Committee. When the present committee members discovered that four of the six precincts had more Negro voters than white, they rewrote the rules to let the county's white majority vote for all the offices. The six losers have asked the federal court to throw out the rules change.

"I lost in the county," said Mrs. Hunter, who lives in Comer, "but I won in my beat. I believe the court is going to support us and that I'm going to be able to take my seat. If not, I'll be up again in another four years."

The losing candidates admitted that many new voters were more upset by their defeat than they are. Mrs. Rosie Jordan, who ran for the Democratic Executive Committee, said some people don't think voting is worth the trouble.

"People say, 'They took our votes before. They'll steal 'em again. Our votes is no good,'" Mrs. Jordan said. "I tell them, 'Don't feel that. Your votes were some good. We just need more votes.'"

IT PAYS TO
ADVERTISE
IN THE COURIER

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

Kick-off for the tenth annual celebration will be held Monday, May 30, at 6:30 p.m. at New Pilgrim Baptist Church, 903 Sixth Avenue South, Birmingham, the Rev. N.H. Smith Jr., pastor.

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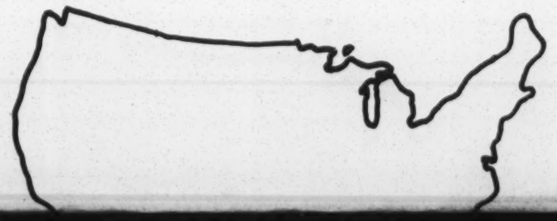

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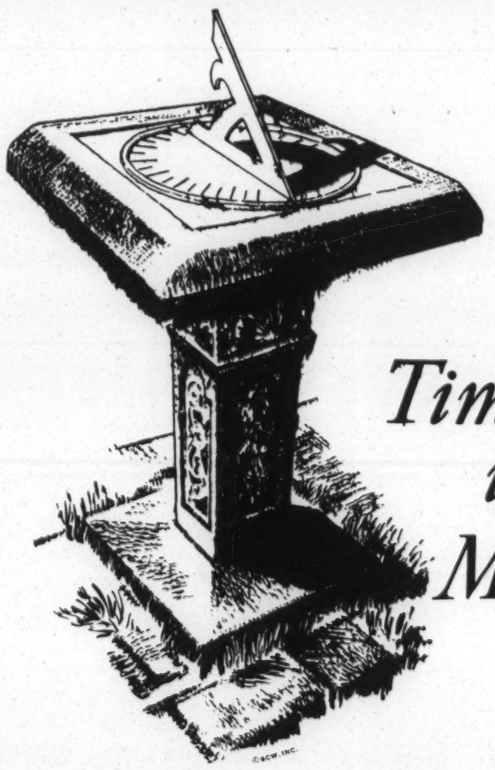

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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THE MARCH MOVED LIKE A SNAKE ALONG HIGHWAY 51 IN NORTH CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI. MOST OF THE WORK OF THE MARCHERS WAS IN THE SMALL TOWNS ALONG THE ROUTE WHERE VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES BEGAN.

March Doubles Vote Registration Along Route Through Mississippi

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

GRENADA, Miss.--Some Negro critics of the Mississippi march have called it a publicity stunt. Senator James Eastland of Mississippi called it "a circus."

But if the march does as well in every town along the route to Jackson as it did in Grenada, the critics will have to admit that it registered more voters than any other circus or publicity stunt before.

When the marchers sang and shouted their way into Grenada Tuesday noon there were about 625 Negroes registered in the entire county. By Wednesday afternoon, that number had doubled, and people were still coming to register even though the march had left town Wednesday morning.

The registration kept going strong because the marchers have developed a new strategy. When the march left Grenada, many of the marchers didn't.

A token force of about 60 walked out of town headed toward Greenwood, 30 miles southwest of Grenada on Highway 7. Greenwood is 97 miles north of Jackson.

The marchers who didn't march were working on registration in Grenada and in other towns. Most of them rejoined the march before it reached Greenwood. A few will stay behind and help the local people get organized to continue the work that the marchers started.

Grenada was such a success that leaders of the march planned to follow the same pattern in the towns and counties ahead.

When the march arrived in Grenada, after three days of walking down Highway 51 from Batesville, no one expected a great success. Less than 100 people had been registered in Batesville and "task force" registration crews, which started working the surrounding area Monday, had not done well. Floyd McKissick of CORE said Tuesday, "No great numbers have been registered by the task forces. Yesterday, they got numbers like 20, 30, and five."

The reception in Grenada was not too encouraging. Large groups of Negroes started gathering an hour early where the highway enters the city. But when the marchers arrived, most of the watchers just kept on watching as the march passed by. The city had never had any civil rights activity before.

But enough watchers joined the 300 marchers to make the march about half local people. By the time it reached Confederate Monument in the town square the rally there had ended. A small American flag was placed on the monument right above the head of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States of America.

Then the march moved across the square to the Grenada County Courthouse and a few white youths pulled the flag down. A total of 175 Negroes registered that afternoon. "These Negroes have been afraid to do anything," said

How Deacons Protect March

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

GRENADA, Miss. -- To reach the marchers' tents pitched for two days on federal property at the base of Enid Dam, you had to go through three state troopers' roadblocks.

And carloads of troopers stood watch on top of the dam around the clock.

The marchers seemed to be well protected, and there was no serious trouble at the dam or anywhere else along the route since James Meredith was shot last week.

But the men at each roadblock sitting in cars flying Confederate flags and talking with the troopers like old friends wouldn't have to use the roads. It would have been easy for snipers to sneak down the wooded hills around the camp and get clean shots at the tents.

The same is true along the line of march, Highway 51, where the woods come right up to the edge of the road.

"Never, never, let the women get on the outside of the road. Keep men on the

WORKER KEEPS CHECK BY RADIO

camp, but he would not tell exactly how many Deacons or how many cars there were.

Third of Hospitals Meet Rights Rules For Medicare Plan

BY MIKE STEWARD

With the beginning of the federal government's Medicare plan a month away, a third of Alabama's hospitals have cleared the biggest hurdle standing between them and participation in the program.

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Third of Hospitals Meet Rights Rules For Medicare Plan

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With the beginning of the federal government's Medicare plan a month away, a third of Alabama's hospitals have cleared the biggest hurdle standing between them and participation in the program.

That hurdle is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which requires any facilities receiving federal money to be desegregated. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has announced that at least 50 Alabama hospitals have agreed to comply with the law if they are accepted for Medicare participation.

Beds in the 50 hospitals that have agreed to obey the desegregation rule total about 4,000, or less than one-fifth of the 23,465 in all of the state's hospitals. This means that most of those hospitals complying are small ones.

Medicare is the new government health insurance plan that pays a large chunk of the medical bills for people 65 and over. The low-cost medical coverage is expected to allow many more people than in the past to use hospital facilities.

Several administrators said their hospitals have been approved for Medicare or soon will be, even though they weren't in HEW's list of 50. These hospitals include Mobile General Hospital, St. Jude's Catholic Hospital in Montgomery, and Jackson Hospital in Montgomery.

Technically, under the Civil Rights Act, hospitals getting federal funds through the Hill-Burton Act for construction or from any other present federal programs are supposed to be desegregated. However, the Medicare plan has brought the first close look by federal authorities to see whether the hospitals really are desegregated.

A spokesman for the federal government's Office of Equal Health Opportunity explained that the desegregation guidelines drawn up for Medicare require that hospitals be "color blind."

"We try not to get into a numbers game," he said. "If a man comes to the admission desk and is assigned to a bed simply on the basis of his case, that's all we ask. It's not true that Negroes have to be a certain percentage in a hospital."

The guidelines also mean that mostly-Negro hospitals should desegregate as much as possible. But the government spokesman said, "A Negro hospital can be in compliance with the Civil Rights Act. If a white person assigned to the hospital would be admitted and assigned to a bed on the basis of his medical needs, that's all the law requires."

However, one practice that will have to stop, according to the spokesman, is doctors' sending all of their white patients to one hospital and all Negroes to another.

Treating patients without regard to race, the spokesman predicted, "will eventually lead to many more Negroes in white sections of hospitals."

In addition to agreeing to comply with civil rights laws, hospitals must still satisfy the government that they meet general hospital standards before they will be fully eligible to take part in the program when it begins July 1.

So far only 15 hospitals in Alabama have satisfied both the desegregation and general standards requirements and are now fully eligible for Medicare participation.

This means that 35 of the hospitals that have agreed to comply with the desegregation requirement must still pass inspection on whether or not they meet general hospital standards.

Another 78 hospitals in the state have applied to participate in Medicare but haven't been approved on both counts by the government. This means that out of Alabama's total of 148 hospitals only

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 6)

Protect March

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

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The same is true along the line of march, Highway 51, where the woods come right up to the edge of the road.

"Never, never, let the women get on the outside of the road. Keep men on the outside. These woods are real ambush territory," Leon Hall told a meeting of line marshals Sunday night.

A few feet away, another marshal was setting up an all-night guard around the camp.

And a few feet farther away, Earnest Thomas was sitting at the controls of the short-wave radio in his car.

"I better turn on my radio and see what the Klan's talking," he said. Thomas, originally from Jonesboro, Louisiana, is a founder and national officer of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, an organization prepared for self-defense when Negroes are attacked.

Thomas had a pistol stuck in his belt and another one in the car.

His radio wasn't just for listening to the Klan. He said other Deacon cars were out patrolling the road around the

WORKER KEEPS CHECK BY RADIO

camp, but he would not tell exactly how many Deacons or how many cars there were.

Thomas talked at great length, though, about the Deacons' commitment to self-defense, and he let TV cameramen film him using his radio.

The next morning, one of the white Northerners who have come down for the march stopped Thomas and said, "What are you trying to do to the march? We are supposed to be nonviolent, and now it's all over the country that armed Deacons are with us."

"Well, good," Thomas said. "Then maybe the Klan's heard about it too. That'll help keep them off us."

"Many people who would have come down to join our march won't come now," the man replied.

"Whose march?" Thomas asked.

"Our march," the man said. "Whose do you think it is?"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 3)

the surrounding area Monday, had not done well. Floyd McKissick of CORE said Tuesday, "No great numbers have been registered by the task forces. Yesterday, they got numbers like 20, 30, and five."

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But enough watchers joined the 300 marchers to make the march about half local people. By the time it reached Confederate Monument in the town square the rally there had ended. A small American flag was placed on the monument right above the head of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States of America.

Then the march moved across the square to the Grenada County Courthouse and a few white youths pulled the flag down. A total of 175 Negroes registered that afternoon. "These Negroes have been afraid to do anything," said a local Negro watching inside the courthouse. "But this sure exceeds my expectations. We're not gonna stop it now. We're gonna keep it going."

In the evening, a huge crowd packed the New Hope M. B. Church, after another march through Negro sections of town.

"We're supposed to be singing about freedom!" one of the civil rights workers shouted as the singing started. "You never had this town before. Now you've taken it over in a day. That's freedom. So sing about it."

A few minutes later, he made an announcement that indicated that a local official had taken some notice of the day's activities.

Leaders of the march, including the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who had just rejoined the march, were negotiating with the officials. The registrars

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER
Led Marchers in Song

had agreed to stay open until 9 p.m. that night.

About 300 people--most of them unregistered--marched off to the courthouse, led by SCLC's Hosea Williams, whose singing could be heard for blocks. But they arrived at 9 p.m., and the registrars were just leaving. So the group demonstrated for a while, held another rally at the monument, marched back to church, held another rally there, and agreed to return to the courthouse the next morning.

In the morning, people started coming in to register and the leaders of the march held a press conference which emphasized that registration was not their only concern.

They said they would return to Grenada, if the city did not make progress in other areas also.

Wednesday afternoon McKissick and King spoke at a rally in Charleston, the seat of Tallahatchie County. About 150 people marched through the little town after the rally, while scores of state troopers patrolled the streets and some white citizens sat in their cars and trucks talking on shortwave radios.

Forty or 50 people lined up to register after the demonstration. Four workers said they would stay behind in Charleston.

They are wondering what will happen after the march, when all its TV cameramen and federal officials move further south. People in other towns visited are wondering the same thing.

'No Proof Lowndes Negroes Evicted for Registering'

BY TERRY COWLES

MONTGOMERY -- A federal judge ruled Wednesday that there was "absolutely no evidence" that white landowners in Lowndes County evicted tenant farmers because the farmers had registered to vote.

U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. then ordered a group of civil rights lawyers who represented the farmers to pay all the court costs connected with the case. In doing so, Johnson said that it seemed that the farmers, who as losers in the case would ordinarily have been charged with the court costs, had never authorized anyone to file the case.

The civil rights lawyers and U.S. Justice Department lawyers, who were called into the case by the judge, accused 13 Lowndes County landowners of evicting the 20 tenant farmers and sharecroppers because they had registered to vote. The lawyers said this violated the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

FRANK M. JOHNSON JR.

Section 11 of the act states that it is a criminal offense to "intimidate, threaten or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote."

Judge Johnson said, however, that there was a lack of evidence that the sharecroppers and tenant farmers had been intimidated.

Johnson said "the only evidence of intimidation" concerned one of the farmers, Cato Lee. Lee was evicted by white land owner LaRue Haigle after Lee attempted to send his children to a formerly all-white school.

Johnson said that there was no evidence that Lee had been thrown off the land because he had registered to vote.

Johnson ruled in the case after studying written statements by the tenant farmers and sharecroppers and by the landowners.

Attorneys for the farmers, landowners, and the Justice Department also submitted written statements. There was no formal hearing in the case.

A similar case in Baton Rouge, Louisiana was thrown out of court by a federal judge there last January. Negro farmers had said they were evicted for registering. U. S. District Judge E. Gordon West called the Voting Rights Act of 1965 a flagrant violation of the U. S. Constitution.

MISSISSIPPIANS HAD DIFFERENT GREETINGS FOR THE MARCHERS

AFTER A LONG DAY OF MARCHING, THE FEET BEGAN TO ACHE

Rights News

GREENSBORO -- About 30 Negro demonstrators picketed--four at a time--in front of V. J. Elmore's Store for the second week, saying "We want jobs now."

An SCLC civil rights worker said the pickets were threatened Monday noontime by a white man with a shotgun.

SELMA--Dallas County SHAPE, an anti-poverty committee set up separate from the Selma mayor's committee, applied for $1.5 million from the federal government for a year-around Head Start program for 800 youngsters around the county.

The application proposed 22 centers to employ 270 people.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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Layout Editor: Amy R. Peppler

Vol. II, No. 25 June 18-19, 1966

Editorial Opinion

When in the Course of Human Events ...

"He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his (legislature) to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance....

"He has called together legislative bodies at places, unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people....

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance....

"He has combined with others...for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury....

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us....

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated

Tips on How to Handle Money

DON'T Be Like the Man Who Got Stuck Buying the Super-Duper-Model Sweeper

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

MONTGOMERY -- "The price of money varies. Money can be borrowed at lower rates at different places," says Earl C. Pippin, executive vice president of the Alabama Consumer Finance Association.

The best way to borrow money is to find out how much it would cost to borrow money. The interest is much higher at many loan companies than it is at others to borrow the same amount of money. For instance, at the ABC Loan Company the interest rate on $200 may be 4%, and at the XYZ the interest rate may be 5 1/2%.

Interest is the amount of money that lenders charge you for the use of their money.

In planning your spending, there are some do's and don't's. They are as follows:

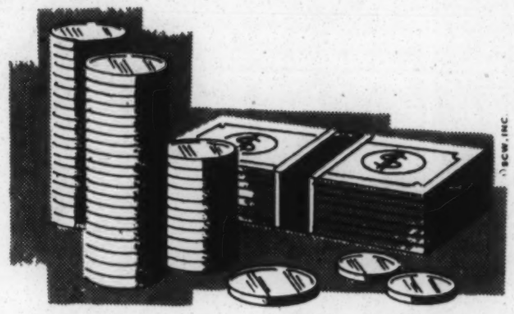
DO (1) Keep track of your income, expenses, and savings for at least one month. (2) Find how much you have left after all your necessary expenses and payments are taken out. (3) Set aside money for needs between pay days so that you won't go broke before pay day.

DON'T (1) Don't be a soft touch for a smooth salesman who uses an emotional approach. EXAMPLE: "You owe it to your kiddies to buy this set of encyclopedia (only $400)." By the time your kiddies are old enough to use them, the books will be outdated and worthless--and you will probably be in a much better position to afford the set they need then than you are now.

(2) Don't fall for the old sales gag about the "other buyer who is going to snap this bargain up" if you don't get on the dotted line at once. If Salesman Sam really had a customer that eager, he wouldn't be trying so hard to sell you.

(3) Don't buy anything--for cash or credit--that you don't really want or need, just because it is cheap. EXAMPLE: One eager customer signed up for a $260 super-duper-model sweeper. Later, when the company agents came around to see why he was behind in his payments, they found he didn't even own a rug.

Of course, few people are this eager to buy, but far too many seem unwilling to match their wants and needs with a



realistic understanding of their ability to pay.

In a family of four, where take-home pay per month is $400, the expenses should be divided as follows. "Her" responsibility would include: $113.60 for food, $57.20 for house operation, $38.80 for clothing, and the total should be $209.60. "His" responsibility should include $64 for shelter (rent), $56 for transportation, $50 for personal advancement, and the total should be $170. "Their" expense or responsibility would be $379.60 for total His and Her expenses, $20.40 for total savings, insurance, and contributions. The total would be $400.00, the take-home pay per month.

Personal Advancement includes health, health insurance, education, recreation, vacation expenses, newspapers, magazines, books, hobbies, dues, state income taxes, membership fees, allowances, baby sitters, entertainment, etc.

So, says Pippin, remember in borrowing money and budgeting the family money that there are always tricks of the trade that both the borrower and the lender can use.

'New South'

Same Old Story in Long Sentences

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

The first issue of the new "New South" came out last winter. It was a big, fat quarterly magazine, instead of a little, skinny monthly one, as it used to be.

Buried in pages and pages of the worst kind of drivel in the first issue were two really rewarding articles--Helen Howard's account of a day in the life of a poor Negro mother, and Professor James Silver's up-to-date views about the "closed society," Mississippi.

Now the second issue of the new, improved "New South" is upon us. Again, there are pages and pages of boring and indigestible observations about the cle that really ought to be read--Margaret Long's report of her visits to newly-integrated neighborhoods in metropolitan Atlanta.

And even reading her article requires courage; you have to get through an opening paragraph that says:

"Dogwood was in alabaster bloom, azaleas flamed densely pink and tomato red, spirea showered white fountains from lawn to lawn, redbud trees thrust out rosy limbs and big trees reached lacy and cloud-like with beginning green leaf in the modest Atlanta neighborhoods where 'the colored are taking over.'"

In the old "New South," the writers often couldn't resist describing all the trees, flowers, weeds, mammals, birds, and bugs in the vicinity. Evident-

white lady in a racially changing neighborhood tells Miss Long, "We got niggers all around. Niggers on this side, niggers on that side, niggers across the street and over yonder, niggers around the corner both ways."

How does she like it?

"Jest fine! You couldn't ask for nicer neighbors. We don't have no trouble. They all nice people."

Another white woman in another part of town seems to agree: "The colored people has been a lot nicer and friendlier to me than the white people that moved out."

But still, even though most people say they like their new neighbors, the white people are leaving, one by one. "Right now," a real estate agent tells Miss Long, "we're not integrating neighborhoods, but expanding boundaries of the

injustice to some organizations' work and pays extra dividends to others, when individual components of the effort are scattered all over the country, with all kinds of objectives and action,' sees the present as 'an era when accelerated and expanded work is called for, and when more needs must be met in a less spectacular fashion,' and when, unhappily, 'there is no spectacular means for attracting attention' and funds for Negro improvement and preparation."

How's that again?

"New South" seems to be fascinated by the civil rights movement's problems. At least, it keeps on getting people outside the movement to write about what's going on inside the movement. In the spring issue, August Meier of Roosevelt University in Chicago tries where Miss Long failed. In an article

for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people....

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

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"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us....

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our... brethren....We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice...."

Sound like a civil rights speech against King George I of Alabama? Not at all, this is a statement by five American patriots against King George III of Great Britain. They called it The Declaration of Independence.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

To the Brave Coward who Shot Mr. Meredith,

The shooting of Mr. Meredith will not stop anything. The causes for liberties, justices, and rights of all human beings will always go on. You may kill 100 or 1,000, you will only have just that many more to join the marches.

The Negro has the right to vote as well as any other American. I wish they would go every time they have registration.

It was wonderful to know that President Johnson went so far as to get the Voting Rights Bill passed. Even the man who can't read or write can vote after he has registered.

James Meredith was carrying a Bible, so we know he was not going to kill anyone with it. A brave man will be seen when he's up to some good, only a coward will hide in a bush and shoot a man in the back.

Many good men were killed before the shooting of Mr. Meredith, what did it stop? Only a life trying to do someone else good.

If you listened to Mr. Paul Harvey's news one day, you would have heard him make the statement about a writing on the wall, "God is dead," signed "Meechui." Someone else came along and wrote, "Meechui is dead," signed "God."

So you can see we do have people who still know there is a God and some who are foolish to think there is no God. But to the ones who think and know, keep on believing; he surely will answer prayer. Don't stay there and think he is coming and get you up, ask him and wait.

I am encouraging the voters to encourage the non-voters to get registered, and when it is time to vote do not stay home, get out and vote. The only ones who complain the most, are the ones who stay home. It is nice to be counted but let's be heard also.

I am happy Mr. Meredith is doing fine. I am sure if he had died he would have felt he did not die in vain. To all cowards, you can kill a man but you can not kill a cause. He will probably get 5 or 10 years for being a coward.

Mrs. Janice McCullough
Mobile, Ala.

* * * *

To the Editor:

The Junior Braves Pony League team of Mobile is planning on coming to Montgomery Saturday, June 25, to play Mr. William Knight's team. The Braves players are from 12 to 14 years of age....

We are also trying to get the team a game in Birmingham or some city near Birmingham or Montgomery. We would like to play two games while we are on this trip.

Louis Black, Manager
(432-9944)
Mobile, Ala.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

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But after the flowery beginning, an old white lady in a racially changing neighborhood tells Miss Long, "We got niggers all around. Niggers on this side, niggers on that side, niggers across the street and over yonder, niggers around the corner both ways."

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"Jest fine! You couldn't ask for nicer neighbors. We don't have no trouble. They all nice people."

Another white woman in another part of town seems to agree: "The colored people has been a lot nicer and friendlier to me than the white people that moved out."

But still, even though most people say they like their new neighbors, the white people are leaving, one by one. "Right now," a real estate agent tells Miss Long, "we're not integrating neighborhoods, but expanding boundaries of the colored ghettos."

This piece is much better than Miss Long's article in the winter issue--a long, long, long discussion about where the movement is and where it's going.

For this study, Miss Long simply interviewed every civil rights leader in sight, and strung their remarks together without any serious attempt to organize her material. The confusion is worsened by sentences like the following--one of the few 110-word sentences ever to get by an editor:

"Roy Wilkins, who finds himself 'increasingly objecting to the designation of civil rights activity as "the Movement," an umbrella to cover the work of all organizations and local community groups, and which in some ways does injustice to some organizations' work and pays extra dividends to others, when individual components of the effort are scattered all over the country, with all kinds of objectives and action,' sees the present as 'an era when accelerated and expanded work is called for, and when more needs must be met in a less spectacular fashion,' and when, unhappily, 'there is no spectacular means for attracting attention' and funds for Negro improvement and preparation."

How's that again?

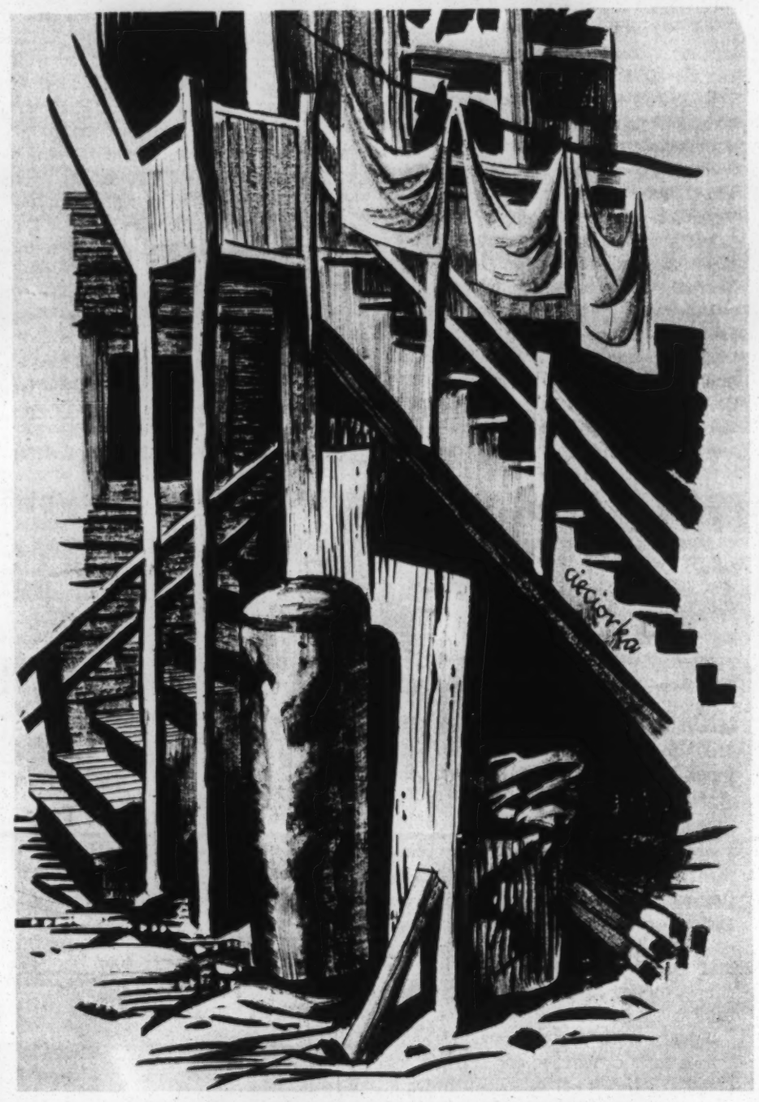
"New South" seems to be fascinated by the civil rights movement's problems. At least, it keeps on getting people outside the movement to write about what's going on inside the movement. In the spring issue, August Meier of Roosevelt University in Chicago tries where Miss Long failed. In an article almost twice as long as Miss Long's, Meier analyzes dozens of things that don't need analyzing.

The incident at Greenville, Miss., when poor people tried to take over buildings on a deserted air base, hardly needs any explaining, but Meier explains it anyway.

First, he says, "it demonstrated the necessity of increasing Negro voting power at the state level and, in local areas."

And for those who might have missed it, he reveals that "the air base demonstration was symptomatic of the increasing restlessness of the poor Negroes, both rural and urban, in the South...."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)



"EXPANDING BOUNDARIES OF THE COLORED GHETTOS"

Rights Lawyers Open Selma Office

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

SELMA--A lawyers' committee that provides free legal services in civil rights cases has opened an office here.

The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union has worked for the past two years out of offices in Jackson, Miss., and New Orleans, La. It has sent more than 200 volunteer lawyers to the Deep South to work with its five full-time attorneys here.

Donald A. Jelinek, a young New York attorney who had been on the lawyers' staff in Mississippi, has opened up his office in Selma at 31 1/2 Franklin Street, in a room last occupied by SCLC and below SNCC's Alabama headquarters.

"I want to make sure everyone knows we are committed to everyone in the movement," said the national executive secretary of the committee, Henry Schwarzchild, "whether the problems arise in NAACP or SNCC or anybody else, emphatically including just local Negroes (in Alabama) who have problems that we can help with."

"Clients may call Jelinek collect if necessary, of course," Schwarzchild said in New York City.

The lawyers committee will have 12 volunteer attorneys assigned to the Selma office for three or four weeks each during the summer, he said.

Schwarzchild said, "LCDC's legal services will be available free of charge in any matter arising out of the civil-rights movement and out of the Negro community of the state of Alabama that concerns the struggle for equal rights and racial justice."

Working with the committee in the same office is Miss Shirley Mesher, a civil rights worker from Seattle, Washington, who has resigned from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Miss Mesher, who had been SCLC project director in Selma, would not give her reasons for leaving SCLC.

She had urged the lawyers to set up shop in Alabama, after involving Jelinek in the case of Negro tenants in Dallas County who claimed they were not receiving their share of cotton allotment payments from the J.A. Minter plantation.

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

Can you picture yourself peering around the side of the house, flinging your slinky black cape over your shoulder, and skulking off into the dead of night?

Have you ever thought of going out at midnight when the moon is full to terrorize the neighborhood?

Do you dream of zapping little green men with your secret outer-space atomic-ray gun?

If so, you can stop feeling embarrassed. You are just one of a growing number of monster-movie fans.

You love to sit in the eery gray light from the tube and watch the horrifying adventures of your favorite prehistoric or futuristic fright. You may shiver and shriek, but that's all part of the fun.

Anyway, you know the simpering blond heroine always escapes the evil clutches of the Local Menace by the movie's end.

Whether you like your creatures from the Black Lagoon or Planet X, there's a movie just for you. Unfortunately, the people who choose the movies for TV stations don't seem to share your love for monsters. Science-fiction films are about as scarce as werewolves at noon.

Saturday, June 18, will be an exception. Several Alabama TV stations will unleash some ghoulish goodies for your viewing pleasure. And stations which aren't showing these movies might become victims of any of the following:

THE DAUGHTER OF DR. JEKYLL--Blood-hungry off-spring of the world's most bestial fiend. Hidden in her body was there the frightening reincarnation of a brutal werewolf? 7 a.m. Channel 6 in Birmingham. (That's right--7 in the morning. You have to be a real fan to get up and watch that one.)

PHANTOM OF THE OPERA-Hideous creature lives in dark musty cavern under the opera house, has a soft spot in his heart for beautiful opera star. He also has a soft spot in his head, because he kidnaps her so he can listen to her sing, 9:30 p.m. Channel 31 in Huntsville.

TERROR IN THE HAUNTED HOUSE-Story of a young bride who is terrified when her husband takes her to live in a mansion believed to be haunted, 10 p.m. Channel 20 in Montgomery.

CURSE OF THE UNDEAD-Voodoo doings in deepest darkest jungle delight a mad doctor, dismay a lovely heroine and addled hero, 10:30 p.m. Channel 12 in Montgomery.

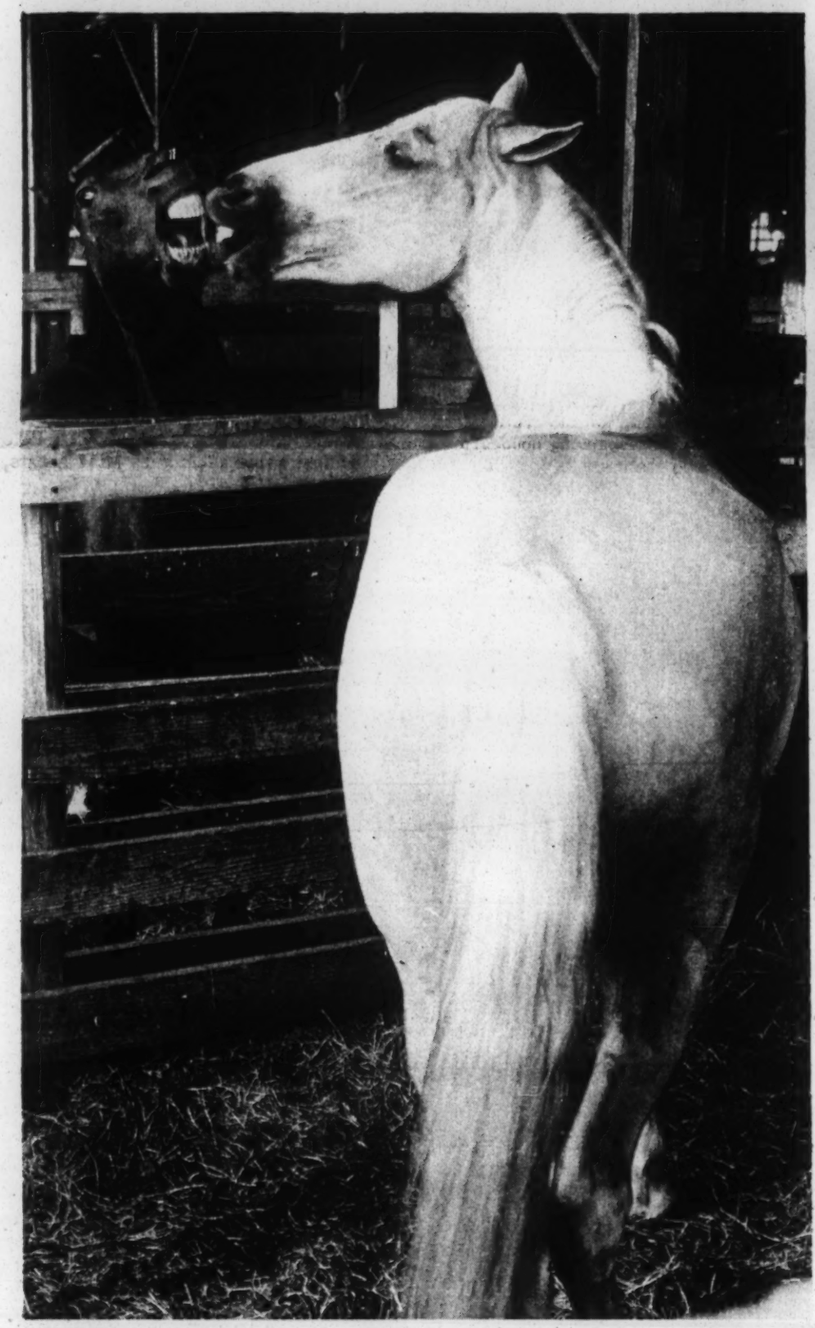
THE ATOMIC MAN-Atomic age produces its own unsightly wonder, in true Frankenstein tradition, 11 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan.

For those who prefer more realistic film drama:

SUNDAY, JUNE 19

A FAREWELL TO ARMS - Ernest Hemingway's classic tale of love and war set in Italy during World War I, with Rock Hudson and Jennifer Jones, 8 p.m. Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.; Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, and Channel 31 in Huntsville. At 10 p.m., on Channel 4 in Dothan.

"YOU GROW 'EM BETTER WE SELL 'EM BETTER"
CAPITAL STOCKYARDS
FAT CATTLE NOT FULL CATTLE Bring BETTER PRICES



You Raise 'Em Better, We'll Sell 'Em Better

All right, boys. Let's go. Here's a nice one now. What'll ya give for him?

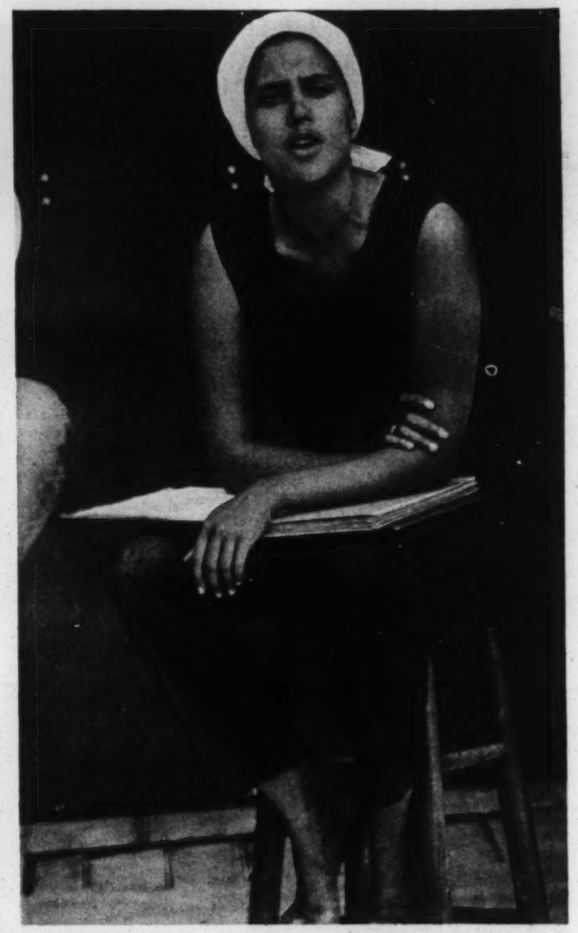
Eighty dollars, gimme eighty, eighty-one. Lets have two. Who'll give eighty-two for 'em. He's a good one boys...

Let's have a hundred, hundred, a hundred. Sold to the gentleman for one-hundred dollars.

Now boys, what will ya start for this one? A real fine one, boys.

Photographs by Jim Peppler

THE ALABAMA FESTIVAL OF ARTS TOOK PLACE TWO WEEKS AGO IN NOTASULGA.



ACTORS FROM THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATRE REHEARSED IN THE AFTERNOON.

42 Acres of Land and an Idea

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

NOTASULGA--Take a hillside in southeastern Alabama. Pick one that's covered with red earth and pine trees, just like hundreds of hillsides in Alabama.

Now take a good look at it. What do you see?

The chances are you see a heap of red earth and a woods full of pine trees.

But that isn't what Miss Doris Mitchell sees when she looks at her hillside in Notasulga, ten miles north of Tuskegee on Highway 81.

Miss Mitchell has 42 acres of land and an idea.

She wants to turn her hillside into a cultural center. And she isn't talking about an occasional art class or casual concert.

The cultural center she wants to build would be a small city of art and artists, set in the middle of the Alabama countryside.

But it wouldn't be a city of strangers. Although Miss Mitchell wants to attract outstanding artists of all kinds--musicians, painters, sculptors, writ-

Miss Mitchell would invite creative artists, like painters and sculptors, to exhibit their works in a gallery that would also have room for the works of Alabama rural people. Performing artists, like actors, dancers, and musicians, would give programs in a large theater that would also put on performances by local people.

Miss Mitchell calls her idea the Alabama Academy of Arts. The thought first came to her last year, a few months after the death of her father, Dr. Joseph R. Mitchell. She started the Joseph Mitchell Memorial Foundation to "do something in memory of him."

She began with the idea of holding a concert, and

The second venture was a concert of African drum music and dancing, held earlier this spring in Columbus, Ga. It broke even.

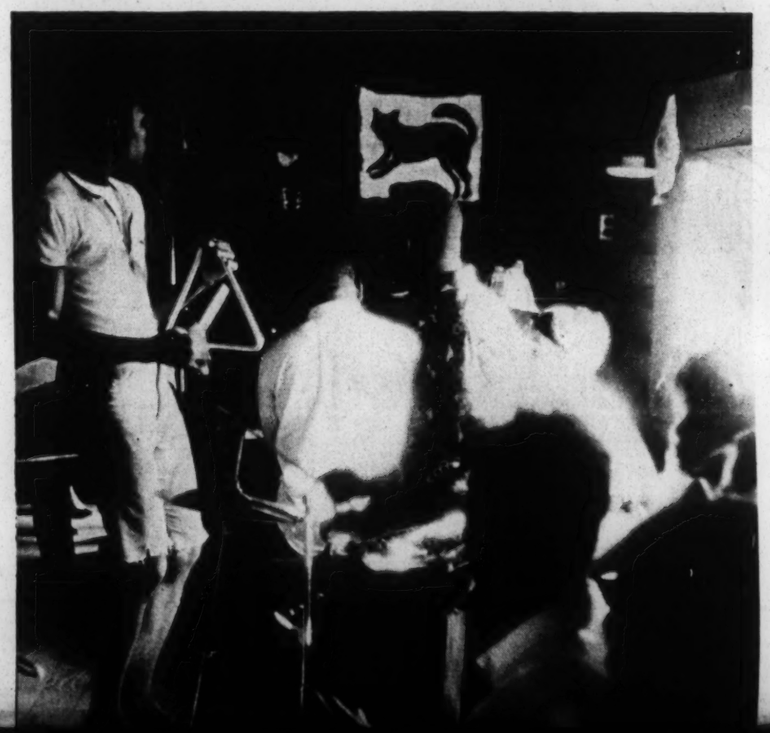
The third was an Alabama Festival of Arts, held two weeks ago on the hillside in Notasulga. The Macon County Board of Revenue donated the use of its equipment to clear some land in time for the festival.

The Sunjet Serenaders, a steel band from Trinidad, played calypso music. The Free Southern Theatre, a group of actors from New Orleans, performed a play and read poetry written by American Negroes.

The Columbus Ballet, young dancers (most of them teen-aged girls) from Georgia, performed several dances. John Beecher read his poem about some Notasulga sharecroppers (white and Negro) who tried to form a union during the 1930's but were killed by angry landowners.

The festival ran for three warm, moonlit nights. The performances were given on a wooden outdoor stage, completed just minutes before the first evening's program began. The audience sat on tree stumps on the hillside, looking down at the stage.

Up the hill, Miss Mitchell had hung an exhibition



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The cultural center she wants to build would be a small city of art and artists, set in the middle of the Alabama countryside.

But it wouldn't be a city of strangers. Although Miss Mitchell wants to attract outstanding artists of all kinds--musicians, painters, sculptors, writers--she doesn't mean to limit her center to them.

The most important people at her cultural center would be the people who already live in rural Alabama--the farmers and their wives and children.

"They don't really know what they can do," Miss Mitchell explained. "All their lives they've been told that art and culture have nothing to do with them." They have the idea that art is something by and for rich people or white people or, simply, other people.

Miss Mitchell hopes to build a cultural center that would change the way Alabama farmers think and feel about themselves and about art. She wants them to discover for themselves that their own lives are the raw material out of which they can make music or paint pictures.

"School programs make you think you have to be a mathematician if you want to play music or write music," Miss Mitchell said. "They start off by showing you how to write down the notes.

"The notes are fine, but they aren't necessary. The music isn't in the written notes. It's in feelings and rhythms, instruments and sounds."

But you can't just pick up a stick and start beating it on a drum--not unless you have a lot of talent and a lot of self-confidence. Teachers at the cultural center would show people how to do what they want to do, and how to discover what they can do.

Adults would attend small classes or work on their own, using the center's library and workshops and materials. For children there would be a summer camp with artists for counselors.

The center would also be a place where artists of all kinds would live and work, learning from each other.

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She began with the idea of holding a concert, and

MISS DORIS MITCHELL

expanded it to a festival of the arts. Then she discovered that there really wasn't any place to hold such a festival.

"I realized that southeast Alabama needs a cultural center," Miss Mitchell said. "It needs a center for folk art and African art. It needs a place where Negroes can find out that they have arts and culture of their own."

With that idea in mind, she gathered together a board of directors including writer Ralph Ellison and folk-singer Odetta Gordon. And she started trying to raise money.

The first project was a concert by Odetta last fall in Birmingham. "It was sensational flop," Miss Mitchell said. "We lost nearly $2,500."

The second venture was a concert of African drum music and dancing, held earlier this spring in Columbus, Ga. It broke even.

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Up the hill, Miss Mitchell had hung an exhibition of Mexican folk art in the wooden house that is the temporary gallery.

Nearly everyone who came said they liked the festival and hoped Miss Mitchell would hold another one soon. But not enough people came to raise any money to build a permanent cultural center. Instead, the festival lost more than $3,500.

Of the 300 people who did attend the festival, very few were the rural people Miss Mitchell wants most to reach. And there were no local performers at all.

"I talked to so many people around here," Miss Mitchell said, shaking her head and smiling. "Some of them said they would do it, but they didn't.

"But I'm not discouraged. The problem is that people need a cultural center more than they realize. Somehow we can make them aware of who they are and what they can do."

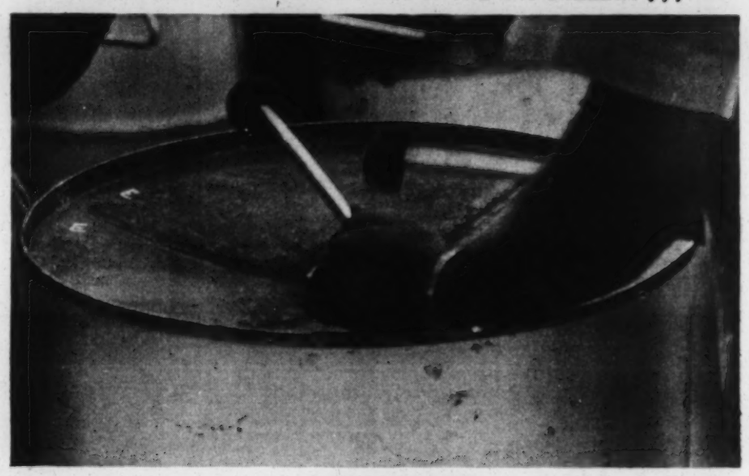
Meanwhile, Miss Mitchell is looking for "a hundred people who are as interested as I am in this idea." She said she needs a competent administrator and a group of workers.

She also is exploring other ways of raising money. If she can get even a few thousand dollars, she still hopes to open a small art camp later this summer.

The Free Southern Theatre has promised to give more performances on the outdoor stage during warm weather. Miss Mitchell hopes to persuade artists visiting nearby cities to come to Notasulga.

She also plans to keep trying to get her neighbors interested in the idea of a cultural center of their own. "If we can get people used to coming out here now and then for an evening," she said, "we'll have something to build on."

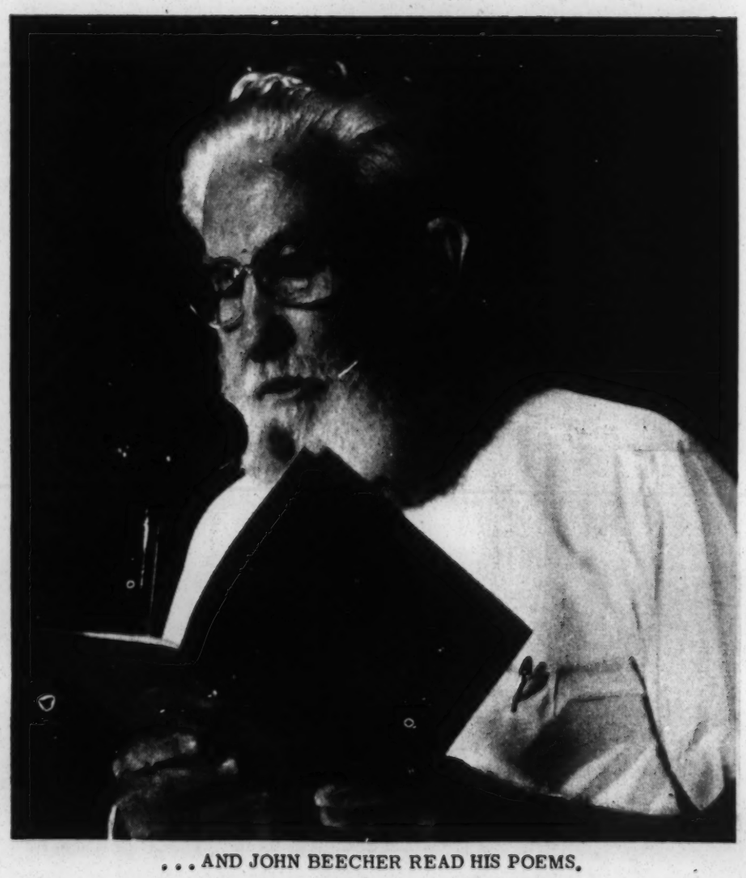
THE SUNJET STEEL BAND PLAYED IN THE ART GALLERY . . .



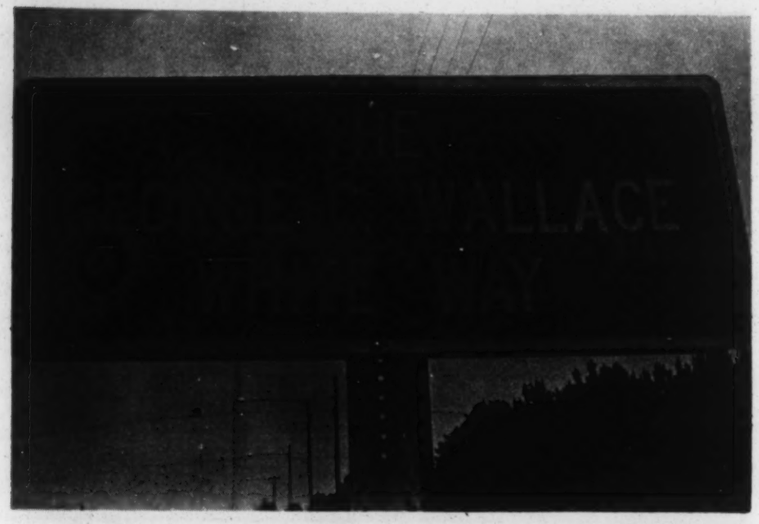
. . . AND OUTDOORS.

AT NIGHT, THE COLUMBUS BALLET DANCED . . .

. . . THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATRE READ POETRY AND GAVE A PLAY. . .



. . . AND JOHN BEECHER READ HIS POEMS.



The signs on the highway between Birmingham and the Mississippi-Alabama state line give the road different names. At one point, the highway is named for Alabama's 49th governor, at another point it is named for the 50th governor. The main thing to remember is that the road is U.S. Highway 78, and it will get you from Birmingham to Mississippi, and back again.

TAKES COMPLAINTS TO WASHINGTON

NAACP Presses U.S. Steel Case

BY DON GREGG

BIRMINGHAM--In a follow-up to last week's march, Dr. John W. Nixon, state president of the NAACP, asked the federal government for an economic boycott against the U.S. Steel Corporation.

Nixon said that he feels the government has "just cause to withhold contracts on the basis of the more than 200 complaints filed against the Fairfield Division of U.S. Steel."

Nixon and five members of the NAACP Birmingham branch's labor and industry committee flew to Washington the day after the march. They spent two days there presenting evidence of alleged job discrimination to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Nixon said that Dr. Luther Holcomb, acting chairman of the commission, made no commitment about further commission investigation of the complaints.

"I was told that the commission is under-staffed and doesn't have adequate funds to handle the flood of complaints it has received since Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 went into effect last year. They told me the experts who set up the commission did not anticipate so many complaints."

Some of the complaints claiming discrimination at U. S. Steel are more than six months old.

"Since the NAACP is convinced that the commission has neither funds nor staff to handle our complaints, we requested that our case be turned over to the U.S. Attorney General," Nixon said. The request was made under a part of the Civil Rights Act that allows the Attorney General to take court action if he suspects job discrimination.

Committee members who accompanied Nixon were Virgil Pearson, a committee chairman; Clarence Duncan; Freddie Rogers; Thomas Johnson; and Grover Smith Jr. All are employees of U.S. Steel, and so they made a detailed report to the commission about their experiences at U.S. Steel.

The majority of the 200 complaints relate to promotion of qualified Negroes, but some complaints singled out problems with lay-offs, vacations, and the question of proper union representation of Negro workers.

Aside from staff and budget problems, Nixon said that he feels the government drags its feet where big business is concerned.

"They seem to be handling complaints against small businesses first. It is very important that the federal government document our complaints, but there is a feeling among NAACP members that the government is stalling.

"If the size of U.S. Steel is causing the government to go slowly, then where does fair play begin and politics end? The Civil Rights Act can become a political football instead of a commitment of the American people," Nixon said.

Federal Judges Rule:

Dothan Deserves Only 1/5 Of County Representation

MONTGOMERY--The city of Dothan in Houston County has more than 61 per cent of the county's population and pays 69 per cent of the taxes collected by the county board of revenue.

Yet, Dothan has only one voice out of five on that board.

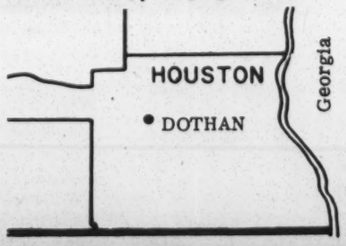
In early April, Dothan Mayor Earl C. Moody took the issue into federal court. He asked a three-judge federal panel to order that Dothan have more of a voice in the decision of how county tax money was to be spent.

Under Alabama state law it is the responsibility of the state legislature to see that the population of a county is evenly and equally represented in the county government.

Last week Judge Walter P. Gewin of the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals and U.S. District Court Judge Seybourn H. Lynne dismissed the case, saying three conditions must exist before federal judges could interfere with the normal legislative process.

The three conditions stated by Judges Gewin and Lynne were (1) when there is a "long-continued failure" of the state legislature to remedy a situation of unequal representation; (2) when the unequal representation is for the "obvious purpose of depriving Negroes of their right to vote"; and (3) when the "strangle-hold" of a minority in the state legislature has made action by the legislature impossible.

None of these conditions existed in Houston County, the judges said.



U.S. Gives Its School Figures, And Meadows Gives Alabama's

BY GLORIA GERMAN

BIRMINGHAM -- "We meet today during a period of considerable contention here in Alabama over the issue of desegregating the schools as required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and earlier federal court decisions."

That was the opening line of Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education in the Department of Health, Edu-

such a way that it does not contradict federal law, Howe said. The state, therefore, is not free to spend federal money in districts in which federal money has been ordered cut off, the commissioner said.

When asked what would happen if Meadows decided to ignore the order to withhold funds, Howe replied, "Then we've got a problem."

U.S. Releases Films On Civil Rights News

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The story of the desegregation of the University of Alabama is one of three films that the federal Community Relations Service is making available to community organizations.

The film, an ABC-TV Scope program, is called "The Quiet Revolution."

The Community Relations Service, now an agency of the Justice Department, was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities solve racial problems.

A second film describes work by residents of Macon, Ga., and students and teachers at Mercer University there to aid peaceful school desegregation in Macon. It is called "The Mercer Project."

The third film, "A Time for Change," describes events leading to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The half-hour films are available for showing from the Media Relations Office, Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

PATRONIZE COURIER

HOSPITALS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

20 haven't yet asked to join in Medicare.

Birmingham's Baptist Hospital is one of the 20 hospitals in the state that hasn't yet asked to participate in Medicare. According to Executive Director L. R. Jordan, the hospital has never asked for federal funds.

This policy, he said, doesn't have anything to do with integration, but rather is based on a "long-standing Baptist principle of separation of church and state."

He said the hospital's board of trustees has been studying the Medicare proposal for several weeks and will probably make a final decision about joining or not when it meets next Monday.

Administrators at hospitals trying to get approval for Medicare participation doubt that white patients would resent being treated in a desegregated hospital.

One of the hospitals that was on HEW's list was Colbert County Hospital in Sheffield. When Administrator J.R. Frye was asked if he thought white patients would resent being treated in a desegregated hospital he answered:

"There are some people who don't particularly go along with the idea, but most realize it's a federal law and that we have to comply with it, that's all."

Douglass Goode, Administrator at Jackson Hospital, said all of Montgomery's hospitals are trying to cooperate with HEW on the Medicare issue, but "It takes time to work these things out."

He said he doesn't expect any trouble from white patients over the desegregated Medicare plan. Most, he said, realize this is just "a way of life." He added that usually 17 to 20 per cent of the hospital's patients are Negroes.

Miss Ann Pratt formerly of La Petite Beauty Salon announces the
Grand Opening
of
Ann Pratt's
Wiggery & Coiffure
850 High St.
Montgomery 262-6667
June 17 - 24
Window Demonstration of Wig Styling on a Live Model. 9:30 Saturday, June 18.

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That was the opening line of Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Howe was the keynote speaker at a conference to explain the 1966-67 "Guidelines for Education Desegregation."

The purposes of the meeting were given by Samuel Simmons, director for the Field Services Division, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

(1) Explain and discuss the 1966-67 guidelines for education desegregation issued by the commissioner of education.

(2) Discuss various federal laws and administrative procedures relating to school desegregation.

(3) Discuss problems, methods, and techniques involved in the desegregation of schools.

(4) Discuss grants and other services made available by the federal government and private agencies to aid schools and communities in desegregating schools.

Howe, who was appointed commissioner of education Dec. 18, 1965, explained why the state has two sets of figures concerning the number of schools which have complied with the guidelines.

"The state has issued different figures than ours because they do not know how many districts have signed compliance forms. Many districts sent forms to us without notifying Montgomery."

To date, 59 districts have sent compliance forms; 35 of these complied without reservation, the other 24 districts may not have sent acceptable compliance forms because they included qualifying remarks, Howe said. There are 118 school districts in the

HAROLD HOWE II

state.

Whether all or some of these 24 will be acceptable will be decided by next week by the Office of Education legal staff. Austin R. Meadows, Superintendent of Education in Alabama, gave his reason for the state's different figures:

"I don't know how many complied because some districts didn't send me a copy of the form they sent to Washington," Meadows said.

Howe also explained the method of cutting off federal funds. Some of the money comes to the state already earmarked for certain districts, and some of it comes to the state and the state makes the basic decision as to where that money goes.

All money, however, must be spent in such a way that it does not contradict federal law, Howe said. The state, therefore, is not free to spend federal money in districts in which federal money has been ordered cut off, the commissioner said.

When asked what would happen if Meadows decided to ignore the order to withhold funds, Howe replied, "Then we've got a problem."

Meadows went on to say that Wallace is not the executive officer for educational matters. Meadows is, according to the state constitution. The federal government must deal with Meadows, he said.

"I don't believe this system can work out in the long run," Howe said of the free choice plan. "In the long run we will move beyond the free choice system. Principals don't know where their students are coming from each year."

In the 1965-66 school year, one out of every 13 Negroes attended previously all-white schools in the South. One out of every 237 attended previously all-white schools in Alabama, according to William L. Taylor, Civil Rights Commission staff director.

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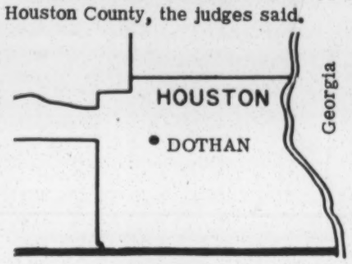
The three conditions stated by Judges Gewin and Lynne were (1) when there is a "long-continued failure" of the state legislature to remedy a situation of unequal representation; (2) when the unequal representation is for the "obvious purpose of depriving Negroes of their right to vote"; and (3) when the "strangle-hold" of a minority in the state legislature has made action by the legislature impossible.

None of these conditions existed in Houston County, the judges said.



Florida

The third member of the panel, U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., said he did not agree with his fellow judges.

Judge Johnson said in dissent, "The principles of equality among voters within a state and the fundamental precept that representative government is one of equal representation for an equal number of people without regard to race, sex, economic status, or place of residence--apply to local organs of government."

A similar case that involved Randolph County was dismissed in the same action.

the desegregation of the University of Alabama is one of three films that the federal Community Relations Service is making available to community organizations.

The film, an ABC-TV Scope program, is called "The Quiet Revolution."

The Community Relations Service, now an agency of the Justice Department, was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities solve racial problems.

A second film describes work by residents of Macon, Ga., and students and teachers at Mercer University there to aid peaceful school desegregation in Macon. It is called "The Mercer Project."

The third film, "A Time for Change," describes events leading to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The half-hour films are available for showing from the Media Relations Office, Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

"It takes time to work these things out."

He said he doesn't expect any trouble from white patients over the desegregated Medicare plan. Most, he said, realize this is just "a way of life." He added that usually 17 to 20 per cent of the hospital's patients are Negroes.

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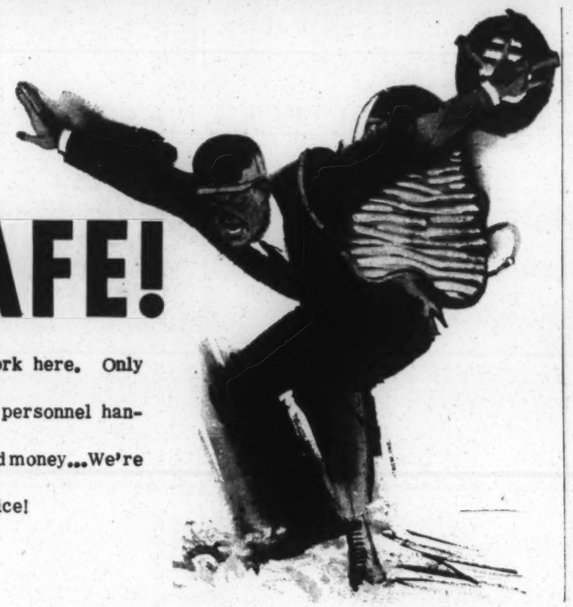

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ON THE MARCH THROUGH MISSISSIPPI STARTED BY JAMES MEREDITH THE MARCHERS STOPPED FOR A NIGHT OR TWO AT CAMP SITES ALONG THE WAY. AT LEAST ONE WOMAN (ABOVE) FOUND THE MORNINGS CHILLY. ANOTHER MARCHER TOOK TIME FOR A QUIET MOMENT OF PRAYER AT A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR A MARCHER WHO DIED OF A HEART ATTACK.

REVIEW OF 'NEW SOUTH'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

But when it comes to stating obvious facts in as many words as possible, no one can top Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which publishes "New South."

"By all evidence that we have," he begins in the winter issue, "the situation of Negro Americans is so desperate that to overstate it is hard." Then Dunbar lists six "policies" that will help this situation. "None is original," he says, and he isn't kidding. Among the policies are:

"Security of the person must be guaranteed."

"The job of erasing all racial barriers must be completed."

"Negroes must enter into full and free participation in politics at all levels."

And so on. People who have known these things for years may be surprised to learn that if you're a political scientist, you can get paid for writing them down.

Finally, Dunbar tells us, "We must start from where we are."

After Dunbar's article comes an interesting, informative piece by Professor Silver of the University of Mississippi.

He does some work on his own, instead of just reading newspapers. And so he comes up with cases like the Negro training school principal who has been registered for 20 years in a town 165 miles away from the school, so that he always has a good excuse for not voting.

The first issue also includes an article by Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University, the movement's kept/ psychiatrist, whose studies of Southern Negroes always come out just the way you want them to. In this article, he concludes that "the pain and torture of the South's history has (sic) been shared by all its people. . . Their minds have all taken in the region's hurt and bad blood, but lived also in company with the region's warmth, openness, and really splendid countryside."

And then there are the contributions of F. C. Campbell, Our Negro Poet, who gets away with some pretty awful poetry but thrills "New South" editors by referring to his own people as "niggers."

Wilkins, Evers Tell Opinion of Marchers

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

JACKSON, Miss.--A memorial service here Sunday honored the slain Medgar Evers, praised the NAACP, and scolded the marchers headed toward town.

DEACONS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

"The black people's march," Thomas answered. "We're the ones who's catching hell and are going to catch it even worse after the march is gone. You don't have any right to tell us how to defend ourselves if we're attacked."

The man insisted that the march was officially non-violent.

Thomas replied that no organization had asked the Deacons to come, but no one could tell them to leave. Besides, Thomas added, the Deacons had agreed to non-violence "during the marching," and no one had really objected to them guarding the camp at night.

But when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. rejoined the march Tuesday at Grenada, he said, "This is definitely a non-violent march. We don't need any arms, day or night. Everybody agreed to this."

So the issue is apparently still unsettled among the leaders.

Among the marchers, a few people, mostly white, would like the Deacons or their arms to leave. But some of the whites and almost all of the Negroes are glad to have the Deacons around.

One Negro girl said of Thomas, "I know one thing. If he is in the line, I gonna be right next to him. I wouldn't want to be anywhere else when they start beatin' heads."

Evers was field secretary of the Mississippi NAACP when a sniper killed him in front of his Jackson home three years ago.

About 2,000 people came to the service, and about 800 of them marched through downtown Jackson at the end of it.

The executive secretary of the national NAACP, Roy Wilkins, led the march and was the main speaker on the program.

Wilkins argued for the NAACP way when he said, "If this marching and agitation is to mean anything at all, . . . it must create new laws."

But the main objective of the civil rights movement now does not need to be more laws, Wilkins said. Rather, it should be to prepare Negroes for a full role in society, because "the battle against the white people is on the way to being won--believe me."

Almost every speaker on the program said the issue now is not white people against black people. Without naming any particular groups, they criticized ones with an "all-black" approach to civil rights.

They also had some stern words about "missionaries coming down here from the North to save Mississippians from fear."

"We need help," Wilkins said, "but if anyone comes here . . . to save our souls, well, that's another thing."

But Wilkins did not say that the march is useless. He suggested to the audience that "you use the marchers while they are here" for voting registration.

Charles Evers, present NAACP field secretary for Mississippi, did not repeat the same highly critical remarks he had made a few days earlier about the march.

Instead he said, "I hope that when they get to Jackson, they'll make a switch and go over to Highway 61 and march back to Memphis registering every Negro along that road."

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Mobile Holds March To Honor Medgar Evers

BY PHILIP SAYRE

MOBILE--"This is part of a continuing attempt to knock off the leaders and kill the movement," charged Dr. R. W. Gilliard, president of the Mobile chapter of the NAACP, at a protest rally here last Sunday.

He was talking about the shooting of James Meredith June 6 and the killing three years ago of Medgar Evers, Mississippi field chairman for the NAACP.

About 40 people gathered for the rally at the Warren Street Methodist Church, and then walked 15 blocks, protesting "the failure of state and federal government to protect civil rights workers" and "to point up the importance of passing the proposed civil rights bill, which will protect workers from harrassment, injury and burglary."

The marchers, whose numbers grew to about 75 as they walked Sunday afternoon through the Negro sections of Mobile, carried signs saying, "Join this march for freedom to walk the highways," and, "Stop the white man from killing us."

The Mobile demonstration was part of a nation-wide protest to support the march in Mississippi and observe the anniversary of the killing of Medgar Evers. There were rallies and marches as far away as Portland, Maine, and Omaha, Nebraska.

As the marchers walked through the streets, a great many people waved from their porches and windows but did not join.

"If we fail to march here in Mobile, then we fail those men who have died," said local NAACP director, David Jacob Jr. He echoed the message of a poem recited at the rally by Miss Bessie Hill, "Wake Up Negro Wake Up."

All Those Customers
You Wish You Had

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUN. 5 FORSYTH ST. NW. ATLANTA, GA.

$500,000 to CR Groups

BY NELSON LICHTENSTEIN AND ROBERT E. SMITH

CAMDEN--The federal government has approved more than $500,000 in anti-poverty money for two civil rights groups in Lowndes and Wilcox counties.

The two grants, for programs to help migrant farm laborers, come under a part of the Economic Opportunity Act that does not require the governor's approval.

In Wilcox County, the anti-poverty coordinating committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is getting $302,081 from the government for a family development program.

In Lowndes County, $240,640 is being channeled through the Lowndes County Christian Movement for a program to teach reading and writing and new job skills. About 100 people who have lost or are in danger of losing their farm tenant jobs will learn new skills such as carpentry or masonry in the program.

Leaders of both Negro freedom organizations say they'll use the money to set up anti-poverty programs controlled and staffed by poor people.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND

"The money is something concrete. SCLC has just begun to fight in Wilcox County," said the Rev. Daniel Harrell, head of SCLC in the county. "This grant will give Negroes courage and a feeling of self-reliance."

In the Black Belt county where 83 per cent of the people can neither read nor write, the federal funds will be used to set up adult education classes, youth enrichment programs designed to help keep junior high students in school, and day-care centers for children less than three years of age.

Last year the Wilcox County School Board fired six Negro teachers, all active in civil rights activities. According to Harrell, these people will be the first instructors hired by the SCLC anti-poverty committee.

The eight-month program will begin about August 1, with nine centers established around the county. More than 200 families are scheduled to participate in the family development program.

William Strickland, new head of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, said the federal grant was especially important because it meant "the government realizes that we are not radical or extremists."

THESE WILCOX COUNTY PEOPLE MAY BE HELPED BY ANTI-POVERTY GRANT

Three Stores Are Picketed In Greensboro

BY WILLIAM W. ROBINSON

GREENSBORO--"I've never seen Negroes sticking together like they have here in the poor counties," Mrs. Teresa Burroughs said here Monday night at the weekly mass meeting. "Tonight I'm proud to be a Negro."

Mrs. Burroughs heads the picketing of Greensboro stores that is now in its fifth week.

Local Negroes have been picketing and refusing to buy from stores which, they say, refuse to hire or promote Negroes. The three large stores involved are Elmore's Five and Dime, Bill's Dollar Store, and Adams Market.

During the picketing, said Mrs. Burroughs, "they have spit on us, put dogs on us, harrassed us, and pulled a shotgun on us." About eight or nine people carry picket signs daily from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

"We realize that our patronage supports these stores," said Mrs. Burroughs. Hale County (of which Greensboro is the county seat) is 71% Negro, she said, and the white merchants depend on the Negro dollar for their livelihood.

"White merchants want to see Negro faces in Greensboro, but we have to keep pressure on the stores until they will hire Negroes," said Mrs. Burroughs.

Last year a committee composed of Lewis Black, head of the Hale County Improvement Association; the Rev. L. A. Lee, and Mrs. Burroughs wrote letters to various stores asking that they hire Negroes. The letters were ignored. The three then talked to the merchants, but said they received no assurances that Negroes would be hired.

Picketing began last month at Elmore's Five and Dime, two weeks ago at Bill's Dollar Store, and last week at Adams Market. Negroes have been urged to boycott any Greensboro stores

MFDP in Legal Mess

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--The first battles of Mississippi's congressional and senatorial campaigns were being fought this week in the courts, not on the campaign stump.

The main disagreement was whether Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) candidates who ran in the June 7 Democratic primary can run as independents in November.

The legal battle started last May, when the MFDP asked a federal district court to postpone the primary until confusion about a Mississippi law could be cleared up. This law says, "No person shall be eligible to participate in any primary election unless he intends to support the nominations made in the primary in which he participates," and "is in accord with the statement of the principles of the party holding such primary."

Six MFDP congressional candidates--the Rev. Clifton Whitley, Dock Drummond, Ralthus Hayes, the Rev. Edwin King, the Rev. Clinton Collier and Lawrence Guyot--said they did not agree with the principles that the regular Mississippi Democratic Party set forth at its 1964 convention. This con-

Trip Into Quitman, Miss., Brings Scratches, Bruises, and Arrests

QUITMAN, Miss.--A group of young

he rolled up the window. Field said the

Free Food for Hale

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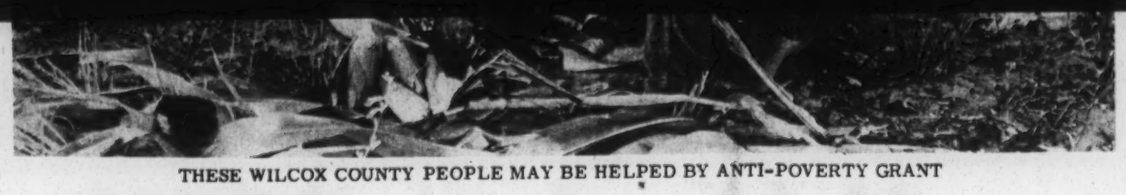
The storeowners said they hadn't ignored Negro protests.

"Doc" Adams Sr. of Adams Market said the picketers "haven't talked to me or presented any demands." And, he said, "Negroes are still shopping in my store."

Said Harold Campbell, manager of Elmore's Five and Dime: "When the Negroes approached me here before the picketing, I told them that I would go by the law. I have had several applications for jobs, but they have all been incomplete." As for the effects of the picketing, he said, "Business is not too bad."

Mrs. Hazel Johnson, manager of Bill's Dollar Store, refused to comment.

Mrs. Burroughs said the picketing would continue until Negroes were hired: "We'll stay here till Christmas if we have to, to get what is rightfully ours."



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Six MFDP congressional candidates--the Rev. Clifton Whitley, Dock Drummond, Ralthus Hayes, the Rev. Edwin King, the Rev. Clinton Collier and Lawrence Guyot--said they did not agree with the principles that the regular Mississippi Democratic Party set forth at its 1964 convention. This convention condemned the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and favored separation of the races. But the MFDP candidates said they had a right to run in the Democratic primary anyway.

Finally, the Mississippi board of election commissioners agreed to list the MFDP candidates in the Democratic primary despite the MFDP's "Declaration of Independence from the Principles of the Democratic Party of the State." The suit was then dismissed.

None of the six won nomination in the Democratic primary, and last month they began plans to run as independents

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 1)

Trip Into Quitman, Miss., Brings Scratches, Bruises, and Arrests

QUITMAN, Miss.--A group of young men went to town last Sunday afternoon for a cup of coffee, and came back with scratches, bruises, and a smashed car window.

The young men, an integrated group of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party workers and Quitman residents, said that when they left Hollingsworth Cafeteria, where the customers are usually all white, several white teen-agers followed them out.

"They told us, 'You damn niggers stinks the place up,'" said John Sumrall of Quitman, a CORE field secretary.

Sumrall said the same teen-agers followed the car he was driving with Jim McQueen, John Milton Brown, Hartry Field, and John Cumbler to the Dixie service station on Highway 45.

"As we were pulling up for gas," Sumrall said, one of the white boys who had followed the group "stood there red as a coal of fire."

Field said a white teen-ager reached in the window and grabbed him. When he rolled up the window, Field said the white boy smashed it.

Most of the white teen-agers who had been at the gas station refused to comment on what happened. One said a Negro had started the fight by picking up an oil-can spout.

Mississippi highway patrolman Bobby Peavy, who said he arrived when the fighting was over, arrested Sumrall for failing to obey an officer.

Peavy explained in court Tuesday that "every time I asked them to leave, Sumrall kept agitating the others, 'Come on and fight.'"

Sumrall said he was on his way to the car when one of the white boys hit him on the back of his head and kicked Cumbler.

"I beckoned the patrolman to come over. He grabbed me by the collar and said, 'You are under arrest,'" Sumrall said.

Judge Lee Martin found Sumrall guilty and fined him $25. Sumrall will appeal the conviction.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND

Free Food for Hale

GREENSBORO--Hale and Perry counties will almost certainly be approved for the federal government's free surplus food program even if Probate Judge Harold Knight doesn't give his approval to the program. This was the message Lewis Black, chairman of the Hale County Improvement Association, brought back from Washington Wednesday.

Neal Freeman, of the Department of Agriculture, told Black that since the Office of Economic Opportunity had agreed to pay for the distribution of the food, the county board of revenue would not have to pay any part of the program. Since the county doesn't have to pay for the program, Black was told, it doesn't have to approve it.

County," said the Rev. Daniel Harrell, head of SCLC in the county. "This grant will give Negroes courage and a feeling of self-reliance."

In the Black Belt county where 83 per cent of the people can neither read nor write, the federal funds will be used to set up adult education classes, youth enrichment programs designed to help keep junior high students in school, and day-care centers for children less than three years of age.

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William Strickland, new head of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, said the federal grant was especially important because it meant "the government realizes that we are not radical or extremists as some newspaper columnists and others have said."

Since its founding in March, 1965, the Lowndes County Christian Movement has been advised by Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC staff members who have been highly critical of the federal government and its anti-poverty program.

John Hulett, former chairman of the Lowndes movement, said last April, "The federal government's been playing around with us on this poverty program. If we had the power we could get the program. Once you get power, you don't have to beg."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SEVEN, Col. 5)

No Summer Head Start in Montgomery, But a Year-Round Program Is Planned

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--Montgomery had 25 full-time summer Head Start schools last year. This year there is no summer Head Start.

But, say local anti-poverty officials, two other Head Start programs--Follow Through and a year-round Head Start--are going forward.

Unfinished paper-work and other complications ended any chance for a repeat of last year's successful summer program, according to anti-poverty officials.

Last year, money for summer Head Start came directly from Washington to the Montgomery Child Development Agency, said a spokesman for the Montgomery Community Action Committee, the city's four-month-old anti-poverty organization.

This year, he said, Head Start plans had to go from the Child Development Agency (a Negro group) through the Community Action Committee, and then on to the Atlanta office of the federal Office of Economic Opportunity.

Somehow, said the spokesman, the Child Development Agency "got lost in the shuffle."

The Community Action Committee was funded by the federal government March 17, just two weeks before the deadline for 1966 summer Head Start plans.

When the Community Action Committee got the plans from the Child Development Agency, it was already March 31--the day the plans were due in Atlanta. And, said the spokesman, the Child Development Agency's plans for an integrated summer program were "incomplete."

HEAD START CLASS

The Child Development Agency's plans were then "deferred" while a proposal from the Montgomery County Board of Education was considered. The board's proposal fell through.

Did the Community Action Committee help the Child Development Agency (a "delegate" agency) with the plans?

"It's up to them," said the spokesman. "It's not our responsibility to go out and solicit programs."

The spokesman pointed out, however, that one other phase of the Head Start program is in operation and a third is in process. Most people don't realize, he said, that a summer Head Start program in any case would be just "one-twentieth of the work we're doing."

Montgomery now has a Follow Through program for 800 youngsters--all Negro--who attended Head Start schools last summer. These children have classes in 17 centers on Saturday mornings, and also get medical and dental care.

Furthermore, said the spokesman, plans have been submitted for a year-round Head Start program for children from three to six years of age.

These plans, he said, are now in Atlanta, "awaiting 1967 funds."

Pool Integrated Quietly

No Splash in Tuskegee

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Things were quiet at the city's downtown swimming pool one hot afternoon last week.

Several teen-agers were diving and swimming in the deep end. Another teen-ager sat in the lifeguard stand, sunglasses and a battered hat shading him from the 99-degree haze.

Down at the shallow end of the pool, two young girls in pink bathing suits splashed in the blue water.

It was an ordinary summer scene except for one detail. The teen-aged divers were Negro. The lifeguard and the girls were white.

Last summer, things weren't so peaceful around the Tuskegee swimming pool. In June, groups of Negro college students left "their" pool on the other side of town to swim in the "white" pool.

They ended 25 years of swimming pool segregation in Tuskegee. But some whites responded by throwing rubbish and glass in the water. The City Council closed the pool for the rest of the summer.

This spring, Negro and white students from Tuskegee High School had swimming classes together in the pool. At the end of May, the pool opened quietly for public swimming. So far, things have stayed quiet.

One reason it's so quiet is that not very many people use the pool. Tuskegee Mayor Charles M. Keever said that in past years the pool was full of white children. This year there are never more than 30 people in at once. Sometimes there are only five or six.

Many white children who used to swim in the Tuskegee pool now go to Chewacla State Park near Auburn or to a private club about 35 miles north in Tallapoosa County. Some of them just don't swim at all.

Whites and Negroes swim in the Tuskegee pool at the same time. But they usually don't swim together. The whites stay in the shallow end and the Negroes in the deep end. Sometimes the whites sit around the edge waiting for the Negroes to leave before they will go in the water.

Mayor Keever said it costs about $700 a month to keep the pool open. The young man who manages it earns $500 a month.

"He has an important responsibility," the mayor explained. "We have to be prepared for trouble every day after what happened last year. Fortunately, there's been no trouble to speak of. We've made a beginning, and it's working out very, very well."

There were other signs that Tuskegeeans are taking the desegregated pool calmly.

William P. Smith, one of 33 Negro students who attended Tuskegee High School last year, swims in both Tuskegee pools. "I just come to whichever one I feel like swimming in," he said. He went around to the diving board and jack-knifed neatly into the water.

A plump white boy stood on the edge of the pool, watching the Negroes swim. He looked up at the hot sun, and back at the water. He glanced around at his white friends, but none of them were looking. He dived in.

LONELY SWIMMER IN TUSKEGEE POOL

Paul - Did you see this? Ed S—

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
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THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations.
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Vol. II, No. 29 July 16-17, 1966

Editorial Opinion

A Paper for the People

One year ago--on July 16, 1965--the first issue of The Southern Courier was distributed to thousands of people across the state of Alabama. The editorial in that first issue described the purposes of the paper. It makes as much sense today as it did a year ago. This is what it said:

The Southern Courier is an independent newspaper. Our only responsibility is to our readers, the people of Alabama. And our chief concern is the crucial problems that confront Alabamians. We hope to provide accurate information about these problems, and to supply a means of communication for the people who are trying to solve them.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
Sundays in Tuskegee: Trouble at the Church
Sardis Farmer Waits for the Vote
Counties Observe Special 5-Day Registration Period
Selma Wonders After Reese Arrest

ONE YEAR AGO

The Southern Courier is independent of its advertisers, of politicians, of dogma, and of any particular group or organization. We will point out merits and demerits wherever we find them, treating whites and Negroes alike.

There are certain basic principles in which this newspaper believes. We believe that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and to equal justice in the courts. We believe that all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities. We believe that the interests of all people are best served by a democratic system of government--and this means that all men, regardless of

A Remarkable Speech

Alabama Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers made a remarkable speech last week at the Southwide Lawyers and Physicians Conference in North Carolina. Other newspapers have reported what Flowers said about black and white law-breakers, but this was nothing new. Far more important was the story of his "conversion"--from a typical segregationist to a man who could seek and receive Negro support in his race for governor. Here is what Flowers said:

Somewhere along the line as I was growing up in the small town of Dothan, some people who took an interest in me as a little boy--my parents, teachers, a lot of people-- somehow they instilled in me a strong feeling that, to state it in its simplest terms, the right thing to do was to do the "right" thing.

Now if my life depended on it, I seriously question whether I could spell out for you precisely just what is meant by "right" in that context. Yet there has never been any question in my own mind as to what "right" meant. It is more a something you feel, or just know in your heart, than a something you can define in words.

Now there is nothing so special about this. Most Southerners are brought up this way, just as are most Americans everywhere, I suppose....

As I was growing up and taking my place as a young attorney in my home town--an environment, incidentally, which was structured around the assumed second-class status of Negroes--all that I did and said, I tried to do and say in keeping with what I felt to be "right." Sometimes I succeeded at this better than I did at other times. But I was trying, trying, and I hope I maintained a rather consistent conformity with my conscience.

Political opponents have rapped me pretty hard for what they have claimed to be contradictions....What sustained me throughout all of this, and through subsequent abuse which has come my way for having changed my attitudes toward segregation, is the sure conviction in my own heart that my determination to do what was "right" had not changed. What had changed was my own understanding and comprehension of what was right.

I admit that I have looked at segregation through the eyes of a man who was raised from a boy on the privileged side of a racially segregated social system. In the past I have even rationalized that Negroes actually preferred it that way....

I am not ashamed to admit my thinking has changed over the years as I have been able to see this question more from the other man's point of view.

All the while I have tried to have my conscience keep up with my knowledge and understanding.

And when, as I grew older, this knowledge and understanding led me to the realization that forced segregation was in truth a violation of what I felt to be "right," I did not hesitate to say so, both privately and publicly. My obligations of leadership changed also, because leaders must stand for what they believe; else how can others know what their aspirations are, or the direction in which they seek to go?...

But with all the change, I tried to remain steadfast in my determination to do what was "right." I keep emphasizing this because I know there have always been many, many others who have felt exactly the same way.

This is the point I want to get across to my fellow Southern whites: No one is asking us to abandon our moral values, to give up principles of "right" and "wrong" which we and our families and our neighbors have cherished for generations.

What is being asked of us as Americans these days concerning civil rights is to be faithful to our obligation continually to renew our assessment of what is "right"--to look about us and ask, in quiet and personal candor:

Is it really "right" that some people in our land should be treated as belonging to a separate caste, and relegated to second-class status, because of their appearance, or who their parents were, or where they came from? Can

Dallas Chicken Plant Means 300 New Jobs

MRS. REBECCA ANDERSON

BY WAYNE HURDER

SELMA -- Dallas County Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds has approved plans for a poultry processing plant that will provide about 300 jobs for the Negro community of Bogue Chitto.

Now additional plans have to be worked out with the federal Economic Development Administration before construction can begin.

The plant will cost $400,000 and employ 100 people. Another 200 people will be involved in raising chickens for the plant.

The Economic Development Adminstration, the Purina Feed Company, and the late Max Harrison, a Mobile inventor, worked with the Bogue Chitto Farmers Corporation--an organization of local Negro farmers--to set up the business.

The poultry plant is the brainchild of Mrs. A.W. Boynton, a Selma business woman and civil rights leader. She thought of building a plant in Bogue Chitto in December, 1965, and talked to anti-poverty program officials about it. She has since been working to get the farmers corporation on its feet.

Bogue Chitto, in southeast Dallas County, was picked for the plant because most of the Negroes in the area own their own land. They must own land before they can borrow money from the federal government.

The first people to get jobs in the plant will be Negro tenant farmers who were thrown off their land because of civil rights activities. They will be encouraged to save money so they can buy land and become eligible for federal loans.

In the meantime, the farmers corporation is trying to get the U.S. government to provide trailers for the people to live in. There are several hundred people in Lowndes, Wilcox, and Dallas counties who have been kicked off their land, according to Mrs. Boynton.

According to the plans, each person who sets up a poultry house will get a

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 6)

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With these principles in mind, The Southern Courier cannot ignore the fact that most of Alabama's Negroes are denied these basic equalities. Therefore we will publish information to help erase the injustices of segregation and prejudice.

Another major problem that Alabamians face is the change from a rural to an industrial economy. Such a change is painful, especially for those citizens who are forced to leave the land but cannot find their rightful place in the offices and factories of the cities. This, too, is a problem which The Southern Courier will examine.

Education and politics are also under new pressures in Alabama. While the state is trying to expand and improve its school system, very few Alabama Negroes attend school with whites. In politics, the state is beginning to show signs of two-party activity. This change also deserves our attention.

While The Southern Courier tries to fulfill its responsibilities to its readers, we hope that you, the reader, will feel a responsibility towards us. This is a new paper, experimental in many ways. And part of the experiment is to create a newspaper that responds to the needs of its readers.

If you have ideas and criticisms that will help us produce a better paper, by all means write us a letter or tell your suggestion to your local Southern Courier reporter or representative. If you know of a story that should be reported, let us know about it. Our only purpose is to serve you, and only you can tell us if we're doing the job.

The Southern Courier's first year has shown just how much the paper depends on the people of Alabama. Whatever success The Southern Courier has had, it owes to the many people who have bought it, sold it, read it, criticized it, and helped its editors find the news. If the people continue to help, the paper will grow stronger, and it will give the people a loud, clear voice in the affairs of their state.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I am proud that the civil rights movement has finally got a leader that will make they proud to be of the Black Race. STOKELY CARMICHAEL is another Malcolm X, a true leader that wishes to free the Colored instead of making them pawns, and Sycophants to be laughed at. . . .

I am White, but I know that the White people really, down deep in their hearts, has much more respect for a man like Carmichael that fights for honor, and justice, than for a cringing Toady like Dr. King, who has sold hundreds of thousands of your children into slavery, broken the spirit of thousands, had their savings taken away from them by the Local Law in Fines for demanding their Rights, and the thousands of children that have been thrown in jails, which will always live in fear unless they can get Psychological help before they grow up with this fear.

Gaster Vaughn
Bean Station, Tenn.

To the Editor:

In your July 2-3 story on Judge Rives you quote him as follows:

"The chains we forge to shackle qualified Negroes can be used to keep white voters of Alabama from walking to the polls."

He must have gotten his inspiration from Abe Lincoln who a hundred years earlier said:

"Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them."

Rives and Lincoln were both wise men.

David C. Holub
Akron, Ohio

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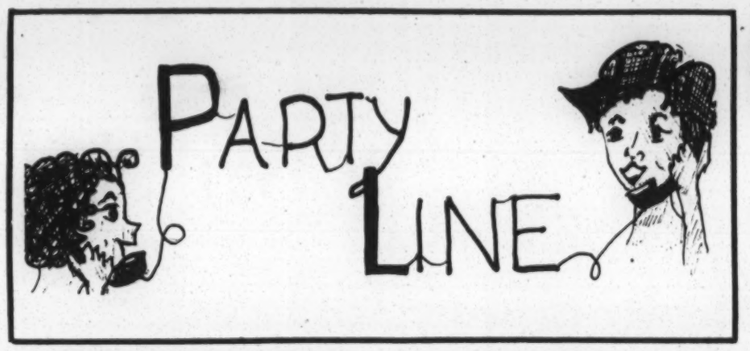
Is it really "right" that some people in our land should be treated as belonging to a separate caste, and relegated to second-class status, because of their appearance, or who their parents were, or where they came from? Can the denial to millions of our citizens of their right to be judged on merit alone be reconciled with our American ideals?

Many Southerners must now be wrestling with these questions, and hopefully many more will find the answers in the years to come. But Flowers has had this experience in full public view, while holding and running for office. In a way, he has taken upon himself all the contradictions and doubts of the white South, and fought them while millions watched. His public agony has probably taken many years off the time required for the South to "change."



DOTHAN--Two years ago this week, a boys' club was just an idea in the head of James Hall. Today the Hawk-Houston Boys' Club serves 300 boys, ages six to 18, and Hall is the club's director. The club keeps its members busy with three baseball teams, a swimming team, a counsel and guidance session, a reading program, a physical fitness program, and photography instruction. A choir is being formed.

ANNISTON--Three June graduates of the Cobb Avenue High School will be off to college this fall, all with the help of scholarships they've won. Miss Linda Elaine Patterson will go to Spelman College, Miss Barbara Plear will study at Fisk University, and Charles Ware will be a freshman at Talladega College.

TUSCALOOSA--Wonder how it feels to get away from it all? Ask the Rev. T.Y. Rogers, local civil rights leader, and he'll tell you all about his recent vacation in Hawaii.

ANDALUSIA, BRUNDIDGE, ELBA, LUVERNE--Frozen custard and root beer stands have been strongholds against integration in these four towns. Looks like they want all their customers to be as white as the ice cream they sell. In Brundidge, a Tastee-Freez stand locked its doors when several Negro tutors with the Tuskegee Institute Community Education Project tried to come in. Another TICEP group was told to go to the side window of a Dairy Dream stand in Luverne. At the Big R root beer stand in Andalusia, "the man at the window didn't say a word. He just pointed around to the side," John D. Shakespeare reported. "I just left." And in Elba, an official of the Young Men's Progressive Club said his group would try to talk to the city council about discrimination at the Big R there.

TROY--More than 40 people met in the Washington Street Center last week to discuss what was wrong with Troy, and what could be done about it. The three major items discussed were the unpaved streets, the need for low-rent housing, and the possibility of a manpower retraining program. Mrs. Mattie Lee Curry was elected chairman of the meeting, Mrs. Johnnie Mae Warren was co-chairman, Dave Frazier was secretary, and Mrs. Angeline Lewis was chaplain.

ANDALUSIA--The Lakeview Recreation Center saw a lot of action last week. One day a group of Negro and white Head Start teachers and their students had a picnic lunch at the center, and integrated the previously all-Negro swimming pool. Later the Andalusia Civic League met at the Center to discuss the league's declining membership. "In the last month we have been falling in attendance," said Rev. W.C. Anderson. "Maybe the political storm has died down a little bit, but we still have to go on."

YOUR TOWN--Heard any news about people or events where you live? Send news of scholarships, prizes, happy events or funny happenings direct to Party Line, c/o The Southern Courier, 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104, or tell your local Courier representative. Then watch for names you know in Party Line.

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(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 6)

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

SATURDAY, JULY 16

MISS UNIVERSE BEAUTY PAGEANT--Otherwise known as the 15th Annual International Livestock Exhibition. You'll see 80 over-developed girls with under-developed talents fight it out for the Miss Universe crown. To make absolutely sure nothing interesting happens, the pageant directors chose Pat Boone to act as host. At 9 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, Channel 19 in Huntsville, and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

SUNDAY, JULY 17

VOYAGE TO THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA--"The Shape of Doom." An enormous whale swallows an underwater nuclear device and heads out to sea. How you get a whale to come where you want him is anyone's guess. At 6 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss., and Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.

MONDAY, JULY 18

THE NEWLY-WED GAME--A brand-new quiz game in which young couples demonstrate how much or how little they know about each other. Obviously designed to embarrass and/or infuriate the innocent newly-weds. What will those clever TV writers think of next? Shown every weekday at 9 a.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham; at 1 p.m. on Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss., and Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.

KRAFT SUMMER MUSIC HALL--A pleasant hour of musical entertainment. Guest stars include folk singers Suzannah Jordan and Jimmie Rodgers, and the Uncalled For 3, a comedy team. At 8 p.m. on Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham, Channel 15 in Florence, and Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.

TUESDAY, JULY 19

CIRCUS--This week's show features the skills and personalities of high-wire performers. You'll be dazzled by these sensational balancing acts--they're almost as good as Junior on his skateboard. At 6 p.m. on Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, and Channel 26 in Montgomery. Repeated on Thursday at 8 p.m., same stations.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 20

SIBERIA: A DAY IN IRKUTSK--A one-hour special filmed 3,000 miles into the frozen interior of Siberia. Designed to acquaint Americans with a strange country, this show might even make you appreciate the hot weather we're having (see photo). At 8 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, and Channel 15 in Florence.

FRIDAY, JULY 22

SUMMER FUN--"McNab's Law." In premiere starring Cliff ("Charlie Weaver") Arquette, a quaint druggist drives townspeople to distraction with the crazy contraptions he keeps inventing. More weekly summer nonsense. At 7 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss., and Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.

GETTING THE STORY: INTERVIEWING WITNESS TO CIVIL RIGHTS KILLING

GETTING THE STORY IN THE OFFICE

EDITOR MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

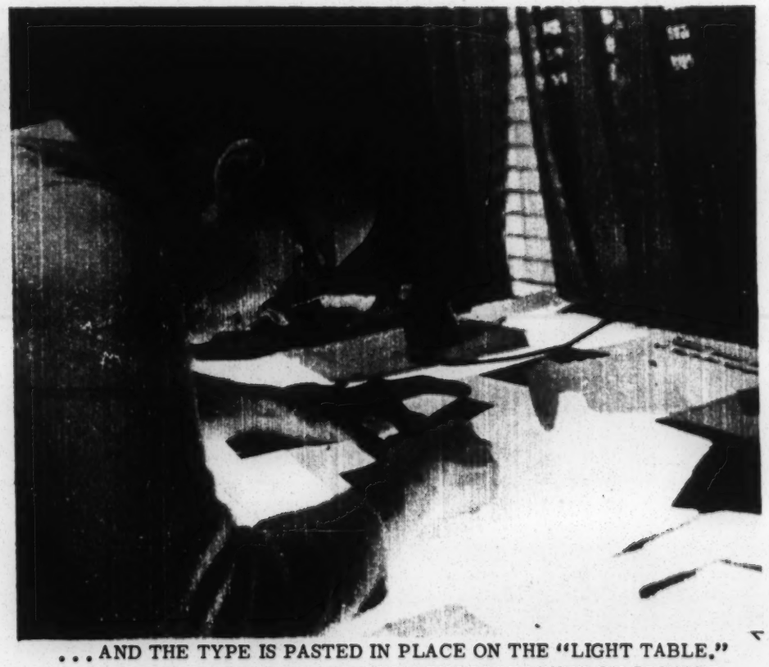
AFTER EDITING, STORIES ARE SET BY MACHINE....

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

From the News Spots to You

The Southern Courier is unique not just because it has gained more than 75,000 loyal readers in the year since it started.

The Courier is an unusual paper because it tells the facts about a controversial subject--race relations. It is unusual because Negro and white, rich and poor, city and rural, old and young work together to make it a



...AND THE TYPE IS PASTED IN PLACE ON THE "LIGHT TABLE." COMPLETED PASTE-UPS ARE THEN PHOTOGRAPHED BY PRINTER.

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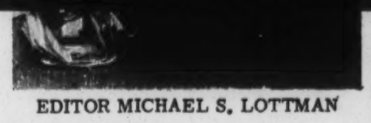

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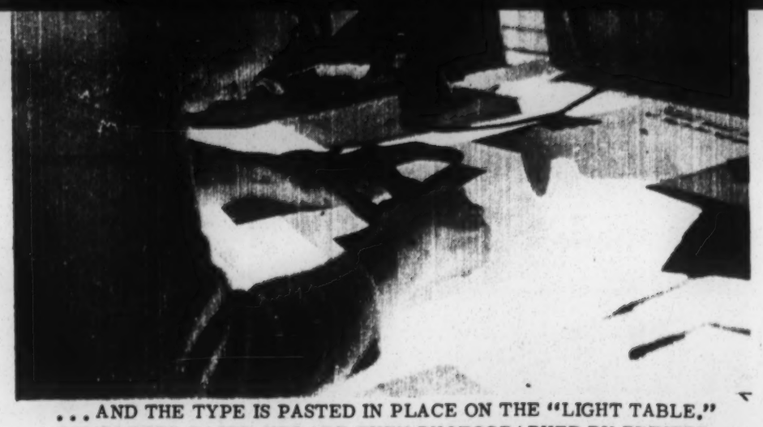

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PHOTOGRAPHER GOES WHERE YOU MAKE NEWS

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The Courier is an unusual paper because it tells the facts about a controversial subject--race relations. It is unusual because Negro and white, rich and poor, city and rural, old and young work together to make it a factual, reliable paper. It is unusual because young people started the paper, and for the most part young people run it now. It is unique because it welcomes all points of view and it takes pains to let all sides be heard.

Celebrating the first anniversary of The Southern Courier this week are 25 full-time reporters, photographers, and specialists; more than 50 distributors working in their own communities; and more than 200 young school boys and girls who sell the paper each weekend in small towns and cities in Alabama and nearby Mississippi and Georgia.

The Courier began a year ago to keep track of civil rights news and to provide information for thousands of Alabamians whose local papers pretend they do not exist. To meet its expenses, the Courier received donations from individuals and from small, private foundations in the North. No one contribution has been made for more than $9,000. The Courier currently is waging a campaign to raise money through advertising and subscriptions on a permanent basis, because its money from gifts will not last for long.

The paper's officers estimate that it takes $5,600 a month to put out the weekly paper. (The Courier's telephone bill alone runs close to $1,000 a month! Its printing bill is about $1,600 a month.)

The Courier is run by young people who have had from one to four years of experience in other newspaper work. Its staff workers are white and Negro, from North and South.

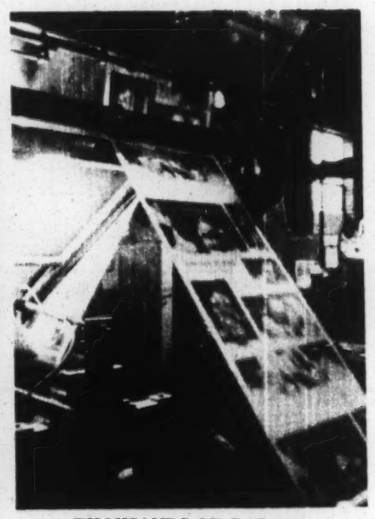
At the beginning of each week the editor talks by telephone with his reporters--in Montgomery, Selma, Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Huntsville, Tuskegee, Troy, Mobile, Meridian, Miss., and Washington, D.C. He gets an idea of what the week's news will be, and he decides what pictures he wants to put in the paper that week. Meanwhile, the advertising staff is hard at work, and the office staff is handling requests for new subscriptions.

Everything is put together by late Wednesday night when the machine-set columns of news and the headlines are pasted on pieces of paper the size of this page. The paste-ups are photographed the following day by a professional printer and the photographs are put in place. An impression of each page is put on a metal plate that is then rolled to fit on to an off-set press. The press churns off 18,000 copies of the paper on Thursday afternoon.

The papers are shipped to your home town by bus, and your local distributor picks them up and sells them himself or through a system of newsboys. And then comes the most important part of the week for The Southern Courier: You, the reader, look through the paper. If the job has been done right, you will get information, enjoyment, news, and guidance.

PAPER IS SOLD ON WEEKENDS THROUGHOUT THE STATE

HOT OFF THE PRESS



THOUSANDS OF PAPERS

AND THEN THE READERS. . .

Three Alabamians View the Viet War

Soldiers from the United States have been advising or fighting the war in Viet Nam for more than six years. In the last 18 months, tens of thousands of American men have poured into the spaghetti-shaped country on the southeast corner of the Asian continent. Hundreds of them--including more than 100 Alabamians--have died there.

People in Alabama, like people all over the United States, disagree about the war in Viet Nam. Some of them think it is a noble battle against power-hungry communists. Some think it is a cruel waste of money, talent, and lives. And there are dozens of opinions that fall somewhere in between--as many opinions as there are people who stop to think.

On this page, two Alabamians tell you what they think about the war, and a third tells you what it's like to fight it.

'We Ought To Solve Own Problems First'

BY PETER CUMMINGS

HELICON--Miss Ira Jean May is a shy, pretty girl who graduated from Helicon High School in Crenshaw County two years ago. She is only 18 years old, but she feels strongly about the war in Viet Nam. She sat in the shade of a wooden porch while she explained her views:

"I don't think that they should be over there fighting. I think you should clean up your own front door before you try to clean up someone else's. It seems to me like the United States ought to solve its own problems first, especially the racial problem.

"I don't see any point in fighting over there. Viet Nam is separated into two nations and they are fighting each other. But it look to me like the people of the U.S. is separated too, racially...

"They're not going to stop communism from existing over there...I think it's up to the people over there whether they want communism or not. That's the only way to solve anything, by the majority of the people. 'Cause if the majority wants communism, there's no way you can stop it except kill all the people.

"Any time you hear about some women and children's getting killed, it really shakes you up. Too many innocent people are gettin' killed over there... When you see those kids in Viet Nam on TV they look so poor and undernourished. I really think that food and clothing and education would have been better than sending over all those people to get killed."

Miss May said that President Johnson might be doing the best he could with the situation in Viet Nam. She also said she didn't envy his job. "I'd hate to step in his shoes because I'd hate to send someone to die."

Miss May first began to think about the war a few years ago. "They had a special report on the TV saying all the families of the troops are supposed to leave Viet Nam. Right then I said to myself, 'There's gonna be a war.' Now every day more peoples is gettin' killed.

"I knew a few boys in the army and I told them, 'Pretty soon you'll be over there fighting.' But I shouldn't have kidded about it. It wasn't funny. They were both sent over there.

"There's nothing funny about it now. I really thought the war would end soon, but it just kept lingering and lingering and lingering and it just seem to get worse...

'Now We've Started, Must Try To Win It'

BY PETER CUMMINGS

ANDALUSIA--John D. Shakespeare runs a small cafe on Cotton Street in Andalusia. He is unhappy about the war in Viet Nam, but he says, "I believe it's just impossible to leave now. It's started now and I believe that we have to try to win it."

Like many Alabamians, Shakespeare is uncertain about the reasons for the war. "I really don't see that we have any real cause to be over there fighting. . . .It might be a mistake or it might be a fine idea. Probably I would have done the same thing as President Johnson, if I would have known what he did."

Shakespeare is 40 years old. During World War II, he served in the infantry. He was stationed in Alaska for most of the war.

He feels that World War II was easier to understand than the war in Viet Nam. "It's a sad situation in Viet Nam. They don't consider that it be a war.

"I don't quite understand that. If they're just going to keep on what they're doing, they ought to declare a war.... I was involved in World War II and we were in war then. But now we haven't declared war and people are still gettin' killed."

"I tell you I'm for peace, that is if you can get it," Shakespeare said. "I'm a peaceful man. But I understand that a lot of times you can't get peace in a peaceful way. It's just like this civil rights. There are just some people that won't let you get things in a peaceful way and then you have to use a different way."

Shakespeare approved of President Johnson's efforts to find a peaceful end to the war. "I feel like the President is a peaceful man and that he really did what he could."

Lack of information about the war bothers Shakespeare: "This here Viet Nam. When I was in the service you never did hear about it or Korea either. And then these places just jumped up.

"Why are we just now hearin' of those peoples? They just come up all at once and we hear that they are fighting a war. Did you ever hear about them? I guess another time some other of them will jump up and start something too."

"What race of peoples are these Vietnamese?... Look like to me they're very bad peoples. They must be pretty tough people, they ain't giving up easy. They must be a nervous people...I just don't know too much about that little place."

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"There's nothing funny about it now. I really thought the war would end soon, but it just kept lingering and lingering and lingering and it just seem to get worse...

"Really, I think that if they take Red China into the U.N., I think that would help some of the problem in Viet Nam."

MISS IRA JEAN MAY: No point in killing the innocent.

JOHN D. SHAKESPEARE: You can't always get peace peacefully.

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Shakespeare, a heavy man who talks with a slow and thoughtful manner, stared silently at his large hands. Finally he said, "We're in it now. They're killing our peoples now."

'Viet Cong Should Be Done Away With,' Says Veteran of War

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--In the summer of 1962, Mrs. Alfred Lang of Mobile sent her son downtown to buy some clothes for his second year of college. When he came back, he was in the Marines.

Four years later, he's home again, recovering from wounds he got in a Viet Cong ambush near someplace called Chu Lai. Corporal Alfred (Bo) Lang Jr. was only inches from death, but he doesn't regret trading his college clothes for the Marine Corps green. He wants to go back to Viet Nam--to fight for a cause he believes in, to be with his buddies in "Suicide Charley" company, and, mainly, just to be a Marine.

He could have been a college graduate by now with a family, a good job, a down-payment on a car, and a mortgage on a house. But he's a career Marine instead, because of a sign.

When he went downtown that summer day in 1962, he says, "I saw this sign in front of the post office building that said JOIN THE MARINES." He'd had that thought in the back of his head for two or three years, but the sign turned the thought into action. He walked in, talked with the recruiter, and came out convinced.

When Lang got back to his home in the Roger Williams housing project, he told his family. They had some doubts about his decision. He would have to give up college and the football scholarship he had won after starring at fullback for Mobile's Central High School.

But the scholarship did not cover all his college expenses, and both of his parents were holding down two jobs to raise and educate their eight children.

Besides, Lang really wanted to be a Marine more than he wanted to be a college student. So the family discussed it around the dinner table that night and ended up agreeing with him.

But then, "Everybody started saying, 'You'll never make it,'" he remembers. "It was sort of a challenge after that."

The Marine Corps sent him to its tough basic training camp at Parris Island, South Carolina, to see whether he could make it.

"At boot camp," Lang said, "they hover over you 24 hours a day and sometimes in between. They tear you down and then build you up the way they want you--so you think Marine Corps, eat Marine Corps, and sleep Marine Corps."

He came out of boot camp wanting to try something even tougher, the Corps' "jump school" for paratroopers. "But my mother didn't go for the idea," Lang says, and this time her side won.

He went to guerilla warfare school instead in the jungles of the big Pacific island Okinawa. Lang says the only difference between the training he got there and the fighting in Viet Nam is "the fact of death."

"If you listen up to what you're being told, then you can adjust all right when the enemy is using real bullets."

The school ended with a five day practice war and then a 40-mile march back to the base camp in one night. Lang felt his company was ready to fight, but it was fall, 1965, before it was finally sent to Viet Nam.

The men found plenty of fighting. On Thanksgiving Day, for instance, "We got ambushed five times by the Viet Cong," Lang recalls. They beat back the attacks, and their only casualty was one man wounded.

They didn't always get off so easily.

One day, Lang was commanding a mortar squad in a patrol of about 30 men. A force of Viet Cong about the same size ambushed them, killing six of the Marines and wounding 11 of them almost instantly.

Lang's squad set their mortar up fast and started firing. They broke the enemy attack, but before the patrol could get back to the helicopters, the Viet Cong ambushed them again.

The Marines escaped on a route guarded by only two snipers. "Those two guys took out like mad down the hill," Lang says. "We got them both. One of them was killed right out. The other was wounded and died pretty quick. He was shot up pretty bad. Everybody was gettin' shots at him."

When the Viet Cong aren't lying in ambush, they may be out in the open not looking like soldiers at all. Lang says one patrol he was on saw a group of men in the distance that "looked like regular farmers. We went over to check them out, and when we got about 50 yards away, they started firing. I don't know where their weapons came from. We got three of them."

The Americans can't disguise themselves as Vietnamese farmers, and they often don't know the land they are fighting on as well as the Viet Cong do. But Lang says Marine training is so good that "this is no handicap to the Marines, at least. They're not whipping us."

And he says his company always had enough equipment and supplies.

But some things did get the Marines down. Snipers and booby traps forced them to stay on their guard 24 hours a day. Propaganda broadcasts from Hanoi and Peking told of American troops and planes being shot down by the hundreds.

Signs left on trees would say, "American Imperialist, go home. You can't find happiness here. You can only find happiness with your wife and loved ones."

According to Lang, the draft card burners and the frequent lack of mail from home also hurt morale.

But the Marines don't let anything stop them, Lang says.

"It gets discouraging sometimes. And it gets pretty hot. But you can't panic. The only thing you're thinking is to get your job done. After you've been shot at so many times, you don't stop and think, 'I'm being shot at!' You just move out and try to get him.

"I always knew I'd get shot. I used to pray I would have the ability not to panic, but to maintain the leadership of my squad."

A bullet grazed his cheek in one battle, and "for a minute or two it felt like someone had put my head inside a bucket and beat on it with an iron pipe."

But he kept fighting. Then a second shot hit him in the right hand, and another in the back. "It felt like someone was running electrical waves through my body. Pains were everywhere."

James Waters, a sergeant from Mobile and a good friend of Lang since they met in the Corps, gave him first aid and then covered Lang while he crawled back toward the helicopters.

Eighteen hours later he was in California, and at the Naval Hospital in Pensacola, Florida, a few days after that.

Mrs. Lang says that when she got word her son was wounded, she called Sergeant Waters' mother, who "came straight down here to be with me."

Mrs. Waters and her daughter later drove Mrs. Lang over to Pensacola to visit her son in the hospital.

"They're real good people," Mrs. Lang says. "Color doesn't matter if your heart's in the right place."

Lang agrees and adds that "I have yet to have a racial problem since I've been in the Marines. There's no such thing as a white Marine or a black Marine. To my troops, I've always been Corporal Lang, the squad leader.

"We're all Americans fighting for the same thing, freedom."

But when he talks about wanting to go back, he talks mainly about being a Marine and doing his job, whatever it is and whatever the reason for it. "All I think about the Viet Cong is that they should be done away with. That's my job."

All Mrs. Lang says about him going back is, "Well, he's a man now and he's on his own. The Lord was with him last time and He'll be with him this time."

Corporal Lang says, "A lot of people have a lot of different things they want to be. Me, I'm a Marine. It's that simple."

* * *

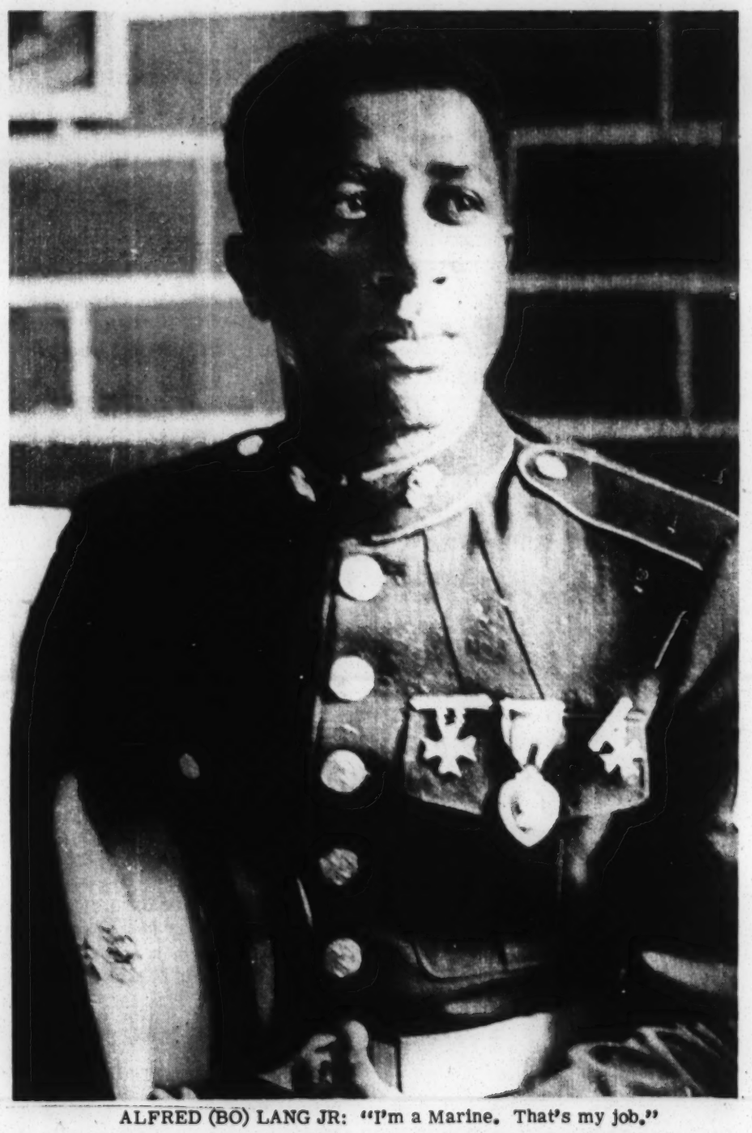
A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE WAR

Viet Nam has been at war for a long, long time. Thirty years ago, Vietnamese farmers who didn't like their French rulers learned to be soldiers to fight them. But then came World War II, and Japanese forces took Southeast Asia away from the French.

After the war the French returned and tried to rule Viet Nam again. But many Vietnamese fought back. After seven years, they defeated the French in 1954. An international conference divided Viet Nam into North and South Viet Nam, under two different rulers, and set elections for 1956.

But the elections never took place. Ho Chi Minh, the communist leader of North Viet Nam, blamed Ngo Dinh Diem, then the ruler of South Viet Nam. Many South Vietnamese took up arms against the South Vietnamese government. By 1960, they were receiving help from North Viet Nam.

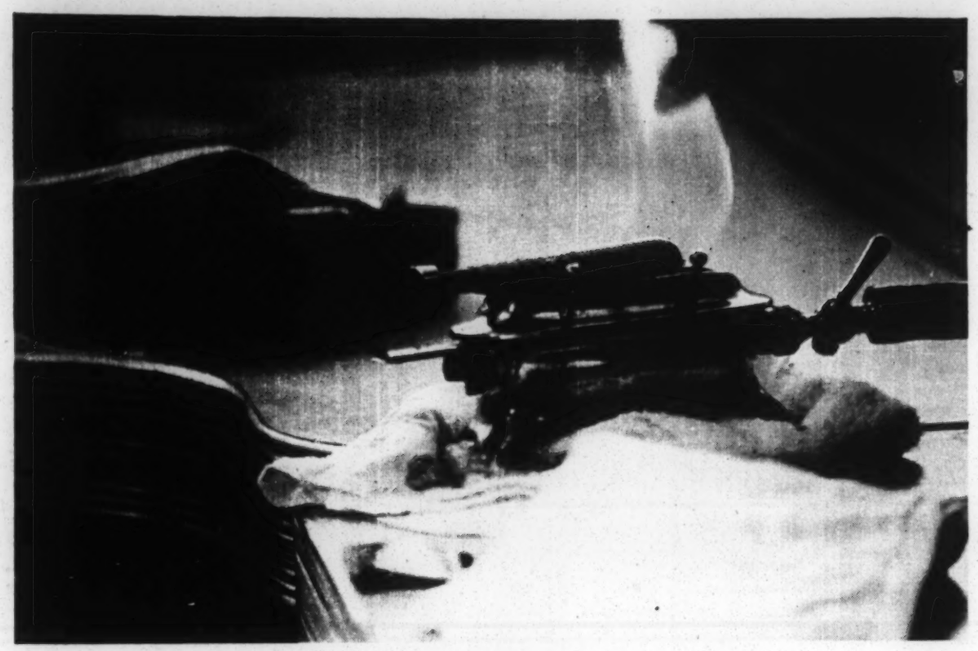
The United States got into the war on the side of South Viet Nam in the 1950's.



ALFRED (BO) LANG JR: "I'm a Marine. That's my job."

"SORT OF A CHALLENGE"

"THEY'RE NOT WHIPPING US"



Into the Inner Sanctum With a Camera

The Inside of a Montgomery Beauty Salon

The Inside of a
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Photographs

by

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July 17-22 7:30 p.m.

TICEP Comes to SE Alabama

BY ELLEN LAKE

LUVERNE--"Why was the Civil War fought?" Miss Ruby Simmons asked her social studies class.

"Because the South had slaves and the North was jealous," said Miss Denise Sanders, age 10.

Michael Richburg, also 10, disagreed. "I think it was because the rebels were killing Negroes," he said.

At the same time this social studies class was going on, different classes were meeting in every other corner of the Church of Christ.

It may seem strange for classes to meet in a church, but in Luverne, Helicon, and other communities around Alabama, a lot of people--including adults--will be studying in churches this summer.

They are part of a program called the Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program (TICEP), in which Tuskegee Institute students are spreading out across 12 Alabama counties to teach classes in English, social studies, arithmetic, and science. The tutors live in local homes, and are busy teaching from 9 a.m. almost straight through until 9 p.m.

Although not all the TICEP schools are held in churches, often they are the only buildings available.

More than 80 children and 20 adults attend the school in Helicon, and with a school bus to carry people to class, there may be more. During the first week of the program, many people who signed up for the school didn't show up, because there were only a few local cars or a TICEP station wagon to bring them in.

The students at the TICEP school in Helicon compared it to the regular Helicon school, which many of them had boycotted for six months.

"I like this school better than the one we go to in the winter," said Miss Hazel Lee May, who is 13.

"They had polices, and dogs up there," said 12-year-old Miss Patricia Ann McCants.

"And if we have a ball game up there, the police was there," Miss May went on.

"Here, there's no polices and dogs," Miss McCants added.

"And another thing, there's no tear gas," said Miss May.

A high school student, Miss Jannie Lee May, one of the many children who have applied to transfer to the white school, Highland Home, said she came to the TICEP classes to get ready for the fall:

"We have never gone to integrated school, and we lost a lot of our studies during the marches," she said. "I think we'll be better prepared for integrated school by coming here."

Between last December and the end of the school year, many students stayed out of school to protest conditions at Helicon School. There were many demonstrations and arrests during the boycott.

Michael Richburg, who goes to Luverne's white school in the winter, said he came to the TICEP school in Luverne because "I want to get a good education so I can help the Negro get out of slavery. And another reason," he said, "is that I want to be a scientist."

In Troy, 15-year-old Eddie B. Warren said, "I been to a couple of summer schools before but this one tops them all. The tutors act like they're your own age. You can talk better with them than with the winter teachers; say something to (the winter teachers) and they fly off the handle.

"In winter school, you have a question and the teacher tells you, 'Wait till next year,' or 'Bring it in for tomorrow.' Here, if you ask something, the tutors'll try to explain it to you. Or if a student knows the answer, they'll let him explain. They don't pretend to know it all."

TICEP STUDENTS AT HELICON BAPTIST CHURCH

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In Macon County Politics

Who's Doing What to Whom?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"I've always treated everybody fair," said J.H. Reynolds. "In 27 years I never had no trouble except with one man, and that was a white man."

Reynolds is a quiet man with a weathered face, a friendly smile, and a firm grasp of Macon County politics. He's been sitting in the county tax collector's chair since 1939.

But now Reynolds is in his 70's and his eyes are dimming. He can't see to write up the records. Last week he turned in his resignation. On Monday, he said, the tax collector's office will be vacant.

Reynolds' six-year term of office doesn't run out until October 1, 1967. But Macon County's voters chose his successor in the Democratic primary run-off May 31. They elected L.A. Locklair, a funeral home director, to become Alabama's first Negro tax collector since Reconstruction. (Macon County's Republican Party has no candidates to offer.)

A member of Governor George C. Wallace's staff said the governor had received Reynolds' resignation and would appoint a new tax collector "within a reasonable period of time."

In the course of ordinary politics, a Democratic governor almost certainly would appoint a Democratic nominee to a job the nominee would eventually get anyway.

Locklair has applied for the post. He said he sent Governor Wallace a letter by certified mail so that someone would have to sign for it.

"I told him that since I was the Democratic tax collector-elect, I would appreciate his consideration in appointing me to the unexpired term," said Locklair. "As of now, I haven't heard from the governor."

Since May 26, when Reynolds first wrote the governor that he wanted to resign, several white Tuskegeeans have scrambled to apply for the job.

The applicants reportedly include Arthur L. Cooper, Locklair's opponent in the run-off election; David C. Jenkins, a public accountant; Robert Howard, losing candidate for county tax assessor; and James L. Braswell Jr., an insurance agent. Braswell, a Tuskegee city councilman in the days when the city council was a segregationist stronghold, is said to be the choice of Wallace's friends in Macon County.

But he said, "I think it would be nice. It would give me experience--the opportunity to learn about the office."

The people who know most about collecting Macon County taxes are Reynolds and his wife. Mrs. Reynolds, a peppery, outspoken lady, has been doing

REYNOLDS

LOCKLAIR

most of the work since Reynolds' eyesight began to fail two years ago.

"It's not my place to tell the governor what to do," Reynolds said, "but we need someone in here right away."

His wife brought out a stack of mail waiting for the new appointee. "There's 6,700 receipts to be written up before October 1, when someone has to start collecting the money," she said.

Reynolds wouldn't make any suggestions about who the someone should be. "I'll tell you the truth, the Negroes haven't done anything for me," he said.

"They bloc-voted against him the last two times," Mrs. Reynolds said angrily. "Just because he wouldn't go to those Negro civic meetings."

But she and Reynolds said they don't hold that against Locklair. "He's as nice a Negro as I've ever met," Mrs. Reynolds said. "He's clean, he's polite, and he's almost as white as I am.

"I'm a big one for qualifications. I think folks should be qualified to do a job. Well, he's competent. He's going to do all right."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"Ever since we nominated our sheriff, there's been a lot of whisper and talk," said Charles G. Stokes loudly, getting to his feet.

"Some of our political organizations

GOMILLION

AMERSON

are said to be trying to find two Negroes and a white to run against our sheriff candidate and kill him off at the election in November."

The 50 people at the monthly meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA) last Sunday reacted to this in different ways. Some of them nodded as if they were glad someone had finally mentioned the rumors in public. Some of them frowned.

Charles G. Gomillion, TCA president, looked politely puzzled. "This is the first time I've heard of it," he said.

"Well, a lot of people have heard it," Stokes replied. "When we hear these rumors, we think the people in whom we have confidence--like yourself--should investigate them thoroughly."

The sheriff candidate Stokes mentioned is Lucius D. Amerson. He won Macon County's Democratic primary run-off and became the party's first and only Negro nominee for sheriff in Alabama.

Macon County's Republican Party hasn't found a candidate to run against him and, so far, neither has anyone else.

Alabama law allows voters to write in the name of another person if they don't like any of the candidates on the official ballot. Many people think TCA, the county's oldest Negro civic association, and the Macon County Democratic Club (MCDC), TCA's political twin, have been looking for write-in candidates for sheriff.

The Democratic Club, also headed by Gomillion, withdrew its original lukewarm support for Amerson between the May 3 primary and the May 31 run-off. The Rev. K.L. Buford, a club leader and one of Tuskegee's two Negro city councilmen, came out for Amerson's white opponent, present Sheriff Harvey Sadler.

But Gomillion's answer to Stokes at the TCA meeting seemed to rule out any TCA or MCDC search for candidates to run against Amerson. And Buford this week said he isn't organizing any write-in campaign.

"I'm glad they came out in the open," Amerson said about the rumors as he left the TCA meeting. He paused. "I don't put much stock in rumors," he said quietly, "but I'm not forgetting them."

Two Convicted in Ga.

ATHENS, Ga.--Two white men were sentenced to 10 years in federal prison last week on charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Negroes. The men, Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil William Myers, were convicted in the first of two jury trials held in U.S. District Court here. Among the incidents in the alleged conspiracy was the killing of Negro educator Lemuel Penn.

ANTI-POVERTY GRANTS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Strickland said this week of the grant, "When the program's over, we won't just stand around and be told what to do. We'll be able to go out and get jobs."

"We had to apply three times for the money and a lot of people thought nothing would come of it. But getting the grant shows that the federal government is concerned with the welfare of the people in Lowndes," he said.

In Wilcox County, Albert Gordon, head of the Alabama Democratic Conference here, said the SCLC anti-poverty program will help boost voter registration. "It shows the people we can do something for them," he said.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) is sending the money under Title III-B, Section 311, of the Economic Opportunity Act, which provides direct grants to public or private non-profit agencies for assistance to migrant or seasonal farm workers.

Unlike most anti-poverty grants, these direct grants can be made right from Director Sargent Shriver's office in Washington, without the approval of the state's governor or of the regional OEO office.

The Montgomery Improvement Association is sponsoring a benefit barbeque on Saturday, July 16, at 716 Dorsey St. Place your order now for your dinner by calling 265-3364 or 265-6193, so you can enjoy Mrs. Alberta James' delicious barbeque, along with a teen-age dance beginning at 5 p.m. Music by Bobby Jackson and his Sneakers. Admission only 25¢.
Thank you. The Rev. Jesse L. Douglas, President.

ANDALUSIA
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would appoint a Democratic nominee to a job the nominee would eventually get anyway.

Locklair has applied for the post. He said he sent Governor Wallace a letter by certified mail so that someone would have to sign for it.

"I told him that since I was the Democratic tax collector-elect, I would appreciate his consideration in appointing me to the unexpired term," said Locklair. "As of now, I haven't heard from the governor."

Since May 26, when Reynolds first wrote the governor that he wanted to resign, several white Tuskegeeans have scrambled to apply for the job.

The applicants reportedly include Arthur L. Cooper, Locklair's opponent in the run-off election; David C. Jenkins, a public accountant; Robert Howard, losing candidate for county tax assessor; and James L. Braswell Jr., an insurance agent. Braswell, a Tuskegee city councilman in the days when the city council was a segregationist stronghold, is said to be the choice of Wallace's friends in Macon County.

Locklair carefully refused to say that Wallace ought to appoint him.

ly. "Just because he wouldn't go to those Negro civic meetings."

But she and Reynolds said they don't hold that against Locklair. "He's as nice a Negro as I've ever met," Mrs. Reynolds said. "He's clean, he's polite, and he's almost as white as I am.

"I'm a big one for qualifications. I think folks should be qualified to do a job. Well, he's competent. He's going to do all right."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

have confidence--like yourself--should investigate them thoroughly."

The sheriff candidate Stokes mentioned is Lucius D. Amerson. He won

don't put much stock in [illegible] said quietly, "but I'm not forgetting them."

Two Convicted in Ga.

ATHENS, Ga.--Two white men were sentenced to 10 years in federal prison last week on charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Negroes. The men, Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil William Myers, were convicted in the first of two jury trials held in U.S. District Court here. Among the incidents in the alleged conspiracy was the killing of Negro educator Lemuel Penn.

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Mandarins	10.99 now	7.99	Crosby Square Loafers	13.95 to	9.95
Citations	13.99 now	10.99	Men's Odds and Ends	4.99 to	8.99
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MFDP Fights Election Laws

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

in the November election.

However, soon after the primary the Mississippi legislature passed a law that made running as an independent more difficult. The new law raised the number of signatures independent Senatorial candidate needs to get his name on the ballot from 1,000 to 10,000, and the number for an independent congressional candidate from 200 to 2,000.

The law also said anyone who voted in the Democratic primary could not run as an independent. And it said candidates intending to run in the general election as independents must file their nominating petitions at the same time as candidates in the party primaries.

This would have meant it was already too late to qualify as an independent this year by the time the law was passed. MFDP people bristled, and their lawyers started to prepare lawsuits.

But the Mississippi attorney general's office announced that the law would not go into effect this year--except for the signature requirement.

The way is still not clear, however, for MFDP candidates to run as independents this fall, according to Assistant Attorney General W.S. Wells.

Wells said an old Mississippi Supreme Court decision seems to say that a candidate must choose between running in the primary or running as an independent.

The board of election commissioners, he said, won't clarify the law until some candidate actually collects all the signatures he needs.

NAACP Battles Nazi

LOS ANGELES, Calif.--Though not usually known as a direct-action organization, the NAACP attacked Nazism at the grass-roots level at the NAACP national convention here last week.

During a mass meeting Tuesday night, a young member of the American Nazi Party disrupted things a bit by charging down the aisle shouting, "NAACP is run by Jews!"

He was hustled out of the building, but his escorts managed to bump him around somewhat before they handed him over to the police.

Less directly, perhaps, but certainly with no less conviction, the NAACP leaders at the L.A. convention attacked the problem of "gross inequalities" of schools located in Negro neighborhoods across the nation.

Miss June Shagaloff, NAACP's national education director, said local school officials in many communities have failed to develop programs to help these long-neglected schools catch up.

She said the NAACP is engaged in protest and court action in more than 130 school districts in 22 states outside the South.

NAACP leaders also took advantage of their Los Angeles stay to chide the movie industry for "regression" since a 1963 attempt to give Negroes a break both in front of and behind the cameras.

"We've only accomplished very limited gains in Hollywood," said Herbert Hill, the NAACP's director of labor relations. Hollywood "has been socially irresponsible and artistically dishonest," he said.

TROUBLE IN MISS.

GRENADA, Miss.--The city most willing to grant Negro demands during the Meredith march presented a stiffer front when civil rights organizers returned to town last week.

Forty-three demonstrators were arrested July 7 for obstructing a street. Then highway patrolmen used billy clubs Sunday to disperse 150 Negroes gathered outside the Grenada County Jail. And two men were charged with assault and battery with intent to kill for a sub-machine gun attack on two civil rights lawyers and a Community Relations Service attorney.

Hosea Williams of SCLC and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC were organizing in the area.

Now Henry County Has Four Libraries

BY PETER CUMMINGS

HENRY COUNTY--This rural county will soon have four libraries. In addition to the public libraries in Abbeville and Headland, local Negroes are rapidly adding books to two new libraries of their own.

The new libraries were suggested last summer by a civil rights worker, Miss Mary Pottle of North Weymouth, Mass. Miss Pottle, who is teaching this summer at Oakwood College in Huntsville, persuaded the North Weymouth Pilgrim Church to collect and ship books for the new libraries.

The new library in Headland, which is located in St. Peter's AME Church, began checking out books last September. The librarian, Miss Martha Jean Parker, daughter of the church's pastor, the Rev. S.D. Parker, said, "We got to get more shelves and desks."

The small room holding the library's 500 books is already over-crowded, but the books keep coming. "The mailman needs extra help when he comes here," said Parker. "He has to get a truck to carry all the books."

Abbeville's new library, housed in the Mary Magdalene Baptist Church, contains more than 250 books, ranging from the Smithsonian Physical Tables to "The Fire Next Time," by James Baldwin. The library's shelves were built by the church Men's Club.

Henry County's two public libraries have both been desegregated for years, but very few Negroes use them. Miss Diane Rowell, assistant librarian of the Headland Library, said that "just maybe a half a dozen" Negroes had used that library so far this summer.

Lewis A. Murray, who is now in charge of the new library in Abbeville, explained why. "People haven't been wanted over there (in the public library) and now some still don't go over," he said. The few Negroes who do use the public library are mostly students.

James J. Vaughan, who helped start the new Abbeville library, said he thought Negroes would use it: "I'm pretty sure that we have some books here on Negro history that they don't have at the public library. And books by Negro people."

Vaughan, Murray, and Parker all said that whites would be welcome at both the new libraries.

Mrs. Lois H. Whitehurst, librarian of the 8,500-book Abbeville public library, was surprised but pleased when she learned that Negroes in her community were starting a new library. "I think there is a need for that," she said. "There is a crying need for other space, at least. . . . We don't have the seating space. Sometimes the students have to sit on the floor."

POULTRY PLANT

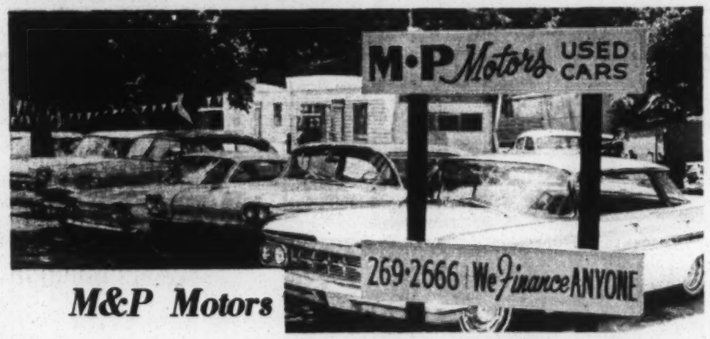
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

$5,000 to $7,000 federal loan. Each house will hold about 5,000 chickens.

The Purina Feed Company will provide the chicks, the feed, and the drugs needed to get started. The Economic Development Administration will train the farmers.

About 110 to 120 farmers will take part. Until the plant is paid for, each farmer will get from 2 to 2 1/2¢ per pound of chicken produced by the plant. This should give each farmer about $2,000 to $2,500 a year.

Noah Harris president of the corporation, Mrs. Rebecca Anderson is treasurer, and Mrs. L.W. Pugh is secretary.



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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held Monday, July 18, at 6:30 p.m. in the Metropolitan A.M.E. Zion Church, 1530 4th Avenue North, Birmingham, the Rev. J.S. Wactor, pastor. The

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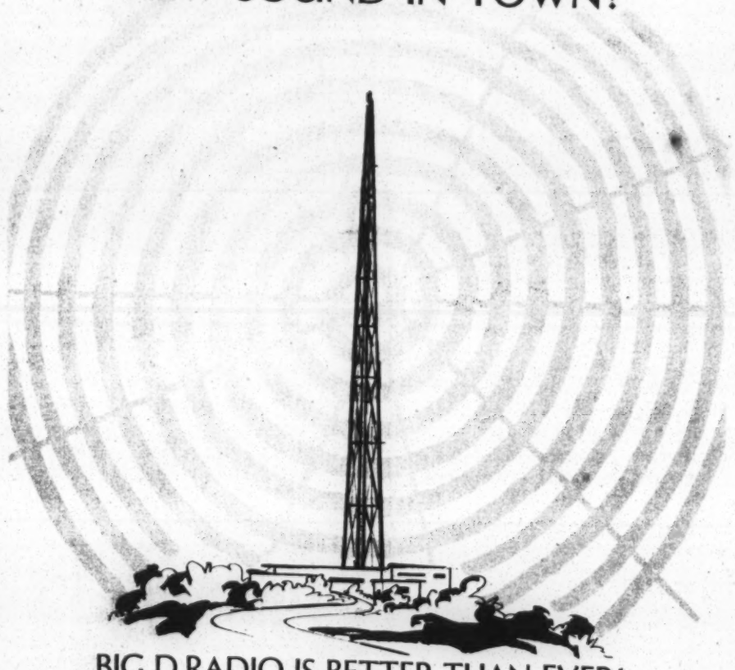

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(SOUTHERN COURIER SOLD HERE)

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Courier Newsboy of the Week

Carl West, 13, a student at St. Elizabeth School, sells 175 copies of The Southern Courier every week in Selma.

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What Is 'Black Power'

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Stokely Carmichael

"For once, black people are going to use a slogan that they want and not give a damn about who doesn't like it."

John Hulett

"We aren't advocating all-black or all-white. We're interested in our people getting representation."

Rev. Peter Kirksey

"I don't have any respect for third-party and 'black power' movements because of their nature and intention."

Benjamin Van Clarke

"Those Negroes who work in Miss Anne's kitchen say, 'Look at all that violent stuff.' . . . They're just afraid of it."

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

ATLANTA, Ga.--"It's amazing," SNCC's Stokely Carmichael said last week, "to see what two words can do to white America." The two words: black power.

Since Carmichael first started preaching it on the march through Mississippi, "black power" has been bitterly attacked by the Vice-President of the United States, editorial writers across the country--and the head of the NAACP, as well.

But the new leader of SNCC didn't think black power was a racist idea, and he wasn't going to stop talking about it just because whites and some middle-class Negroes said it was. "For once," he declared icily, "black people are going to use a slogan that they want and not give a damn about who doesn't like it."

What does it really mean?

"Black power," according to Carmichael, "is the coming together of black people to elect representatives and having those representatives speak to their needs."

Wherever Negroes outnumber whites, explained Carmichael, the Negroes should get together and form their own political party. He said they should pick candidates who are Negro and poor like themselves. Then, he said, they'll have candidates who know what the folks back home want and won't be afraid to fight for it.

That, of course, was the idea behind the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the all-Negro third party set up with the help of SNCC workers last December.

But again and again, Carmichael told Negro audiences that the poor people should set up their own political action groups even where whites are in the majority.

Where Negroes organize themselves, said Carmichael, they can go up to an elected official and tell him, "Look, we want this street paved. We got 5,000 votes. Either you get it paved or we get up off our votes!"

That's another key idea of black power: Negroes may not be able to win an election themselves, but they can have a lot to say about who does.

The goal of all this black power politics, as SNCC workers outline it, is to get Negroes better jobs, better homes, and better schools. SNCC has let it be known that it is through waiting for demonstrations and court decisions to put a few Negroes into white schools and fewer Negroes into decent jobs.

As far as SNCC is concerned, black people are being forced to wait for a better way of life while white people get used to the idea of integration.

"We don't want to become a part of American society," snapped Carmichael. "We don't want to have anything to do with it. We just want to get white people off our backs."

That, perhaps, is what black power is all about--what Carmichael calls "psychological equality." Black people, he said, are told over and over that they aren't good enough to look out for themselves.

When white people come South to be civil rights workers, the argument goes, they are in a way saying to Southern Negroes that the Negroes aren't able to fight for their own rights unless white people show them how.

And when white liberals press for school integration, says SNCC, they are telling Negroes that a black school can't possibly be as good as a school with whites in it.

Carmichael said Negroes can and should "develop what we have in our

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 30 Weekend Edition: JULY 23-24, 1966 TEN CENTS

Philadelphia Suit Accuses Policemen

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. -- Theodore Slaughter sells soft drinks in a one-room cafe in Philadelphia's Negro community.

One evening last month Slaughter says he saw a policeman looking in the window.

"I told him he was welcome to come in," says Slaughter, "but he walked on away. Later he stopped me and asked me what did I say.

Meredith march and joined last week by the Justice Department, asks the federal district court to stop Philadelphia officials from interfering with the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens.

It describes violence on June 21, the day the Meredith march came to Philadelphia.

The suit lists beatings and harassment arrests of local Negroes and civil rights workers during the past year, including the following:

Andrew Red says he was severely beaten in the mayor's office Dec. 20.

Elmer Clark says he was beaten by

Wiregrass Dries Up

BY ELLEN LAKE AND PETER CUMMINGS

CLOPTON--"A person on a farm--it's just like gambling. You may win or you may lose," said Dennis Glover.

Glover, who is 61 years old and farms 40 acres near this small Wiregrass town, isn't sure yet whether he's going to win or lose this year. A drought, probably the worst one in 12 years, has made things even harder than usual for him.

A big man, with gray hair and eyes yellowed with age, Glover usually raises corn, peanuts and peas. But this year, he said, "I don't know whether I'm going to make any corn or not. The peanuts is sure to be hurt. If it starts up

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"I told him he was welcome to come in," says Slaughter, "but he walked on away. Later he stopped me and asked me what did I say.

"I repeated he was welcome to come in. And then he told me I had been drinking. I hadn't had but one can of beer, and that was four hours before.

"He snatched me and kicked me up in his truck. I said, 'What are you arresting me for?' He hauled off and beat me several times with his blackjack....

"On the way to the hospital (to patch up my gashes) I asked why did he beat me; I never done nothin' to him. And he beat me again.

"I asked once more while we was waitin' for the doctor. And sittin' right up there in that emergency room, he hit me again. They gave me seven stitches where he hit me that time."

Monday morning Slaughter was tried and convicted for public drunkenness. But even if he loses the appeal he plans, the courts haven't heard the last of Slaughter's case.

Slaughter's is the most recent of a series of complaints of alleged police brutality that form the basis of a suit against Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, Philadelphia Chief of Police Bruce Latimer and city police officers Willie ("Tripp") Windham and Curtis Tingle.

The suit, brought by leaders of the Meredith march and joined last week by the Justice Department, asks the federal district court to stop Philadelphia officials from interfering with the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens.

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Elmer Clark says he was beaten by Windham going to and from the jail after an arrest for public drunkenness Nov. 26.

Gunter Frentz says he was arrested on a trumped-up charge of carrying a concealed weapon after taking part in an April 23 demonstration in Philadelphia.

Local Negroes have been complaining to city officials for several months about inadequate police protection. A delegation met three times with the board of aldermen and presented a petition asking for the dismissal of Windham and Tingle, the two Negro policemen, whom they accused of brutality.

The Neshoba County Freedom Democratic party called a "blackout" of white-owned stores to back up the demands.

Last April, the board of aldermen agreed to consider the requests, but they have made no response to the Negroes. Now Mayor Clayton Lewis says he knows nothing about any boycott and that he has heard no complaints from local Negroes.

There has been some change, however; two of the officers named in the suit are no longer on the force. The board of aldermen fired Chief Latimer July 5 and named assistant chief D. W. Perry to his post. The same day, Steve

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

Wiregrass Dries Up

BY ELLEN LAKE AND PETER CUMMINGS

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A big man, with gray hair and eyes yellowed with age, Glover usually raises corn, peanuts and peas. But this year, he said, "I don't know whether I'm going to make any corn or not. The peanuts is sure to be hurt. If it starts up raining, they may come out, but if it don't rain any more than now, they'll be mighty slow."

He said he thought cotton might do pretty well because "the heat keeps the weevils out of the cotton." But Glover didn't raise any cotton this year because he had no one to help him harvest it. He and his 65-year-old wife Emily work their farm alone.

Glover pays $250 a year for the land they farm, and $20 per month for his five-room house of worn, unpainted boards. His last good farming year was three years ago, when he made about $300 profit. The past two years were bad ones. "Didn't make nothing, just managed to pay my rent," Glover said.

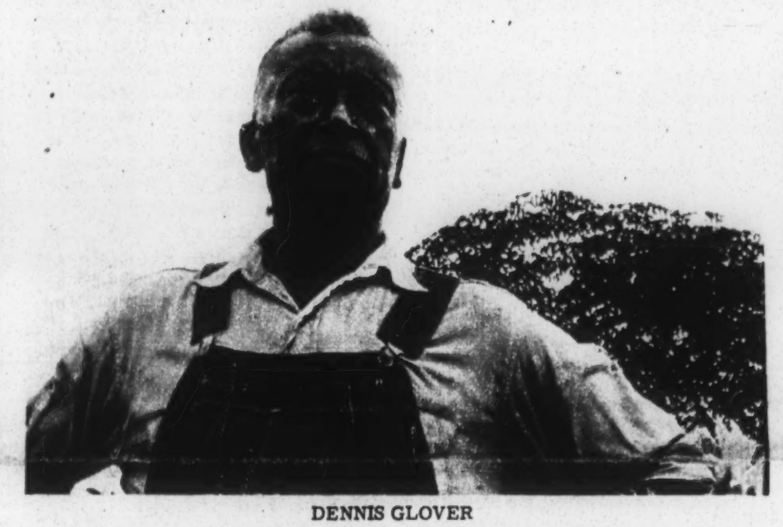
Glover's peanut crop is the most important for him, because it is his only market crop. "If the peanuts is killed, I won't be able to pay the rent," he said. "If I don't pay for the land, I'll be out. Then I got to hunt me another job."

But the Clark sisters of Abbeville, who rent Glover his land, said they wouldn't throw him off if he couldn't pay the rent this year.

"If he's just had tough luck, we'd help him out next year," Miss Lola Clark said. "He's a pretty good farmer. He's always come through in the past."

Miss Clark and her sister, Miss Rathma Clark, said they were also concerned about the drought.

Miss Lola Clark, a retired teacher, pointed to pecan trees near her porch. "Those trees were blooming this spring. We thought we'd have a bumper crop," she said. "But you don't see any pecans now, do you? It's been so hot and dry I just don't know how the crops will come out."



DENNIS GLOVER

Glover and the Clark sisters aren't the only ones suffering from the drought. Agriculture experts say farmers all over the Wiregrass area will be badly hurt.

"We figure the entire Pike County corn crop is cut about 50%," said H. J. Carter, county extension agent. Carter said he thought the drought would cut the cotton crop by one-third, but said it was too early to tell about peanuts. "They won't be hurt too much if we can get some rain from here on," he said.

It will be fall before Glover can tell whether his crops have survived the dry spell. In the meantime, is he worried? He smiled broadly. "Ain't a thing in the world I can do, except trust in the Lord."

"A person farming got to get help from the Lord," Glover said. "Water for the crop, it's just like food for a man. If you don't get food you can't stand."

North Alabama Woman Says Deputy Grabbed, Slapped Her

BY MIKE STEWARD

GURLEY -- A young Negro woman here said she was "slapped and pushed around" by a Madison County deputy sheriff last Sunday evening when the deputy and another officer arrested her brother.

Miss Mary Brandon, 25, said she had just returned home from a funeral when Deputy Sheriff John Harris and Gurley city policeman Kermit Miles came to arrest her brother, Joe Brandon Jr., and another man, William Martin Jr.

The two men had been charged with taking $14 from a white man Sunday near this North Alabama town.

When she asked Harris why he was arresting her brother, Miss Brandon said, he told her to "get back in the damn yard," and then "grabbed my arm, slapped me, and pushed me around."

Miss Brandon said she hit Harris once, either in the face or chest, after he grabbed her. "I only asked what they had him (her brother) for, and I didn't think that gave him cause to strike me," she explained. She said after Harris let her go, "Miles tried to reason with me and get me into the police car." She said Miles didn't strike her.

When she drove to the county jail in Huntsville, she was arrested, charged with assault and battery for hitting Harris, and put in jail. She was released three hours later on $600 bond.

Harris and Miles refused to comment on the case before this Friday's hearing in county court.

As far as SNCC is concerned, black people are being forced to wait for a better way of life while white people get used to the idea of integration.

"We don't want to become a part of American society," snapped Carmichael. "We don't want to have anything to do with it. We just want to get white people off our backs."

That, perhaps, is what black power is all about--what Carmichael calls "psychological equality." Black people, he said, are told over and over that they aren't good enough to look out for themselves.

When white people come South to be civil rights workers, the argument goes, they are in a way saying to Southern Negroes that the Negroes aren't able to fight for their own rights unless white people show them how.

And when white liberals press for school integration, says SNCC, they are telling Negroes that a black school can't possibly be as good as a school with whites in it.

Carmichael said Negroes can and should "develop what we have in our neighborhood and make it good and make it beautiful."

To do it, he said, Negroes need faith in themselves--and power. Put that together and it spells black power.

Although the black power slogan is less than two months old, SNCC has been saying the same sort of thing for nearly three years.

It began after SNCC's Mississippi Summer Project of 1964. Hundreds of white Northerners flooded into the state to teach in Freedom Schools and organize voter registration drives. When it was all over, SNCC wasn't so sure that it had been such a good idea.

After the whites left, some SNCC workers recall, many local Negroes didn't know what to do next--so they did nothing. The best thing to come out of the summer project, SNCC felt, was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, a third party which local Negroes set up for themselves.

SNCC workers began to see no point in having any whites at all working in Negro communities, and they even began to look twice at some of the whites on SNCC's own staff.

Scorning SCLC-style demonstrations, SNCC turned its attention to quieter projects that it hoped would help Negroes fend for themselves in the long run.

In December, SNCC turned to political organizing in Alabama. SNCC workers helped set up the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Alabama law requires that any new party choose an official emblem, and SNCC was in no mood to pussy-foot around. The new group picked a black panther to go after the Democratic Party's white roost-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 4)

Ice Cream Cones?

MERIDIAN, Miss.--Did you ever melt like an ice cream cone? Burst like a balloon? Or hop across the room like a big-eared rabbit?

Children in the Wechsler schools' summer program learned to expect to do anything in their creative rhythm class taught by Mrs. Barbara Selek and her two assistants from Meridian Junior College.

The class was an experiment to show that children can express their imagination with their bodies as well as with painting, writing, or music.

Other activities of the summer program at Wechsler were a trip to the Jackson Zoo, a style show, a visit to the Post Office, and swimming.

Wallace: War on 'Black Power'

MONTGOMERY -- Governor George C. Wallace this week declared verbal war on Stokely Carmichael and "the revolutionary 'black power' movement in this country."

In a press conference Tuesday, Wallace attacked the federal government for granting almost $250,000 in anti-poverty money to the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights.

One of the governor's advisors gave each reporter at the conference a folder filled with reprints of ten newspaper articles. Wallace said the articles linked Stokely Carmichael of SNCC to the Lowndes County Christian Movement, and that they linked the Christian Movement with the county's black panther political party.

The articles included five recent stories from The Southern Courier.

Said the governor: "It is unbelievable that an agency of our government would make a grant of approximately one-quarter of a million dollars to a group which advocates 'black power,' violence, turmoil, and disorder."

"We have evidence here of the federal government financing those who advocate actions which border on treason," he said.

Wallace also charged that Robert L. Strickland, who Wallace said would administer the anti-poverty money, is "a convicted murderer and has served time in the penitentiary."

(On Wednesday, Sargent Shriver, head of the federal anti-poverty agency, said he was holding up the grants to Lowndes and Wilcox counties during an investigation of Wallace's charges.

(But Shriver also said the governor was apparently "misinformed" about some facts. He said the Lowndes Christian Movement--and the Wilcox anti-poverty group--were "organized more than a year ago, before the so-called black panther party came into existence."

("Stokely Carmichael has never expressed an opinion...publicly or privately" on the Lowndes County grant, Shriver said, and neither Strickland nor anyone else has been named to administer the anti-poverty money.

(Strickland admitted he had "been in some legal trouble" in the past.)

Said John Hulett, president of the Lowndes black panther organization: "I think Wallace is misinterpreting the black power issue. What he needs to do is come down here and let the people explain what it means."

In another part of Alabama, Neil O. Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin and the Tuskegee News, said, "If black power means black segregation, it takes away from the movement what has been its best appeal--justice, fairness, and equality."

Another civic leader, Mayor Joseph Langan of Mobile, said, "It's not clear to me what they mean when they say black power, so I can't say whether I think it is right or wrong."

George C. Wallace

"We have evidence here of the federal government financing those who advocate actions which border on treason."

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Editorial Opinion

A Definitive Statement On The Alabama Situation In Recent Weeks

Hot, isn't it?

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I have read with keen interest the editorials and comments made on "Black Power." I read the explanations of the leaders of CORE and SNICK. It seems that whenever an ambiguous word or phrase is used, there is always the usual misinterpretations. For example, the word "communist" has so many interpretations until many of us do not know what a communist really is, yet. At one time, I was led to think all of the top movie stars were communists, another interpretation led us to believe that a communist was any white person who associated with black people. For a while, when Senator McCarthy was in Congress, we were made to feel that a communist was behind every door of the whitehouse or under all the tables and chairs there. One day, someone said Jesus Christ was the first communist. Too often, we jump to the wrong conclusions. The words "Black Power" have never meant anything to me but "SOME POWER" for the black people who have had NONE. It is a necessary thing to all to have some power. Without power, we shall continue to suffer the same injustices, unfairness, murder.

It is small wonder that our white friends get disillusioned and disturbed too. Basically, we are all together as the fingers on one hand and really working for one common cause in each individual organizational way. We need Dr. Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership, we need Attorney Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality and Mr. Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the NAACP, and, yes, the Deacons for Defense along with other church and civic groups as long as our black people and white friends are being killed for doing no harm or doing right while the killers or murderers go FREE. "Black Power," "White Power," and "Mixed Power," all are in dire need to combat the human slaughter of those who walk in the foot-steps of Jesus Christ by working dedicatedly for the advancement and dignity of all mankind with love for all the races of God's people.

Each organization mentioned above has a special job to do in this struggle for righteousness. They must operate in such a manner to produce the finished product, "Justice and Equality for All."

Dr. King, SCLC Workers Try To End Violence in Chicago

BY ROBERT CORDELL

CHICAGO -- Several people from Alabama helped cool off the Chicago riot last week.

The Negro members of the Rev. Martin Luther King's SCLC, who have been working in Chicago since last fall, walked the streets of Chicago's West Side, urging people to return to their homes and to stay out of the area for safety reasons.

The trouble began Tuesday night when the police turned off a fire hydrant. (In hot weather, Negro children often turn hydrants on and run through the spray, because there are no swinning pools nearby for them to play in.) When a Negro man turned the hydrant back on Tuesday, the police arrested him and six other Negroes in the crowd that had gathered.

The police treated the arrested Negroes roughly. As the crowd watched, one Negro fell to the ground while he was being hurried to a police squad car. When another Negro went to his aid, police whacked both on the head with billy clubs. Angered by the arrests and by the rough treatment of the prisoners, the crowd began pelting the police with bottles and rocks.

By chance, a civil rights rally was being held only a few blocks from where the original trouble started, and SCLC staff members were quickly recruited to try to halt the violence. Working with local Negro leaders, the Rev. James Orange, the Rev. Charles Billups, Charlie Love, and Jimmy Wilson walked through the streets and court-yards of high-rise public housing projects, asking people not to join the rock-throwing and window-breaking.

But despite their best efforts, many Negroes, primarily teen-agers and young adults, broke store windows and fought with police. Just before midnight, though, the SCLC staff got about 250 youngsters to come over to the civil rights meeting to hear Dr. King speak.

Dr. King discussed the value of non-violence and then asked the crowd what he could do. They promised no more the police to release the people who had been arrested, and returned to the church with them. That ended most of the trouble on Tuesday night.

But "the desperation and simmering discontent" that Dr. King had told Mayor Richard J. Daley about apparently could not be stopped.

On Wednesday night, violence began to expand from where it had started Tuesday night.

Four buildings were destroyed by fire, and "Molotov cocktails" were thrown from the roof of a 15-story housing project. The night ended with police and a lone gunman exchanging a blaze of gunfire down a street only a block from where the trouble had begun.

If Wednesday night ended in a blaze of gunfire, Thursday began with it. Two major gun battles occurred during the night.

By the end of Thursday night, two Negroes--a 28-year-old man from Robinsville, Miss., and a 14-year-old girl--had been killed, and two policemen were seriously wounded.

Orange has been working with members of Chicago teen-age gangs, many of whom were involved in the riot. He and another SCLC staff member arranged a meeting of gang leaders with Dr. King in King's apartment late Friday night. After listing their complaints, they agreed with Dr. King that they would try the non-violent approach and watch Chicago's reaction.

But the husky, well-built leader of one gang observed, "Dr. King made a lot of demands, but he didn't get anything until we broke a few windows."

MOTHER AND CHILD LOOK OUT ON CHICAGO SLUM

On Discrimination

COAPO Plans Attack

TUSCALOOSA--The executive committee of COAPO last week voted to organize Negro communities all over Alabama into strong voting blocs, and to form economic blocs to support boycotts.

This decision was part of a general program drawn up by the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations to fight discriminatory practices in the state, and especially in counties where there hasn't been much civil rights activity so far.

Organizing efforts will begin Aug. 1 under the ten-point program outlined last Saturday by the Rev. T. Y. Rogers, COAPO president. Some of the points are:

1. Employment--Suits will be filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to guarantee equal employment opportunities for Negro job applicants.

2. Hospitals--COAPO will attempt legal action to desegregate hospitals in counties with no civil rights organizations.

3. Agriculture--Moves will be made to place Negro representatives in local agricultural offices.

4. Public Accommodations--Segregated public facilities will be tested by COAPO workers.

5. Education--Segregated schools will become the objects of demonstrations and suits.

6. Anti-poverty Program--COAPO

Parade Time Runs Out in Miss.; 45 Marchers Jailed in Edwards

BY DAVID RICE

EDWARDS, Miss.--"I'm so proud of these people...," said Miss Irene Thompson, 17, of Edwards, but she never finished the sentence. Instead, she started to sing again.

Soon many of the other 44 people in the paddy-wagon riding the 30 miles from Edwards to Jackson began to sing, too. The wagon was headed for the Hinds County jail.

The trip to jail really began last summer, when the city had sold the public swimming pool to a private membership there was a chance they'd get arrested," Miss Thompson said.

The marchers walked two abreast on the sidewalk up to the mayor's office and placed the list of demands on his door. Then all the marchers were arrested for parading without a permit, and herded into the wagon.

After the arrest, the people of Edwards quickly raised property bonds, and at 11:30 p.m. everyone was released. The trial has been continued "indefinitely."

On the way home Irene Thompson,

torials and comments made on "Black Power." I read the explanations of the leaders of CORE and SNICK. It seems that whenever an ambiguous word or phrase is used, there is always the usual misinterpretations. For example, the word "communist" has so many interpretations until many of us do not know what a communist really is, yet. At one time, I was led to think all of the top movie stars were communists, another interpretation led us to believe that a communist was any white person who associated with black people. For a while, when Senator McCarthy was in Congress, we were made to feel that a communist was behind every door of the whitehouse or under all the tables and chairs there. One day, someone said Jesus Christ was the first communist. Too often, we jump to the wrong conclusions. The words "Black Power" have never meant anything to me but "SOME POWER" for the black people who have had NONE. It is a necessary thing to all to have some power. Without power, we shall continue to suffer the same injustices, unfairness, murderings and mistreatments we have experienced in the past 100 years or more with just white power alone. We need all the powers: black, white, and the power of God to fight the evils that upset us as well as hold back the progress of this nation and country.

Unfortunately, our main leaders are at odds on this subject. They do not need to be so. This only adds to confusion rather than give a solution. Too often and too much of this fake color scare is used to make division among us--and shockingly, by our own people.

get disillusioned and disturbed too. Basically, we are all together as the fingers on one hand and really working for one common cause in each individual organizational way. We need Dr. Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership, we need Attorney Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality and Mr. Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the NAACP, and, yes, the Deacons for Defense along with other church and civic groups as long as our black people and white friends are being killed for doing no harm or doing right while the killers or murderers go FREE. "Black Power," "White Power," and "Mixed Power," all are in dire need to combat the human slaughter of those who walk in the foot-steps of Jesus Christ by working dedicatedly for the advancement and dignity of all mankind with love for all the races of God's people.

Each organization mentioned above has a special job to do in this struggle for righteousness. They must operate in such a manner to produce the finished product, "Justice and Equality for All." The Southern Christian Leadership to us is like the church, CORE is like our business manager, the NAACP has served as our attorney, SNICK reminds us of our farmers, without them we perish, and the Deacons for Defense are our watchmen and guardsmen. Every group is needed in this battle for RIGHT against WRONG. Without a doubt or question, we do need some "Black Power" too.

C.B. Quinn
Tuskegee, Ala.

Rights Workers Prepare For Early ASCS Elections

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY -- Civil rights workers this week began a "crash program" to get Negroes elected to the committees that decide farm crop allotments.

The election for Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) community committeemen is being held early in Alabama this year--the deadline for voting is on Tuesday, Aug. 16.

So leaders from central Alabama met here Saturday--and in Marion Sunday--to plan their campaign.

First, they decided to ask a federal court this week to delay the elections.

"The state ASCS usually holds the elections in the fall," a representative of the National Sharecroppers Fund said at the Montgomery meeting. "They moved it up this year, at the beginning of harvesting season, at a time when Negroes are most in debt to Mr. Charlie.

"There is no time to organize," he said.

W.L. Farmer, state ASCS administrative assistant, was asked at the meeting why the election was being held earlier than usual this year.

"They hold them anywhere between July 1 and December 30, usually in October or November," he said. He added that he knew of no reason for the early date. Alabama's are the first ASCS elections in the nation this year.

The civil rights workers, led by Lewis Black of Greensboro, said they couldn't be sure the federal court would delay the elections. "So we have to go under the assumption that the elections will be held," said Black.

A committee of five, including Black, was named to spread information about ASCS in counties with large Negro farm populations.

Any man or woman who owns or rents a farm, or who is a tenant or sharecropper on someone else's farm, may vote in an ASCS election and may run for a position on the committee.

Each community committee has a chairman, vice-chairman, regular member and two alternates. The first three are delegates to the county convention, which elects the more powerful county ASCS committee.

The farmers elected to the committees supervise and administer federal farm programs that affect the community.

REV. SOLOMON S. SEAY

Farmer explained that the community committee now in office is required to bring the total number of candidates to at least ten, and to make sure the proportion of Negroes on the ballot is the same as the proportion of Negroes in the local farm population.

But, replied Albert Turner of Marion, "Last year they put up Negroes who couldn't read or write, and they put up Negroes who said later they didn't want to serve."

The Rev. Solomon S. Seay, a Montgomery County farmer, got up to say, "We have to find out how the committee is structured. And we have to inform the little man, the poor farmer, what ASCS is all about."

Black agreed, saying, "It's the same as with politics last spring. Folks don't know what it's all about."

When another Negro went to his aid, police whacked both on the head with billy clubs. Angered by the arrests and by the rough treatment of the prisoners, the crowd began pelting the police with bottles and rocks.

By chance, a civil rights rally was being held only a few blocks from where the original trouble started, and SCLC staff members were quickly recruited to try to halt the violence. Working with local Negro leaders, the Rev. James Orange, the Rev. Charles Billups, Charlie Love, and Jimmy Wilson walked through the streets and court-yards of high-rise public housing projects, asking people not to join the rock-throwing and window-breaking.

But despite their best efforts, many Negroes, primarily teen-agers and young adults, broke store windows and fought with police. Just before midnight, though, the SCLC staff got about 250 youngsters to come over to the civil rights meeting to hear Dr. King speak.

Dr. King discussed the value of non-violence and then asked the crowd what he could do. They promised no more trouble if the seven Negroes arrested were released by the police. Dr. King promised to get them released and bring them back to the rally. He convinced

PHILADELPHIA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Huggleston was named to replace Tingle, who had resigned.

Mayor Lewis says the change had nothing to do with the injunction. "We were just trying to get a more efficient department," he said. Perry had eight or nine years experience with the force, and Latimer less than one.

The injunction, if it were granted, could not prevent police harassment. But it would bring local officers under the power of the federal court, and they could be fined or jailed if they disobeyed the court's order.

Philadelphia Negroes say there has been some let-up in harassment arrests since the march, although no one knows whether the suit has anything to do with it.

Dr. King in King's apartment late Friday night. After listing their complaints, they agreed with Dr. King that they would try the non-violent approach and watch Chicago's reaction.

But the husky, well-built leader of one gang observed, "Dr. King made a lot of demands, but he didn't get anything until we broke a few windows."

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Soon many of the other 44 people in the paddy-wagon riding the 30 miles from Edwards to Jackson began to sing, too. The wagon was headed for the Hinds County jail.

The trip to jail really began last summer, when the city had sold the public swimming pool to a private membership club. The club is not open to Negroes.

Miss Thompson and four friends tried to get an application to join the club. They were told that the club was private and that they couldn't swim there.

So, last week, people began to picket the pool. The Negro community decided to hold a rally last Saturday in town, and got a parade permit from 4 to 6 p.m.

They drew up a list of demands, which included use of the swimming pool, better street lights, paved streets, and a sewage system for the Negro community.

It rained Saturday, but more than 200 people marched and then gathered near The Little House, a cafe.

Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence and James Williams told the crowd that the Negroes of Edwards must stick together.

Then someone suggested that they march again up to Mayor Clark Robbins' office and place the list of demands on his door. But it was after 6 p.m., and the parade permit had expired.

"If the people want to march--I think they should march. I said over and over there was a chance they'd get arrested," Miss Thompson said.

The marchers walked two abreast on the sidewalk up to the mayor's office and placed the list of demands on his door. Then all the marchers were arrested for parading without a permit, and herded into the wagon.

After the arrest, the people of Edwards quickly raised property bonds, and at 11:30 p.m. everyone was released. The trial has been continued "indefinitely."

On the way home Irene Thompson, tired and hungry, repeated "I'm so proud of those people." This time she finished the sentence--"for raising those property bonds."

LCDC Claims 2 Legal Triumphs in Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss.--As a result of a civil rights suit filed here, the lawyer for Holmes County Sheriff Andrew Smith and Smith's deputy has paid $1,500 to a former civil rights worker.

Mrs. Maggie Gordon, who worked in Lexington, Miss., had charged Holmes County Deputy Sheriff T.J. Evans with beating her while she was in jail in May, 1965. In a $100,000 suit filed in federal court here, she said Sheriff Smith was responsible for Evans' actions.

The case was ended without a trial when Mrs. Gordon was paid $1,500 in an out-of-court settlement.

"This is the first time in the history of the South that a sheriff has paid money for an injury inflicted on a Negro," said Donald Jelinek, Mrs. Gordon's lawyer.

Jelinek, who is with the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee in Selma, said the case was the most significant one his office had ever handled.

"For the first time, sheriffs will have to exercise responsibility over their deputies," he said. "This will have an immediate effect on justice in the South."

"No longer is there just a philosophic reason for not beating Negroes and upholding law and order," said Jelinek. "There's also a hard monetary reason. Southern sheriffs will pay out of court again and again, for they are beginning to realize that even all-white juries will convict them of civil rights beatings."

CAMDEN--Ulysses Z. Nunnally, a 20-year-old SNCC worker from Holly Springs, was discharged from the Army last week after he challenged the Selective Service Law on the grounds that Mississippi draft boards discriminate against Negroes.

Nunnally was sent to the Memphis induction center July 11, but was discharged later the same day. "I was surprised when they told me to leave. They said it was because of the lawsuit," said Nunnally, who is now working in Wilcox County.

In "the lawsuit," prepared earlier by the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC), Nunnally charged that Mississippi draft boards were unconstitutional because Negroes are "systematically excluded." No Negro has ever served on a draft board in Mississippi, the suit said.

Nunnally also charged that he and other Negroes are drafted out of regular order, while whites of the same age and draft status are passed over.

Donald Jelinek, LCDC lawyer in Selma, said that he was surprised with the quick out-of-court success of the case. "A suit will be filed in Alabama the next time a Negro tells us he is inducted," Jelinek said, "and we'll be successful--in court this time." There has been no official confirmation that Nunnally's suit had anything to do with his discharge.

TUSCALOOSA--The executive committee of COAPO last week voted to organize Negro communities all over Alabama into strong voting blocs, and to form economic blocs to support boycotts.

This decision was part of a general program drawn up by the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations to fight discriminatory practices in the state, and especially in counties where there hasn't been much civil rights activity so far.

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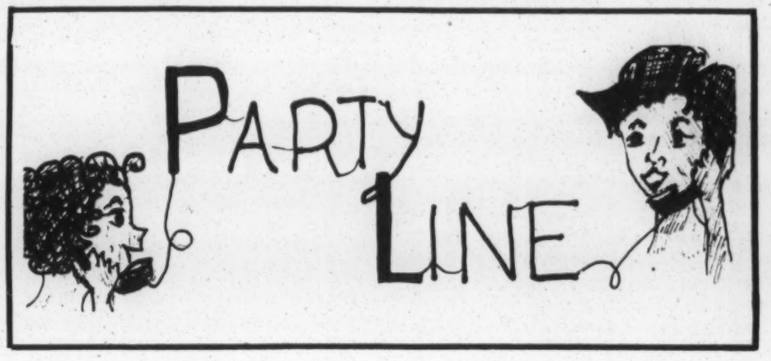
5. Education--Segregated schools will become the objects of demonstrations and suits.

6. Anti-poverty Program--COAPO plans to set up agencies to apply for, receive, and administer federal anti-poverty programs in communities that don't have them.



ANDALUSIA -- The Secret-Saving Club, a teen-age girls' organization, gave a party here Saturday to raise money for a teen-age recreation center for Andalusia. Twenty people attended, and the club took in $7. Miss Belinda Shakespeare, 15, explained why she and her friends want a center: "There's nothing to do here on weekends. My mother don't let me out too much because there's no place to go. We want a place where there are a lot of games to play and a rockola. Maybe if we have a center, the boys will stay out of trouble."

TUSCALOOSA--The Rev. J.C. Brown is rounding up as many people as he can to help fix up a Freedom House for COAPO, Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (TCAC), and other civil rights groups. The Freedom House will be located at the corner of 18th Street and 30th Avenue. Plans for a grand opening will be announced soon.

HARTFORD--Ralph Miller, 17, has been awarded an athletic scholarship to Alabama State College, where he will probably study sociology. He graduated in June from Hartford High School.

MERIDIAN, Miss.--A voter registration project sponsored by the NAACP got under way here last week. Mrs. Sarah Graham, Miss Edna Graham, Miss Louise Porter, Miss Grace Quinn, and Frank Bell started house-to-house canvassing. They plan to carry unregistered voters to the courthouse and to compile a complete list of registered voters in Meridian.

GANTT--The Kirkpatricks held their family reunion here last weekend. Twenty-nine members of the family--some of them coming from as far away as Seattle, Cleveland, and Chicago--enjoyed a barbeque and entertainment on Saturday. Family services were led by the Rev. C.M. Kirkpatrick on Sunday. Hosts for the reunion were Mr. and Mrs. C.L. Kirkpatrick, Mr. and Mrs. A.J. Kirkpatrick, and Mrs. Orzella Smith. The last family reunion was held three years ago in Chicago.

LINDEN--Civil rights worker Charlie Saulsberry, 21, was to go on trial here last Monday, but the trial was postponed until next week so the police could find a crime to charge him with. Saulsberry was arrested for "prowling around a house." He had gone to Linden to see a white man and gotten lost. When he stopped to ask directions, he was arrested by four policeman. Right before Saulsberry's trial, the city found that there was no law to cover "prowling around a house."

AKRON -- Thirty-seven Negroes were forced off the baseball field of all-white Akron High School last Monday by an unidentified white man with a gun, according to Ron Kaufman, a civil rights worker.

MERIDIAN, Miss.--The Lauderdale County Democratic Club agreed unanimously to support legal liquor in Lauderdale County and to conduct a get-out-the-vote campaign for the Aug. 2 referendum on legalized sale of liquor. At its meeting Tuesday, the club elected William Harrison, Odell Shadwick, Obie Clark, Fred Jones, and Bill Ready to be a five-man executive board. Mrs. Catherine Crowell, Mrs. Leona Griggs, James Crawford, and the Rev. E. G. Dickey were named to a committee to invite national Democratic party figures to Meridian.

HUNTSVILLE -- In the past two weeks, more than 120 school children from Toney, Harvest, Indian Creek, and Madison have applied for transfer to mostly-white Madison County schools. Led by Lloyd Carter, a local farmer and civil rights leader, about 90 parents and students went to the Huntsville schools superintendent's office one afternoon about two weeks ago, all to file for transfers.

A Trip to

Hayneville Public Health Clinic

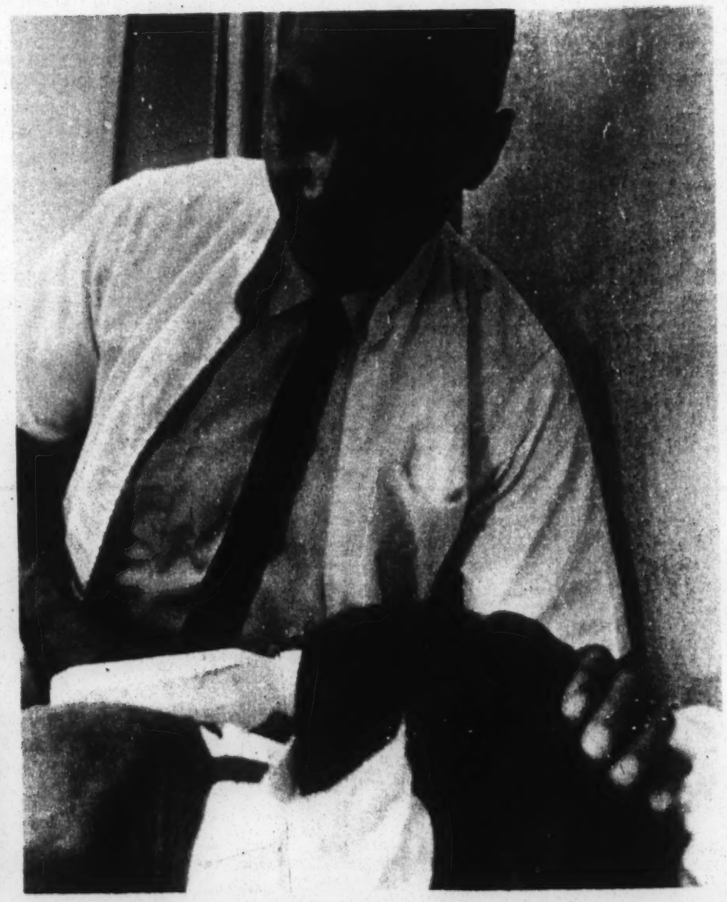
on Maternity and Children's

Care Day

A Trip to
Hayneville Public Health Clinic
on Maternity and Children's
Care Day

Hayneville Clinic On 'Mother's Day'

Photographs by Jim Peppler



Klan Tried and Convicted in Georgia

Civil Rights Law Provides New Weapon Against KKK

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

ATHENS, Ga.--Six men stood trial, but the real defendant was the Ku Klux Klan. When the six were indicted by a federal grand jury nearly two years ago, Calvin F. Craig, the Klan's Grand Dragon in Georgia, snapped that President Johnson was "trying to persecute the Klan to help his political campaign."

The White House did take a special interest in finding the night-riders who shot and killed Negro educator Lemuel Penn 23 miles northwest of here. The killing came less than nine days after the 1964 Civil Rights Act had been signed into law, and the federal government decided to do something about it.

The FBI began looking for the gunmen and found case after case of local Klansmen harassing Negroes. Agents arrested four men (two others were picked up later) as the Justice Department set out to smash the Clarke County Klan.

The state tried two of the men for murder, but an all-white jury thought about it for three hours and acquitted them. Two weeks ago, the same two were each sentenced to ten years in prison on federal charges. It was something of a success for the Justice Department, in the first test of a legal weapon that could be used against just about any active Klan anywhere in the South.

There were only about 18 men in it, but the Klan here was active. The Klansmen were picked up every so often by the local police. But members of Klavern No, 224, United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, still did pretty much as they pleased.

Five of the men arrested--Denver Phillips, Joseph Sims, Cecil Myers, James Lackey, and Herbert Guest--were identified by a fellow Klansman as members of the "security patrol," the group that keeps outsiders out of Klan meetings.

They also went on patrols of their own. Phillips told the FBI how some of them used to scare out-of-state Negroes by trailing bumper-to-bumper behind their cars.

An FBI agent testified that Phillips admitted driving Sims, Myers, and Guest around the all-Negro Broad Acres housing project. According to the agent, Phillips said that when they stopped at a red light, Sims stuck a shotgun out of the window and fired.

A Negro man was relaxing in a Broad Acres apartment that night when a shotgun blast splattered into the room. Sitting in the witness stand, he took off his sun-glasses. His right eye had been struck by a pellet and blinded.

As one Athens newsman remarked after the verdicts were in last week, "We had the most vicious Klan in the state here." It was probably the most brazen Klan, too.

Its headquarters was on the second floor of a two story, baby pink building on one of the city's two main streets. (A store-front church is on the first floor.) Apparently the Klansmen didn't much care who saw them do what.

Back in March, 1964, Negroes launched demonstrations at the newly opened Varsity Drive-In restaurant. As the Negroes picketed on into the evening, the Klansmen, complete with robes and hoods, turned out to counter-picket. It wasn't all peaceful. Sims was hauled off by police for clubbing an elderly Negro with a loaded pistol.

Even the federal charges didn't seem to dampen the Klan's spirit. Three days after the grand jury returned indictments, Sims, Myers, and five other Kluxers were arrested in Crawfordville. They had left their white sheets back at Athens, put on black shirts instead, and gone down to see what they could do about civil rights demonstrations in Taliaferro County.

A Negro farmer who had nothing to do with the demonstrations said they ran his car off the road, pointed pistols and shotguns at him, and tried to beat him. The seven Black Shirts were arrested.

But, according to testimony at the two federal trials in early July, the Klansday transfer period, 192 Negroes asked to go to white schools.

But Negroes in Athens aren't very excited about integration. They aren't very excited about "black power," either. Only about 5,000 of the county's 10,000 or so eligible Negroes are registered to vote, although registrars have long signed up anyone who bothered to walk into their office.

On the few occasions when the Negroes have become excited, Mayor Julius F. Bishop has gotten a bi-racial committee together to smooth the ruffles. The Rev. William Hudson, local head of the NAACP, sighed wearily, "Bishop feels that as long as he keeps us talking, we'll keep the peace."

For the most part, Bishop has been right. But as far as Hudson is concerned, there is another side to keeping the peace--keeping the Klan in check. And Negroes have taken it on themselves to make sure the Klan stays in check.

Hudson says that few Athens Negroes are really scared by the Klan. He also speaks of "an ounce of prevention." He keeps two shotguns and a pistol handy around the house.

A veteran of the Korean War, he sees no point in sticking to non-violence when the Klan won't. Sitting on a sofa in his small, ranch-style house last week, Hudson remarked, "I've defended this country, I'll defend this state, I'll defend this city, and I'll defend my home."

Hudson led the demonstrations at the Varsity in 1964. When the Klan moved in, the demonstrators went back to Hudson's church and voted to fight back if they were attacked. For a time, the Negroes limited their demonstrators to the huskiest football players they could find.

Hudson later led some smaller children out to the picket line. He had to ward off only one attack. "A white man came at me, and he got hit in the mouth," Hudson recalls. After that, things went smoothly.

During demonstrations, one or two dozen Negroes relaxed in a small barn behind Hudson's church. They were armed, and they were ready to go down

Two days later a ten-county area around here was swarming with FBI and Georgia Bureau of Investigation and agents. FBI agents began gathering information on the Klan and its members. Within a month they had gotten a written statement from Lackey saying that he had driven the car from which Penn was shot, and that Sims and Myers had each fired shots. Guest gave a statement filling in details of what happened that morning, but said he had nothing to do with the shooting.

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The convictions will be appealed. If they stand, they may mark out another route for civil rights law to take. From now on, the wholesale terrorizing of Negroes by Klan-type organizations may be considered a violation of federal law.

Sidewalk Run-in

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In court, Sims said he only wanted to find out who owned the sound truck.

Hudson was charged with pointing a gun at Sims. Three white men, who said they happened to be driving by at the time, backed Sims up.

Hudson's lawyer started to question the men closely. Was Hudson on his own property when he pointed the gun? Was he on the sidewalk? Was he in the street?

The men paused and tried to remember whether they had seen Sims on the sidewalk or in the street.

That was enough for the judge. Angrily, he fined Sims $25 for using profanity in a public place. (A police official said Sims swore at Hudson down at the station.) And the judge let Hudson go.

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But, according to testimony at the two federal trials in early July, the Klansmen were most active right around Athens, where they chased and cursed Negroes regularly. Meanwhile, the rest of the city was slowly passing them by.

Athens--"The Classic City," as it likes to call itself--is the home of the University of Georgia. The university was desegregated under a federal court order five years ago, and since then dozens of Negro students have enrolled.

Local Negroes took the cue and tried to eke out a little integration for themselves. Movie theatres, lunch counters, and swimming pools are desegregated. A couple of Negroes work as clerks in downtown stores. And the city has at least two Negro policemen.

The county's 10,000-student school system got around to putting a couple of Negroes into white schools back in 1963 (after approving the idea in 1959). Last year, the inter-racial Athens Human Relations Council decided to push school integration, and during a three-

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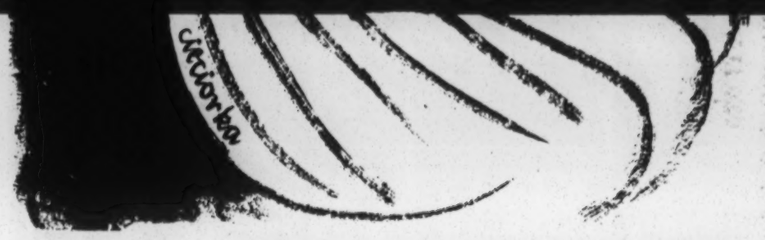
During demonstrations, one or two dozen Negroes relaxed in a small barn behind Hudson's church. They were armed, and they were ready to go down to the Varsity if the demonstrators ever asked them to.

"We didn't ask them to be back there," said Hudson, "but we didn't discourage them either. The only reason Sims and them didn't shoot into the church," he said, nodding towards the glass doors of his air-conditioned church across the street, "was that they knew we had some men around here but they didn't know who and they didn't know how many."

There are some scratches on the wall of Hudson's living room, right across from the picture window, where one of his shotguns used to hang. He no longer bothers to display the gun so openly. "It's pretty quiet now," he explains.

One reason for the quietness is the FBI crackdown on the Klan. Lemuel Penn, a 49-year-old Negro lieutenant-colonel in the Army Reserves, was shot on the morning of July 11, 1964. Penn and two fellow officers were on their way from Ft. Benning to Washington.



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Lackey, Sims, Myers, and Guest were arrested by the FBI and charged under the new Civil Rights Act with conspiracy to violate the rights of Negroes. Phillips and George Turner, identified as the secretary of the local klavern, were arrested six weeks later.

U.S. Commissioner Girard W. Hawkins remarked at the arraignment, "This is probably the first criminal case to be prosecuted under the Civil Rights Act."

"Is that a fact?" shrugged Sims. It was.

It was a landmark case, and it was slow in the making. Meanwhile, Sims was still chuckling as he and Myers were acquitted of state murder charges less than a month later. Charges against Guest were dropped, and the prosecutor decided that it wasn't worth the trouble to try Lackey.

Then Federal District Judge William A. Bootle tossed out federal charges against all six men. Bootle said that the men might have violated state laws, but he pointed out that the federal government cannot prosecute a man even for murder--unless the murder takes place on federal property.

The government appealed to the Supreme Court and won. But the rules that the court set down were complex, and the jury for the second federal trial had to come back into the courtroom twice before it could make up its mind what the rules meant.

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One account says that 100 FBI agents worked on the case and that the cost ran to $700,000. There is no doubt that the FBI was at times very persistent in watching the Klansmen and letting them know they were being watched. One team of investigating agents even brought Guest a cake on his birthday in 1964.

Still, the FBI didn't stop Sims and Myers from going down to Crawfordville. In May of this year, according to police, Sims stalked into the Athens General Hospital where his wife worked as a nurse and shot her in the face. Guest went ahead selling pep pills to college students in violation of federal law. (He also sold some of the pills to federal food and drug agents and was sentenced earlier this month to two years in jail.)

And one Klansman testified at the second federal trial that the Kluxers had opened up a new klavern in northeast Georgia.

At any rate, the klavern in Athens is closed.

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TWENTY-SIX ORPHANS LIVE AT THE HARRIS HOME

THEY PLAY TOGETHER....

....AND WORK TOGETHER

The Children Nobody Else Wants Find Welcome at Harris Home

BY MIKE STEWARD

HUNTSVILLE -- Mrs. Chessie Harris has 26 children. They all live together at the Harris Home for Children near Huntsville.

Mrs. Harris and her husband, George, are not rich people. They are people who care about children. They provide a home for Negro orphans who have nowhere else to go.

The Harrises saw youngsters begging on the streets, stealing chicken coops, and rummaging through garbage cans for food. In 1954 they began taking these children off the streets into their own home.

The children learned what it was like to eat fresh fruit and cereal for breakfast instead of leftover beans and cornbread or nothing at all. One 12-year-old girl who had gone to school only one year before in her life got the chance to have an education. For the first time, a family of eight youngsters had someone to care for them.

"Some of those kids didn't have any place to stay," said Harris. "The police would pick them up and put them in jail. Then the social worker or the welfare department would pick them up and bring them over here."

By 1955 the Harrises' little five-room house just outside Huntsville was filled with 26 children, only four of them their own. Harris went to Cleveland to work so he could support his new family.

His wife stayed at home to care for the children and get community support for a new building in which to house them. Before long, local carpenters, brickmasons, ministers, college teachers, students, lumberyard owners and many others were helping to build the children a new house.

Since 1961 the citizens of Huntsville and Madison County have provided most of the money needed for the home through their United Givers Fund. Mrs. Harris hopes that similar community support will provide more land for the presently crowded home. It is one of very few orphanages for Negro children in Alabama.

Harris Home has opened its doors to more than 80 deprived youngsters from all over the state in the last 12 years. Why did those 80 come and why do more keep coming? Mrs. Harris talks about "total rejection" and "gross neglect."

"We have more children who are rejected than neglected," she said. "There are many children here whom relatives never visit, call, or send a Christmas card. They just don't want them."

In 12 years, the home has not had a single inquiry about adoption of a child over six years old. It now accepts children aged six to 18. "This is the group that nobody else will take so this is the group we take," Mrs. Harris explained.

"When a child comes to us from a placement agency, we feel we have just given birth to a new baby. We handle and treat him as a newborn baby. We start him off with tiny bits of food until he learns to eat, and until he learns that he can eat all he wants and drink all the milk he wants."

The Harris Home looks like many houses in Huntsville. The large back yard, littered with toy trucks, dolls, bicycles, and ball bats, looks like many local back yards where children play. Only the several swings, a merry-go-round, and monkey bars hint that this is not just an ordinary home.

Nearly all the children have missed some years of school. They go to summer school so they can catch up with other children their own age. "It's not that they don't have the brains, it's just that they've not had the opportunity," Mrs. Harris said.

What has happened to the children who have left the Harris Home? "I only know of three of them," Mrs. Harris said, "that we just couldn't reach. The wounds of neglect and rejection were just too deep and we couldn't heal them and they went astray. But to our knowledge all of the rest are gainfully employed."

Local Lowndes County Leaders Tell Their Thoughts About 'Black Power'

LOWNDES COUNTY -- This county has been the number - one proving ground for the philosophy of "black power."

Stokely Carmichael, head of SNCC, was here this month to explain black power to the people and to encourage them in their fight for power.

When he had gone the next day, it was left to the local leaders to get the people registered, so that black power would become more than a slogan. These leaders have their own thoughts about black power.

John Hulett, president of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (the black panther group), said:

"I think people have the wrong conception of black power. The individual doesn't have to be black to be a part of the black power structure. We aren't advocating all-black or all-white. We're interested in our people getting representation."

Charles Smith, a leader in the Lowndes County Christian Movement, said he doesn't like power structures, period. He said Negroes should form alliances with whites in areas where they are in the minority. Carmichael says Negroes should go it alone, even if they are in the minority.

Robert Strickland, chairman of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, criticized people who think black power and black nationalism are the same:

"It doesn't mean black nationalism. We are not running wide-eyed up and down the highways just making decisions over their (the whites') lives."

One of the most powerful men in any county is the sheriff. Sidney Logan is running for that office on the black panther ticket. If he is elected, he will be a big man in the black power structure. How does he see his job?

"The laws have been set up, and my job is to see that they are carried out for everyone," he said. "I don't think we should take advantage of the white citizens."

Logan said he wouldn't mind employing a white deputy: "I don't want one-sided government."

Another leader, who asked not to be identified, said he didn't like the term "black power" because it is too easily misunderstood by whites.

Kirksey's View

FORKLAND -- The Rev. Peter J. Kirksey, the only Alabama Negro outside Macon County to win a Democratic nomination last May, said, "I don't have any respect for the third-party and 'black power' movements because of their nature and intention."

Kirksey, who was nominated for the Greene County school board after a run-off, said he thought "we should work together instead of separately." He said a black panther party would "just bring about a new faction that will weaken Negro strength in both parties, Democrats and Republicans."

'Black Power'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

er.

During the march through Mississippi, panthers were leaping out of hundreds of posters, leaflets and bumper stickers. Sometimes the panther was saying, "We're the Greatest." More often his message was "Move on Over or We'll Move on Over You."

Last week, SNCC artists were putting together a new panther poster. It reads, "Feed Me Crackers."

If that sounds pretty warlike, Carmichael sometimes sounds even more so. Often, he drops quotable comments like, "I've had so much law and order, Lord, I want some chaos."

Carmichael's remarks--and those of his staff members--were enough to convince the NAACP's Roy Wilkins that SNCC had turned to racism, riot, and revolution. "Black power means anti-white power," Wilkins declared. "It is the father of hatred and the mother of violence."

Vice-President Hubert Humphrey agreed. "Racism is racism," he said, "and there is no room in America for racism of any color."

But stirring up tension, leaders say, isn't SNCC's goal at all. Tension, SNCC says, is already there among Negroes in the big cities. The "tragedy," according to Carmichael, is that none of the major civil rights leaders was able to "use" last year's riots in the North to get any of the things that the rioters wanted.

"It seems to me," said Carmichael, "that all that the folks in Watts are saying is, 'Get off my back.' They don't want to get Whitey. They want a decent home, a decent job, a decent way of life."

BLACK PANTHER POSTER

Carmichael didn't say the people in Watts shouldn't riot. The Rev. Martin Luther King got nowhere with that approach last summer.

Carmichael wants to be able to sit down with people like those in Watts, talk over their problems, and help them set up political action organizations.

These groups, suggests SNCC worker Charlie Cobb, could swing a huge bloc vote. If that didn't do any good, says Cobb, they could disrupt the city with demonstrations or even take over their own neighborhoods until the white majority agreed to work with them.

"Once you start thinking like that," Cobb said softly as he sat in SNCC's Atlanta headquarters last week, "you begin to see that there are 95,000,000 black people in America--from Canada to Chile. You can see Africa. America denies that vision."

Meanwhile, black power has been giving SCLC workers fits in Georgia.

SCLC staffer Benjamin Van Clarke explained the problem black power was making for his group this way: "Those Negroes who work in Miss Anne's kitchen say, 'Look at all that violent stuff.' They tell their friends 'You should have seen him on TV sayin' he's gonna shoot all them white folks.'

"They don't understand it all. They say, 'I don't want to have anything to do with civil rights--that's black power. I don't want to register--that's black power.' They're just afraid of it."

Most people in SCLC don't care much for SNCC's black power slogan. For one thing, SCLC welcomes white civil rights workers. For another, SCLC works for integration as much as possible--especially school integration. And if that just means that a few Negroes are put into white schools, Clarke is quick to point out that white teachers tend to be better educated than Negro teachers, so that even with token integration at least a few Negroes are better off.

On one point, of course, SCLC agrees completely with SNCC: Negroes should have faith in themselves. Since that is one of the ideas behind black power, Clarke holds that "Dr. King has been preaching black power ever since there's been an SCLC. He's always preached black power."

If people don't understand black power, SNCC blames white newspapers. Cobb said, "We have no control over what the white press does or what white people do."

With an almost religious faith, people in SNCC seem to believe that Negroes will come to understand black power anyway, and that once they do, they will like the idea.

All of the harsh speeches attacking black power won't really make much difference, said Cobb. "It's going to have to be seen if he complains. "It's no-

'I Hate to Say It'

MONTGOMERY -- At a meeting here this week, the Rev. Solomon S. Seay said a white civil rights worker named Mike Kenny should be co-ordinator of plans to elect Negroes to ASCS community committees.

"This is a crash program and we need that fellow," Seay said. "People will wonder whether a Negro man knows what he's talking about when he asks them to vote, whereas they would listen to this young white man. I hate to say it but it's true."

"That's exactly why I wouldn't do it," Kenny answered back. "I wouldn't take the job simply because I could be more effective because of the color of my skin. It wouldn't work in Mississippi and it wouldn't work here."

Kenny was named to a five-man committee that will run the campaign.

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Masquerade Stack heel	9.99 now	6.99
Huntleigh Villagers	8.99 now	5.99
Ladies Grass-hopper Keds	4.99 now	2.99
Small girls' Ghillie Sandals	5.00 now	3.99

MEN:

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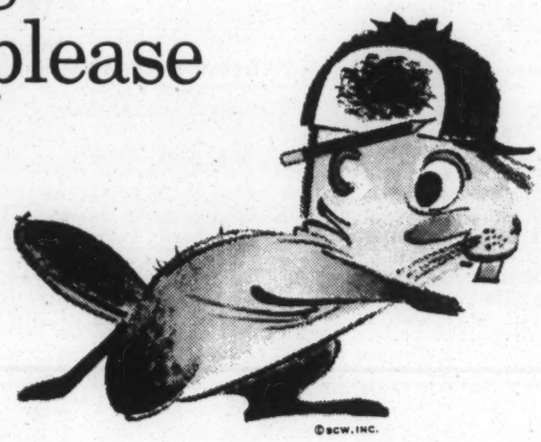

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arately." He said a black panther party would "just bring about a new faction that will weaken Negro strength in both parties, Democrats and Republicans."

"It seems to me," said Carmichael, "that all that the folks in Watts are saying is, 'Get off my back.' They don't want to get Whitey. They want a decent home, a decent job, a decent way of

"This is a crash program and we need that fellow," Seay said. "People will wonder whether a Negro man knows what he's talking about when he asks them to vote, whereas they would listen to this young white man. I hate to say it but it's true."

"That's exactly why I wouldn't do it," Kenny answered back. "I wouldn't take the job simply because I could be more effective because of the color of my skin. It wouldn't work in Mississippi and it wouldn't work here."

Kenny was named to a five-man committee that will run the campaign.

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Do you want to sell or buy a car? Find work? Sell a house? Hire an employee? Just put an ad in The Southern Courier's classified section, and you'll get results.

Do you need a baby-sitter? Want to rent an apartment? Need a certain kind of tool or electrical appliance? Want to announce a church dinner or a dance? You, too, should put an ad in the Courier's classified section. If it's in The Southern Courier, people in your community are sure to see it!

For $1, you can take up to 30 words to describe what you want to buy or sell, and how you can be reached.

Send your ad, along with $1, to The Southern Courier, 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104. We must receive the ad by 5 p.m. Friday--one week before the paper comes out. Be sure to include your phone number or your address, so people who see your ad can get in touch with you.

Special Offer!

The Southern Courier is making an introductory offer for one month only. For the next four weeks, the first 50 ads we receive each week will be printed FREE. The $1 payment will not be necessary. This offer covers the following issues of The Southern Courier: July 30-31, Aug. 6-7, Aug. 13-14, and Aug. 20-21.

Sample Ads:

WANTED--One car, good condition, no repairs needed, less than $150. Call 262-3572.

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And if that just means that a few Negroes are put into white schools, Clarke is quick to point out that white teachers tend to be better educated than Negro teachers, so that even with token integration at least a few Negroes are better off.

On one point, of course, SCLC agrees completely with SNCC: Negroes should have faith in themselves. Since that is one of the ideas behind black power, Clarke holds that "Dr. King has been preaching black power ever since there's been an SCLC. He's always preached black power."

If people don't understand black power, SNCC blames white newspapers. Cobb said, "We have no control over what the white press does or what white people do."

With an almost religious faith, people in SNCC seem to believe that Negroes will come to understand black power anyway, and that once they do, they will like the idea.

All of the harsh speeches attacking black power won't really make much difference, said Cobb. "It's going to have to be seen," he explains. "It's going to have to be resolved in each community. The words, in and of themselves, are meaningless."

Negro Police

BIRMINGHAM -- The NAACP this week began a drive to get more Negro policemen hired by the city of Birmingham.

In a letter to Mayor Albert Boutwell, the NAACP's Birmingham branch said the city--about 40% Negro--can hardly consider its 520-man police department to be "an integrated body because of the three Negro members of the police force."

The letter said that the time has passed when we can afford the luxury "of merely discussing police-community relations."

Charging the Birmingham police department with acts of injustice and discrimination, the letter said that these acts "distort the attitude of our children and create a fear which is carried from generation to generation."

"The lack of adequate Negro representation on the police force... creates tension which reduces the ability of the Birmingham police department to serve all the people," the letter said.

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Not a Prayer

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"They saw us coming across the street and they locked the door," said Meredith Richardson.

He was one of about 15 Tuskegee Institute summer students and instructors who went downtown last Sunday to worship at the all-white Tuskegee Methodist Church.

The young men and women--some Negro, some white--never made it any further than the church door. While the congregation sat inside in the wooden pews, the visitors knelt outside on the grass.

The group, neatly dressed for church, arrived at the front door about 15 minutes before the 11 a.m. service.

As they got out of their cars, they saw people entering the door, according to Robert Vanderkamp, 21, a summer tutor from Grand Rapids, Michigan. "We walked across the street--and the door was locked," he said.

"The congregation was going around the back, so some of us followed. As soon as we got to the side entrance, the door was closed in our faces. It grazed my arm.

"No one said a word to us. They tried to ignore us."

Richardson went to city police headquarters to ask for protection. He reminded the police that several white men attacked students who tried to desegregate the Methodist church last summer.

"They sent one police car that drove by once in a while, but that was all," Richardson said. "Fortunately, there wasn't any real trouble."

Alton B. Taylor, the city's public safety director, said the students "got just as much protection as anyone else in the city.

The students and instructors waited outside on the church steps while services were held inside.

"The congregation didn't come out at noon," Vanderkamp said. "Finally we all knelt on the grass and had a silent prayer led by a divinity student. Then we left. As soon as we left, the congregation poured out of the back of the church."

The Rev. B. F. Hall, new pastor of the Methodist church, called one of the students Monday to arrange a meeting to talk about church desegregation. The students met privately later this week to decide whether to return to the Methodist church. They didn't announce their decision.

But Richardson, who helped out with last summer's desegregation effort, said he doesn't think he'll go back. "The society should be an open society," he said, "but integrating that church is not going to help our people. We should be working for black power."

Some students said they wanted to return. And the Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, a Negro minister who talked with the group before they went downtown, said he expects they will. "I think every white church in Tuskegee will be visited this year," he said.

Two Convicted In Demopolis

BY WAYNE HURDER

DEMOPOLIS--Two Negro mill workers who tried to get their fellow workers to walk off the job were found guilty of trespassing here last Monday.

The two men are James White and Robert Williams. Williams said he would appeal the decision.

The two were arrested when they went back to Taylor's Veneer Mill to get their pay the day after they had been fired.

Two days earlier, White had gotten in a fight with a white worker and was told by the foreman to take the day off and come back the next day. When he came to work the next morning, he was told he didn't have a job there anymore.

When White left, Williams walked off the job and tried to get the other workers to do the same. None of the others walked off, however.

Under Alabama law, there are two things necessary to be found guilty of trespassing. The first is that the person has to be told to get off the land at the time at which he is accused of trespassing. The second is that the person

Tuskegee Housing

TUSKEGEE--The city council this week named a third Negro to serve on the five-man board of commissioners of the Tuskegee Housing Authority.

The housing authority's new Negro majority then turned around and hired a white segregationist as their secretary and executive director.

The appointments ended several weeks of quiet conflict over the two positions. The white commissioners had threatened to quit if Negroes got both.

W. P. Reed, a retired employee of the Veterans Administration Hospital, is the new Negro housing commissioner. H. James Hall is the new housing director. His wife, Mrs. Grace Youngblood Hall, six months ago resigned as clerk of the Macon County Jury Com-

Medicare Off, Then On In 3 Mobile Hospitals

EMERGENCY IN MOBILE

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--It was a miracle of modern medicine.

On Monday night, June 27, federal inspectors checking on hospital desegregation for Medicare said that none of Mobile's hospitals were in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Medicare guidelines.

On Wednesday morning, June 29, Alabama's Senator John Sparkman announced in Washington that the government had just approved Mobile General, St. Martin de Porres, and Providence hospitals here for participation in Medicare.

Negro doctors in Mobile were a little surprised. On June 25, most of them had met with the federal inspectors and given their views on whether the hospitals were complying.

Dr. E. B. Goode said the doctors told the inspectors that the situation in Mobile's hospitals was "far from satisfactory." He added that the inspectors' own investigations at the hospitals made them "very firm in agreeing" with many of the Negro doctors' complaints.

Mayor Joseph N. Langan then arranged a meeting between the federal inspectors and Mobile doctors, hospital administrators, and community leaders to discuss the problem.

At that meeting, Dr. Leo Craig, Assistant U.S. Surgeon General, said all of Mobile's hospitals were failing to meet one or more of three basic requirements: (1) making all room assignments without regard to race; (2) granting full staff privileges to Negro doctors; and (3) assigning patients to hospitals in a way that does not create "white" and "Negro" hospitals.

This was the last public statement about Mobile's hospitals until Sparkman announced two days later that three of them had been approved for Medicare.

Dr. Albert Thomas said both Providence and Mobile General have taken some steps toward compliance with the Civil Rights Act and the Medicare guidelines, but neither of them has complied fully with the federal regulations.

Frank Ahn, associate administrator of Providence Hospital, would not comment, except to say that the hospital is in compliance.

The administrator of Mobile General, Winston Whitfield, said that his hospital is in compliance, and that the letter telling him of the approval for Medicare questioned only one minor feature of the hospital's operation.

Dr. Thomas doesn't agree with Whitfield. He has filed a federal court suit against Mobile General which attacks "the whole operation of the hospital."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

Locklair Passed Up

TUSKEGEE--James L. Braswell Jr., an insurance agent, last week was named tax collector of Macon County, replacing J. H. Reynolds, who retired. Governor George C. Wallace passed over the application of L.A. Locklair, the Democratic nominee for the office. Locklair is a Negro.

Courier Newsman of the Week

Louis Roberts, 48, of Bucks, sells 230 to 250 papers a week in northern Mobile County.

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. THAT'S ENOUGH-- Roscoe Robinson (Wand)
2. I GOT TO LOVE SOMEBODY'S BABY--Johnny Taylor (Stax)
3. WARM AND TENDER LOVE-- Percy Sledge (Atlantic)
4. DIRTY WORK-- Little Joe Blue (Checker)
5. WITH A CHILD'S HEART-- Stevie Wonder (Tamla)
6. I LOVE YOU 1000 TIMES-- Platters (Musicor)
7. I BELIEVE I'M GONNA MAKE IT--Joe Tex (Dial)
8. AIN'T TOO PROUD TO BEG-- Temptations (Gordy)
9. WADE IN THE WATER-- Ramsey Lewis Trio (Cadet)
10. BLOWIN' IN THE WIND-- Stevie Wonder (Tamla)
11. SEARCHIN' FOR MY LOVE-- Bobby Moore (Checker)
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MONTGOMERY

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BY WAYNE HURDER

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The two men are James White and Robert Williams. Williams said he would appeal the decision.

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When White left, Williams walked off the job and tried to get the other workers to do the same. None of the others walked off, however.

Under Alabama law, there are two things necessary to be found guilty of trespassing. The first is that the person has to be told to get off the land at the time at which he is accused of trespassing. The second is that the person must be planning to do something illegal.

Williams and White contended that they weren't told to get off the land and weren't planning anything illegal.

But Demopolis Police Chief A.E. Cooper reminded Recorder's Court Judge John Osborne that Williams was involved in civil rights activity. The judge found both men guilty, and fined them $100 each.

Some students said they wanted to return. And the Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, a Negro minister who talked with the group before they went downtown, said he expects they will. "I think every white church in Tuskegee will be visited this year," he said.

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W.P. Reed, a retired employee of the Veterans Administration Hospital, is the new Negro housing commissioner. H. James Hall is the new housing director. His wife, Mrs. Grace Youngblood Hall, six months ago resigned as clerk of the Macon County Jury Commission rather than add a fair proportion of Negro names to the county jury list. He reportedly shares her opinions.

But Hall promised this week that he would administer the city's four housing projects in compliance with civil rights laws. "We're going to go by the book," he said.

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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

Next meeting will be held Monday, July 25, at the Jackson St. Baptist Church, 230 S. 63rd St., the Rev. J. C. Parker, pastor.

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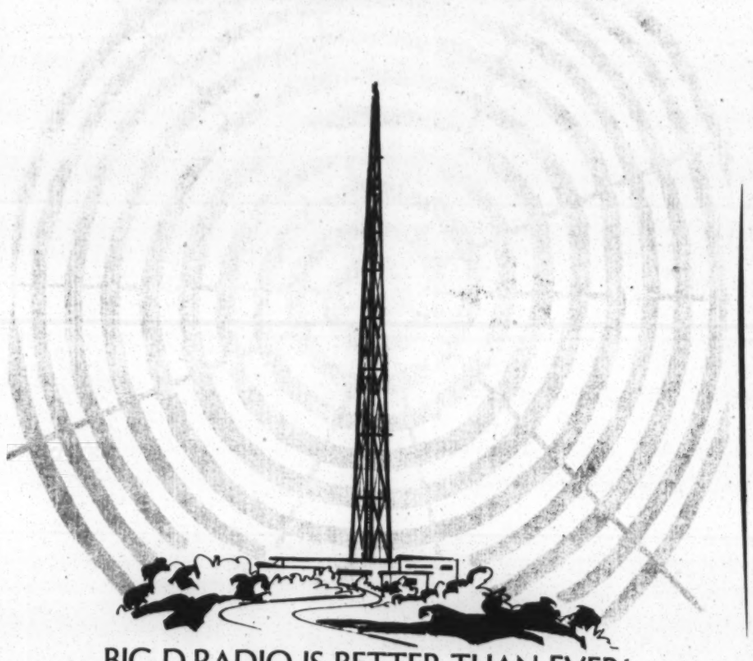

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Legislature Convenes; Wallace Goes on TV

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY-- Governor George C. Wallace opened a special session of the Alabama legislature last Tuesday night. But just for a moment, to the folks at home watching on a state-wide telecast, it must have looked like the Original Amateur Hour.

A Montgomery address was flashed on the screen at one point during the governor's opening speech. But instead of soliciting votes for boy sopranos or animal imitators, Wallace asked his listeners to send their nickels, dimes, and dollars to that address. He was seeking contributions to support "people in our state who are being forced to conduct private schools because of the destruction of their public schools."

These private schools, such as the one due to open in Lowndes County this fall, are being organized so white studdents will not have to go to school with Negroes.

In a sense, the governor was also asking viewers for their votes. The telecast, paid for with an estimated $7,500 of taxpayers' money, included pictures of his wife Lurleen's campaign for governor.

At the end of the governor's speech, Mrs. Wallace was introduced as "the next governor of Alabama."

Much of Wallace's speech had political overtones. Although the session was called primarily to vote on a school appropriations bill, the governor talked at length about his administration's success in bringing new industry to the state, and of the progress made in his highway-building program.

Wallace spoke of the current racial violence in Northern cities.

Recalling his stand in the doorway at

THE WALLACES

the University of Alabama three years ago, he said:

"We warned of the coming violence that would sweep our nation. . .The violent organizations intent on overthrowing our government and destroying our law and freedoms are growing, they are not diminishing."

"We are proud of the men that fight communism in Viet Nam," Wallace went on. "We are proud of Alabamians who oppose it here at home. However, we grow somewhat tired of fighting communists in Viet Nam and yet letting them run wild in this country. . ."

He suggested the legislature adopt a resolution "supporting the recent bombings. . .in North Viet Nam," and calling for "more of the same." He urged his audience to "pray for our boys in Viet Nam."

Farm[illegible]rdered Off Land, Says, 'N[illegible]ouble -- Not Until I Voted'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

SHOPTO[illegible] -"We been round here all our days," said Mrs. Nathan Christian. She leaned against her porch railing and looked at her yard the way people look at things they want to remember well.

Hens were scratching in the dirt underneath big, shady trees. Tall rows of cornstalks marched up to the side of the weathered frame house.

"I mind most about the church," Mrs. Christian said sadly. "Oak Grove Baptist Church No. 4. I ain't gonna move my membership if I don't get to church but once a year. My husband, he's a deacon and a Sunday school teacher. . . ."

Christian, a strong, young-looking man, came out on the porch.

"Sixty years I been working for 'em," he said. "Now in two, three weeks I'll be gone. We sure hate to leave home."

The Christians are leaving the gently rolling farm land of southwestern Bullock County because they have no choice. Robert Pickett, the white man who owns the land, has told them to leave. They have nowhere to go but a brother's small farm in Dallas County.

"All the reason I could get out of Mr. Pickett was I whistled at his daughter," said Christian. "I said I didn't know anything about it, but it didn't help me.

"I never had no trouble with him before. Not until I voted."

It was May 9, six days after the Democratic primary election, that Pickett spoke to Christian about leaving. Around the same time, some other Shopton families were having trouble of a similar kind.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 1)

MR. AND MRS. LEROY HUGES

NOW Means Now

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE -- "We don't need any Toms. So I'm asking you people not to go out and talk to any Toms about this. We can use some whites, if they really want to work. But we don't want any great white fathers or great white mothers to show us the way. We know the way."

David Jacobs, temporary chairman of Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW), gave these recruiting instructions to a small group of Mobile and Prichard residents who had just set up the new organization at a meeting in his home last Sunday.

Other temporary officers elected at the meeting are Leo Brinkley, vice chairman; Manuel X. Green, secretary; and Isiac Craig, treasurer.

"Not one of these old organizations here has been out walking around in the slums to tell the people the truth. We're going into the streets and into the bars to let the people know the truth," Jacobs said.

Each member of the group was assigned to a section of the county, where he would look for recruits and spread the word about the new organization.

A meeting was scheduled for this Friday night to plan NOW's first projects. A voter registration drive, federal registrars for Mobile County, and a free food program for poor families will be discussed, along with any other ideas that anyone brings up.

A representative of the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation, a Montgomery group, agreed to come to the meeting and explain the details of a free food program.

As an Independent

Bessemer Physician Runs for Governor

BY DON GREGG

BESSEMER--"The prosperity of this state depends on the working man and the farmer," said Dr. Carl Robinson, independent candidate for governor of Alabama. "We must do everything we can to raise the incomes of the people of Alabama."

On this basic platform, Robinson, a physician and lawyer here, is running for governor against Mrs. Lurleen Wallace and the probable Republican candidate, U.S. Representative James D. Martin of Gadsden.

Why would a successful doctor and lawyer enter a race against two powerful and well-known opponents?

Church Doors Are Locked

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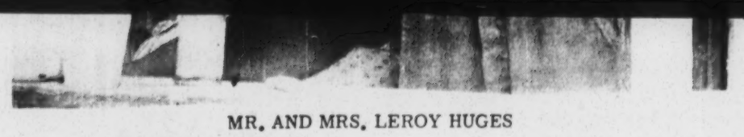

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NOW Means Now

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE -- "We don't need any Toms. So I'm asking you people not to go out and talk to any Toms about this. We can use some whites, if they really want to work. But we don't want any great white fathers or great white mothers to show us the way. We know the way."

David Jacobs, temporary chairman of Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW), gave these recruiting instructions to a small group of Mobile and Prichard residents who had just set up the new organization at a meeting in his home last Sunday.

Other temporary officers elected at the meeting are Leo Brinkley, vice chairman; Manuel X. Green, secretary; and Isiac Craig, treasurer.

"Not one of these old organizations here has been out walking around in the slums to tell the people the truth. We're going into the streets and into the bars to let the people know the truth," Jacobs said.

Each member of the group was assigned to a section of the county, where he would look for recruits and spread the word about the new organization.

A meeting was scheduled for this Friday night to plan NOW's first projects. A voter registration drive, federal registrars for Mobile County, and a free food program for poor families will be discussed, along with any other ideas that anyone brings up.

A representative of the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation, a Montgomery group, agreed to come to the meeting and explain the details of a free food program.

Church Doors Are Locked

SERVICE ON THE STEPS

In Tuskegee Again...

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The minister of the Westminster Presbyterian Church led a worship service on the steps of the Tuskegee Methodist Church last Sunday.

The Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, a Negro, spoke to a bi-racial group of 40 students and teachers. They had just tried and failed to desegregate three all-white churches -- Tuskegee Methodist, First Baptist, and First Presbyterian.

Only two members of the group were missing. Haygood's wife, Mrs. Shep Haygood, and Mrs. James Woodson were attending services in the predominantly white East End Church of Christ.

But, said a Church of Christ member this week, you couldn't really count that

REV. LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD

as desegregation. "We've had mixed groups occasionally since we began meeting eight or ten years ago," he said.

It was the second Sunday in a row that summer instructors and students from Tuskegee Institute tried to worship downtown. Most of them--followed by a few spectators and guarded quietly by several policemen--went to the Methodist Church.

As the group neared the steps, a gray-haired man peered out, hastily drew in his head, and clicked the lock into place. When the group's leaders knocked on the door a moment later, there was no reply.

Three Negroes who tried to enter First Baptist Church also found the doors locked. But at First Presbyterian, church members came outside to tell their visitors, "You can't worship here."

The outdoor service on the steps of the Methodist Church brief. Haygood, Bible in hand, told his listeners that "racial segregation is a sin in the sight of God."

"This matter of locking doors," he

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 1)

...And in Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM--A Sunday school class from the mostly-Negro St. Paul Lutheran Church here wanted to find out how different people worship. So they began going to services at other churches, some Negro and some white, including the Unitarian Church and a Jewish temple.

The group was turned away only once--from another Lutheran church, the First Lutheran in the fashionable South Highlands area.

The "welcome" sign was out when the integrated group arrived. But one of the men blocking the path to the doorway said, "You're not coming in here. You're trying to cause confusion. You're doing the work of the devil."

"You won't accept us as fellow Christians?" asked the class' white teacher.

"That's right," snapped the man. The visitors left.

As an Independent

Bessemer Physician Runs for Governor

BY DON GREGG

BESSEMER--"The prosperity of this state depends on the working man and the farmer," said Dr. Carl Robinson, independent candidate for governor of Alabama. "We must do everything we can to raise the incomes of the people of Alabama."

On this basic platform, Robinson, a physician and lawyer here, is running for governor against Mrs. Lurleen Wallace and the probable Republican candidate, U.S. Representative James D. Martin of Gadsden.

Why would a successful doctor and lawyer enter a race against two powerful and well-known opponents?

Robinson said he is seeking office because Alabama needs "a transfusion of energy. This state needs treatment more than most of my patients do. I have no political aspirations beyond this. I can do quite well in my two professions, but I see a job to do and want to get it done." (Robinson, 40, practices law in Birmingham and Bessemer, and medicine in Bessemer.)

He also indicated that he wasn't happy about Alabama politics--particularly the Wallace brand. He said he will get the state "realigned with the Democratic Party and get the state back in the Union," if he wins the election in November.

"I think that the people will know that I'm really the only true Democrat in the governor's race, even though I'm running as an independent," Robinson said. He said he was a "true" Democrat "because I'm for the working man."

Alabama, Robinson said, has "rotten workmen's compensation and unemployment laws, and we ought to set our goals to be the best in the nation in this area. We are one of the three remaining states where the employee still has to pay part of his unemployment insurance."

Robinson said that a large portion of Alabama's income is from federal spending. "So to elect a governor who constantly condemns our highest federal officials because of such spending is only to ask for bankruptcy," he said.

"We need a hard-headed program of studying our problems and then hard work to solve them. Our officials aren't even aware of all the federal programs that are available to us."

If elected, Robinson said, he would advocate adding a chapter to Alabama history books telling of the struggle and contributions of the Alabama working man:

"If labor hadn't demanded and fought for fair wages, we would have about 5% rich people, and the other 95% would be poor. Our wealth is based on the fact that the working man and the farmer get a decent living. We've ignored them too much. It is their efforts that have gotten all of us, businessmen and professional people, a good standard of living."

Citing education as a leading industry in Alabama, Robinson said that "in the next four years, we need to double the size of every educational system in the state. We've had an information explosion, so our children must learn more than we did. Our teachers must be better qualified and our children more motivated than we were."

He said teachers' salaries should start at $5,200 a year. "We need to pay our teachers enough so they won't have to move to Florida to make a decent salary," he said.

On civil rights, Robinson said, "Everybody who acts like a first-class citizen ought to be treated as such; if a person chooses to act like a hoodlum, then he ought to be treated like one.

"I'm a practical man, so I don't believe in defying the law. None of us can obey just the laws we like. We must abide by all the laws."

(At a formal press conference earlier

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SEVEN, Col.1)

DR. CARL ROBINSON

Opp H.S. May Desegregate

BY PETER CUMMINGS

OPP--Opp High School may be completely desegregated this fall, because of a new order from the U.S. Office of Education.

In the past, Opp High has been nearly all white. Since there is no Negro high school in Opp, Negro students were carried by bus 14 miles to all-Negro schools in Andalusia. Last fall, the Opp school board began a freedom-of-choice program, and four Negro students chose to attend Opp High.

But two weeks ago, Lawrence Crowder, a field representative for the Office of Education, told the Opp school board that freedom of choice would no longer be enough. Crowder offered the board three choices:

1. Stop bussing Negro students and completely desegregate grades seven to 12.

2. Desegregate grades seven to nine and hire one Negro teacher.

3. Desegregate grades ten to 12 and hire one Negro teacher.

The school board hasn't made its decision yet. But one school board member, who asked that his name be withheld, said he was sure that the board would desegregate all grades rather than hire a Negro teacher.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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Editorial Opinion

Could It Happen Here?

For several years, people in the North have had a good time laughing at the South's racial problems. Northern "liberals" have fallen over each other in their eagerness to denounce Southern segregation.

This week, the shoe is on the other foot. Many Southerners have enjoyed reading about the race riots in Chicago and Cleveland. To them, the riots prove that the South has been right all along.

Neither reaction--Northern or Southern--is very intelligent. The riots, death, and destruction in the North carry serious lessons for all sections of the county. In some ways, the riots show how little has been done since the civil rights movement became popular more than 10 years ago.

The riots prove--if any more proof is needed--that race relations is a national. not a Southern, problem. There was no more brotherly love displayed in Cleveland and Chicago than there was in the worst days of Selma and Birmingham.

White officials in Cleveland and Chicago showed that they have, if possible, even less understanding of Negro problems than do the white officials of the South. In Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley had done almost nothing for Negroes on the West Side since the near-ricts that occurred last summer. Just before the trouble started this month, the mayor announced plans for a new theater in Chicago. His thoughts, obviously, could not have been farther away from the troubles of West Side ghetto residents. Even when the riots began, Mayor Daley didn't know what was happening. He blamed the unrest on "juvenile delinquents."

Mayor Ralph S. Locher and other Cleveland officials were just as blind. Cleveland had bee promising urban

SCENE OF THE DISPUTE

$4 a Day Not Enough, Say Maids in Meridian

BY GAIL FALK

MERIDIAN, Miss.--"When you leave home at 7 in the morning and come home at 5:30 p.m., them's some long hours. And for $4 a day--it's just not enough," said Mrs. Emma Henderson, a pretty young mother of six. Until last Thursday she was a maid at Travel Inn, a modern motel on Tom Bailey Drive in Meridian.

"It seems like I had to do two days' work in one," said Mrs. Henderson. "I had 12 rooms. In each room I had to change the linen, dust, mop, clean the bathroom and run a vacuum cleaner through. On Mondays we'd do general cleaning--pull out the beds and wash the windows.

"Then I came home and I had to do my own cleaning, cook, bathe the children, and go with my husband."

Last week, Mrs. Henderson and the five other maids at Travel Inn decided it wasn't worth working if they earned only $4 a day. They asked for a $1-a-day raise. Their request was refused, and so they walked off the job.

Mrs. Henderson said the maids' complaints started when a new housekeeper came to the motel. "We used to have a colored housekeeper, and it worked out nice. But this new lady, she told us we couldn't drink out of the fountain in the lobby."

The ladies worked seven days a week and got $4.35 a day; 50 cents for transportation had to come out of that.

The Travel Inn manager, who asked that his name not be used, said he told the maids he couldn't afford to pay them any more. "Then they just walked off and left me holding the bag. I had to hire a whole new crew," he said.

He didn't have any trouble finding new maids, since the Travel Inn pays higher wages than some of the other motels on Tom Bailey Drive. The federal minimum wage law doesn't apply to maids' salaries.

A receptionist at the inn said the only reason the maids didn't like the new housekeeper was that she made them work harder. "They'd gotten used to coming in at 9 and leaving at 12," said the receptionist.

The ladies talked about picketing Travel Inn after they walked off. But there is no maids' union to support them through a strike, and they didn't think they could get jobs anywhere else if

When You Buy

How to Get A Fair Deal

A woman who lives in Washington, D.C., went to buy a $514 stereo set. She signed a contract to make regular payments on the set.

Helicon

Roosevelt Barnett, an SCLC worker who went to Chicago after spending six months in Helicon, came back to visit his old friends here last week. Barnett said he has left Chicago permanently and would try to get re-assigned to Alabama. How did he like Chicago? "Helicon is over Chicago like a dollar is over a dime," he said.

Huntsville

Some Huntsville citizens, led by Ralph Olsen, have spent Saturday mornins for the past three months moving out-houses from Huntsville to farming communities in Madison County. After the city health department provided a sewage system system in Huntsville, the out-houses were no longer needed in town.

Andalusia

Dallas Berry, 17, has been having a hard time finding a summer job. Berry was one of the few Negroes who attended previously all-white Andalusia High School last year. A few weeks ago Berry applied for a job at a Dairy Queen near the center of town, operated by Melvin Faulkner. Berry says that Faulkner "got my application sheet ready and started asking me questions. When I said I was going to Andy High, he said, 'Get out. I don't need you,' and tore up my sheet. He put a little cursing in there." Faulkner says he doesn't remember Berry, but would refuse to hire any Negro who attended Andalusia High. At Faulkner's Dairy Queen, Negroes must buy from the right-hand window, and whites go to the left.

Stonewall, Miss.

Sylvester Itsen suffered a broken ankle Monday when three bales of cotton fell on him at the Erwin Mill, where he works. He is recovering at Watkins

Tuskegee

Two thousand hungry families are receiving 2 1/2 tons of peanut butter every month from the Macon County Surplus Food Distribution Center. And that isn't all they get. Besides peanut butter, each month the poor families receive 21,690 pounds of meal, 15,000 pounds of meat, 24,670 pounds of flour, 19,521 pounds of dry milk, and large quantities of grits, shortening, rolled wheat, rice, and raisins. The U.S. Department of Agriculture provides the food free. Tuskegee and Macon County are splitting the cost of distribution, so far less than $10,000.

Selma

Mrs. Alonzo West and Donald Doss returned Monday from a five-day CORE workshop in Beaufort, South Carolina. They had all their expenses paid to the meeting. Doss has returned to Charleston, South Carolina, with Miss Addie Lily to attend another CORE workshop which lasts for two weeks.

Ozark

"All of the fellows, white and colored, used to talk to each other on the radio," explained Jimmy Phillips, 20, "so they decided to get a club." The result is the Southeast Alabama Emergency Squad, an inter-racial citizens band radio club. The club's 20 members come from Dale and Coffee counties. If a member spots an auto breakdown on the highway, he radios to other club members in town to get help. The organization also collected clothes and furniture for a local family whose house burned down.

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Mrs. Dorothy S. Bradley, first grade teacher at Woodson Elementary School, is attending a six-week National Science Foundation Institute at Adrian College in Michigan. Mrs. Bradley is one of 30 people, chosen from more than 700 applicants, attending the conference.

Mobile

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Mayor Ralph S. Locher and other Cleveland officials were just as blind. Cleveland had bee promising urban renewal for the run-down Hough area for many years--but the promises were just promises, and life in Hough grew more unbearable every day. Last spring, U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings in Cleveland produced almost unbelievable stories of slum life. But still Cleveland did nothing.

Many "friends" of the civil rights movement have predicted unhappily that the riots will hurt the Negro cause, by alienating white supporters. Negro leaders can hardly be expected to care about this. Their white supporters have done them little good as it is. For the riots, and the reactions of Northern whites, demonstrated that the North has just as many "cautious liberals" as the South. These people are supposedly waiting for just the right moment to add their weight to the struggle for equality. But the right moment is long past, and the struggle can't wait for them any longer.

The Northern riots raise the question: Could it happen here in the South? The answer is yes.

So far, the South has been lucky, as far as riots are concerned. Negroes in the South have had something, however inadequate, to show for more than ten years of civil rights activity. For the first time, they can eat in the same restaurants as white folks. Last May, many Negroes were able to vote for the first time in their lives.

But the Northern Negro has been voting for years--for white party officials, white city councilmen, white mayors, and white legislators, or for Negro candidates who owe their allegiance to the white men downtown. And the Northern Negro has long been able to eat in white restaurants--the only trouble is, he can hardly afford to eat at all. In other words, the civil rights movement hasn't done much for him.

So while Negroes in the North are mad enough to riot, Negroes in the South apparently are not--for the moment. But if the march toward equality--already painfully slow--gets much slower, anger and frustration may spread across the South.

But the South still has a chance to avoid the riots that have ended lives and destroyed businesses in Northern cities. How? White officials must try to keep in touch with their Negro constituents. Almost everywhere in Alabama and Mississippi, this is much easier than it is in Chicago and Cleveland. And Negroes deserve--right now--to be represented by Negroes on city and county governing boards, ASCS committees, anti-poverty committees, and police forces. Besides this, the fair-weather Southern liberals must make their voices heard--now--among their unconvinced and uncommitted neighbors.

One of the worst Northern mistakes was worrying more about riots than what causes them. True, a riot is unfortunate because it brings death and destruction. But the most unfortunate thing about a riot is that it means the people have given up on society. If Negro leaders--Northern and Southern--decide that only fear of a riot will force white officials to act, then "the fire next time" will truly be burning. And those who have watched and waited and worried--and done nothing--will have only themselves to blame.

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When You Buy

How to Get A Fair Deal

A woman who lives in Washington, D.C., went to buy a $514 stereo set. She signed a contract to make regular payments on the set.

The woman's only income for herself and her seven children was a $218 monthly welfare check. She couldn't keep up the payments, and she ended up in court. But surprisingly, an appeals court ruled that selling such an expensive item to such a poor person was unfair, and the woman didn't have to pay the $514.

"Here is an important new legal concept that deserves wide publicity," said Mrs. Esther Peterson, the woman President Johnson appointed as assistant secretary of labor, to look out for the interests of the consumer.

Mrs. Peterson this month told the NAACP national convention in Los Angeles what poor folks can do to get a better deal when they shop.

"The people with the least money are often the ones who pay the highest price," she said.

And so, Mrs. Peterson offered this advice to local civil rights groups:

1. Spread information on how to shop around, how to judge values, what a buyer's rights are, and how to register a complaint about an unfair deal.

2. Start a buying clinic to discuss how to get your money's worth.

3. Arrange shopping trips to unfamiliar stores, to demonstrate the advantage of shopping around before you buy. In England, Mrs. Peterson said, housewives in many neighborhoods survey local stores early in the morning and then post comparative prices on a central bulletin board.

4. Start buying clubs and cooperative stores, credit unions and credit counsel services, and legal assistance agencies.

5. Teach consumer education to young people.

6. Elect public officials who are interested in the consumer. Mrs. Peterson said consumers in Massachusetts forced the legislature there to pass a law requiring a full statement of finance charges on all loans, a maximum of 18% interest on credit sales, advance notice of two weeks before the finance company can repossess merchandise, and a "cooling-off" period of 24 hours in which the buyer can change his mind about a purchase.

7. Organize groups to deal directly with businessmen. "It pays to make yourself heard if you have a complaint," said Mrs. Peterson. "One recent survey showed that in a group of people who received defective merchandise, only about one of ten took the trouble to even make a complaint to the store, much less return the item."

8. Watch out for tricks like "jumbo quarts" (same size as any other quart) or "cents-off" offers (no savings at all, really).

9. Make sure you know the total cost of an item when you buy on credit. Watch for carrying charges, delivery charges, and just-plain-extra charges.

couldn't drink out of the fountain in the lobby."

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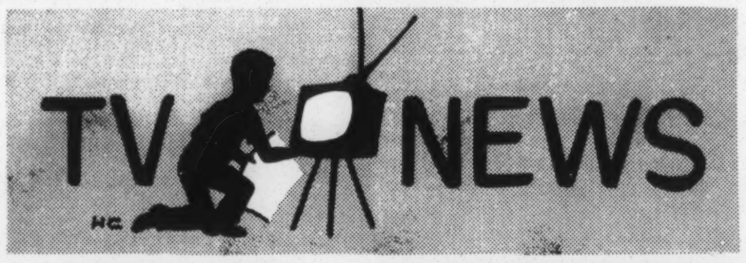

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

SATURDAY, JULY 30

WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS--If you want to see what people do out in California, watch them ride the ocean waves in National Surfing Championships. Later, on the same program, you can see pool experts compete for the World All-Round Pocket Billiards Championship. At 3 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss. At 4 p.m. on Channel 31 in Huntsville, Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., and Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION --For viewers who like their spectaculars with a political twist, the Alabama GOP presents a live telecast of the closing session of its convention. You'll see the usual nominating and acceptance speeches, and the well-planned "spontaneous" floor demonstrations for the nominees. The convention is expected to nominate the following candidates: James D. Martin for governor, John Grenier for U.S. senator, and Don Collins for Alabama attorney general. At 6:30 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 5 in Mobile, Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channels 12 and 20 in Montgomery, Channel 15 in Florence, Channel 23 in Decatur, and Channel 31 in Huntsville.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1

VACATION PLAYHOUSE--"Where There's Smokey." A small-town fire chief has a perfect record until his brother-in-law unconsciously, but steadily, brings the fire department to a state of complete confusion. The comedy stars Soupy Sales, Gale Gordon, and Jack Weston. At 7:30 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, Channel 20 in Montgomery, and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3

WEDNESDAY NIGHT MOVIE--"The Glass Menagerie." Tennessee Williams' moving story about a young crippled girl, her family, and her "gentleman caller." Stars Jane Wyman, Kirk Douglas, Gertrude Lawrence, and Arthur Kennedy. At 8 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 31 in Huntsville, Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., and Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss.

BOB HOPE PRESENTS--"The Enemy on the Beach." World War II action. Two Good Guys attempt to uncover the secret detonating device of a mine planted by the Bad Guys. At 8 p.m. on Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham, and Channel 15 in Florence.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5

COLLEGE ALL-STAR FOOTBALL GAME--The outstanding seniors from the 1965 college football season take on the Green Bay Packers, National Football League champs. At 8 p.m. on

Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 31 in Huntsville, Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., and Channel 13 in Biloxi, Miss.

CBS NEWS SPECIAL--Just in case you haven't heard, some D. C. chick named Luci Baines Johnson is getting married to, uh, what's-his-name. Watch what goes on as these nice average American kids get ready for the Big Day. At 9 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 20 in Montgomery, and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

Ozark

"All of the fellows, white and colored, used to talk to each other on the radio," explained Jimmy Phillips, 20, "so they decided to get a club." The result is the Southeast Alabama Emergency Squad, an inter-racial citizens band radio club. The club's 20 members come from Dale and Coffee counties. If a member spots an auto breakdown on the highway, he radios to other club members in town to get help. The organization also collected clothes and furniture for a local family whose house burned down.

Andalusia

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Mobile

About 30 members and guests of the Mobile Human Relations Council met last week at the Church of the Good Shepherd to make plans for the coming year. Mrs. Kathy Wood, president of the organization, said they agreed to concentrate on education and youth, and that specific projects would be decided by the group's officers.

Birmingham

Three Jefferson County voting precincts were split last week because of complaints from Negroes who had to stand in line as long as eight hours to vote in the May primary. B. C. Hill School, Washington School, and the Pratt City Fire Station, where lines sometimes stretched for six blocks, had large numbers of their voters transfered to Center Street School, Smithfield Community Center, and Scott Place.

Bogue Chitto

Eleven students in an SCLC citizenship class received certificates for completing a three-month adult education program. The certificates were awarded at a dinner last week, where Albert Turner, president of Alabama SCLC, gave a talk. Miss Addie Lily of Selma taught the class.

Troy

Last week Mrs. Mattie Lee Curry delivered a petition, signed by 75 citizens of the West End, to City Hall, asking that the area's streets be paved. A few days later she received a letter from Mayor James E. Ray. He said the city's policy was to pave certain streets at the request of the people who own a majority of the property along the street, and he "will be glad to discuss with anyone the possibility of improving your street...."

Lisman

Miss Deborah J. Kelson recently returned from the national meeting of Future Homemakers of America, held in St. Louis, Missouri. Miss Kelson is a junior in the Choctaw County Training School. Her FHA advisors are Miss Linda F. Turner and Mrs. Minnie Taylor.

Birmingham

The NAACP gave U.S. Assistant Attorney General John Doar a special award here Sunday. Presenting the trophy, the Rev. J. L. Ware said Doar had earned it "not just because he has trudged the highways of Alabama and Mississippi, not just because we could call him when we needed him, but because he has a deep love and passion for justice for all human kind."

ROOTS DAY

GORDONSVILLE--"In Africa we don't dance for the sake of dancing," announced Miss Makeda Myoriba, an African student studying in America. "All our dances have meaning: to pray to God, to celebrate a marriage, to mourn a death."

And with her explanation out of the way, Miss Myoriba began a wildly moving and highly rhythmic African folk dance before an audience of 400 curious onlookers at Eliah Logan's farm near here.

"What's she doing that for?" cried a young girl. "She's crazy," said another. "Look at her go," yelled a man.

Roots Day had come to Lowndes County. "A race without the knowledge of its history is like a tree without roots," said the posters advertising the SNCC-sponsored event.

Lowndes County Negro residents reacted to the presentation with curiosity, interest, and amusement.

A flatbed trailer in the middle of an open field served as a stage for African songs, dance, stories, even a fashion show.

"I liked the African fashions a lot. I'd like to have some," said one woman. "But the dancing, wow!"

Most people seemed to like the Afro-American Folkloric Troupe best--especially their short folk tale about how woman, though weaker than man, came to rule his life.

SNCC head Stokely Carmichael was there too. He spent most of his time talking and playing with children.

Photographs by John Phillips

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Roots Day had come to Lowndes County. "A race without the knowledge of its history is like a tree without roots," said the posters advertising the SNCC-sponsored event.

Lowndes County Negro residents reacted to the presentation with curiosity, interest, and amusement.

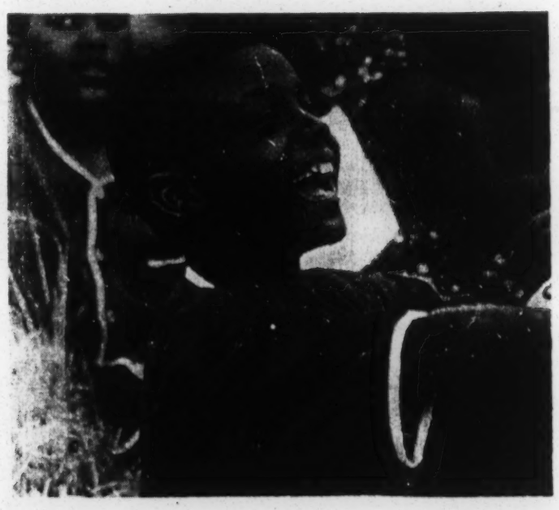
A flatbed trailer in the middle of an open field served as a stage for African songs, dance, stories, even a fashion show.

"I liked the African fashions a lot. I'd like to have some," said one woman. "But the dancing, wow!"

Most people seemed to like the Afro-American Folkloric Troupe best--especially their short folk tale about how woman, though weaker than man, came to rule his life.

SNCC head Stokely Carmichael was there too. He spent most of his time talking and playing with children.

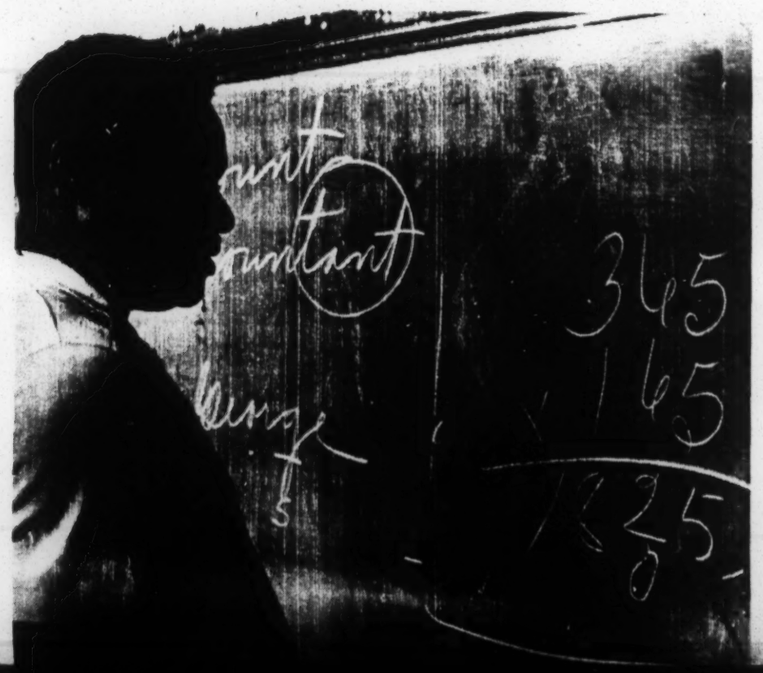
Photographs by John Phillips



STAR School Teaches Adults

Reading, Writing, and 'Something Else'

STAR SCHOOL IN MISSISSIPPI TEACHES ADULTS TO READ. . .



BY GAIL FALK

MERIDIAN, Miss. -- Mrs. Sarah Ott didn't have a job three months ago. Now she's talking about being a Head Start teacher.

The Rev. Lloyd Smith can read the Bible to his congregation now and pronounce the words so they can understand.

Mrs. Polly Heidelberg will pass to the fourth grade in two weeks if she works hard.

They are all students at STAR, Inc. of Meridian, an integrated school that teaches basic reading, writing and arithmetic to adults with less than a sixth grade education.

Such schools have started with federal funds in many places in the South. There are 15 STAR (Systematic Training And Rehabilitation) schools in Mississippi. Similar schools in Alabama operate under the Adult Basic Education Program, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program.

But in every town the first integrated school might as well be the first one ever. The first program that gives hope and training to poor people of the area might as well be the first one anywhere.

Meridian's STAR school is genuinely integrated. Director Connie Moore keeps his faculty half Negro and half white with mathematical precision; Negro director, white secretary, white job specialist, Negro Community Action Program coordinator; white social worker, Negro supervising instructor; Negro and white recruiters, counselors and teachers.

There are only 15 white students out of 122 so far, but those 15 have gotten along so well that more are expected. "These people look like they've been together for years," said the Rev. Charles Johnson, a teacher.

Students and faculty are proud and a little surprised to find how easily white and Negro can get along. "This needs to be a permanent program," said one of the white teachers. "I've never worked in such a free and open place."

But not everyone likes STAR. A few of the students have been threatened by the Klan. The STAR center in Carthage was burned last month.

"If you train the poor white man and

MRS. POLLY HEIDELBERG: HER NEXT GOAL IS FOURTH GRADE

that hurts the Klan, and the Klan knows it," explained Johnson.

Some students may have come at first for the $8.50 to $35 they are paid each week. But once at STAR, just about everyone becomes a determined student.

"I keeps it on my mind," said Mrs. Ott. "I carries a little tablet home. I sit down. I try to print the letters real good."

STAR is more than a place to work or go to school for some of the students and faculty: it is a crusade.

"STAR gives something else besides training, something you can't explain. It makes them ready for responsibility because they see the need for responsibility. It gives a student hope, makes him feel like a man..." said Mr. Johnson.

But beyond giving hope and the experience of integration, can a school like STAR make a real difference to the lives of its students? To most people that means, can it get them a better job?

The first of the school's three-month cycles ended well over a month ago, yet many participants still have no jobs.

One problem is there just aren't very many job openings in most parts of Mississippi.

pick cotton more cheaply than the lowest-paid tenant.

Around Meridian, no new industries at all have come in during the past few years to provide jobs for a population which has increased by several thousand.

D.R. Burch, manager of the Meridian office of the Mississippi State Employment Service, said his office had a record of 1,346 unemployed in Lauderdale County as of June 15. He estimated the actual number of unemployed was between 2,000 and 2,400; others place the figure higher.

STAR is working in several ways to find or make job openings. The Labor Mobility Project, a one-year experiment, will give some people help in moving to areas where there are more jobs.

On the Gulf Coast new defense industries and big plants have created a demand for workers. The Labor Mobility Project will guide people from around Meridian and the Delta to jobs on the Gulf Coast.

It will pay the cost of a trip for an interview and a look around. If an applicant decides he does want to move, it will pay part of the moving cost and help

Three hundred families in all will be relocated, 120 from the Meridian-Philadelphia area.

"We're not trying to sell relocation," emphasized James Crawford, the supply area coordinator for Meridian and Philadelphia, "but to find out whether people are interested in moving and if not, why not."

Crawford and other STAR staff members agree that job development in the Meridian area must still be the solution for most people.

One goal is opening to Negroes jobs that have been white only. The Mississippi State Employment Service does not keep separate employment figures for Negro and white, but it's well known that white people can find a decent-paying job far more easily than Negroes.

The job development counselor also tries to find out what skills would be in demand if people had the right training. A Manpower Development and Training school has started courses here for nurses aides, auto mechanics, service station attendants and dieticians because a survey showed there was a need for these skills. Training programs in wood-working and metal-working may start soon.

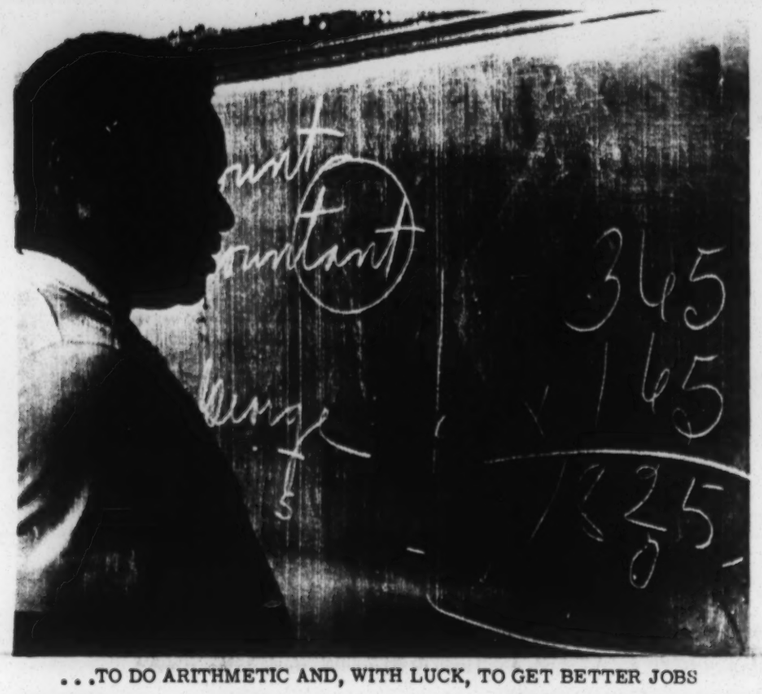
STAR director Moore would like to get a Small Business loan from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity to start some new local industry. "Then we could make our own jobs," he said--perhaps making packing crates from cheap lumber in the area.

Even if more jobs are created, STAR may still have trouble getting its students into those jobs. Sixth grade level is the highest STAR can train students right now, but most jobs above maid and janitor require an eighth or ninth grade education.

And for the students who come to STAR unable to read or write, three months isn't long enough to get even as far as the sixth grade. The students realize this. "It's so fast," said Mrs. Ott. Most of them hope to be among the few who will be allowed to continue at the school for a second three-month cycle.

Some of the teachers would like to get the cycles extended. But meanwhile they must decide whether the students they choose from hundreds of applicants will be those who, with a little polishing, will be ready for the job market, or those who need help the most.

Moore and his staff have chosen in



. . .TO DO ARITHMETIC AND, WITH LUCK, TO GET BETTER JOBS

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"If you train the poor white man and show him he's a citizen, and then show him he can get along with poor Negroes,

for the $8.50 to $35 they are paid each week. But once at STAR, just about everyone becomes a determined student.

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In the Delta many thousands of sharecroppers have lost jobs to machines that

at all have come in during the past few years to provide jobs for a population which has increased by several thousand.

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The demonstration program is small.

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Moore and his staff have chosen in many cases to admit students with no

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

The Long Uphill Journey of James Kolb

BY PETER CUMMINGS

LUVERNE--It was a Monday in 1924, and the dusty streets of Luverne, Alabama, were hot. Groups of white men stood in the dust holding rifles and shotguns. South of the town, for four miles through the Beaver Branch swamp, dozens of armed white men were searching for Moses Hampton, a Negro accused of rape.

Another Negro, 25-year-old James Kolb, was chopping wood with his father in a forest near Luverne. Kolb's shirt was rolled up at the sleeves and his blue overalls were soaked with sweat, but he was not thinking about his work. He was thinking about Moses Hampton. Kolb knew that Hampton was innocent, because he and Hampton had been together when the rape was supposed to have occured. Yet Kolb couldn't see how he could help Hampton--he didn't even know where Hampton was.

The only people who knew were two of Kolb's sisters, aged 12 and nine. At that very moment they were making their father's bed, after helping Hampton hide between the two mattresses that were on the bed. Then they ran through the forest to find their brother. Panting, they told him where Hampton was hidden.

Now Kolb acted. With his father he sought out Adam Parks, a small white man who had a reputation for being quick to use a gun. Parks listened quietly to Kolb's story, and then spoke. "Now I won't guarantee that I can keep them from killing Mose', but they'll have to kill me first."

Parks strapped two revolvers to his hips and put a broad-brimmed Western hat on over his long hair. At a place near the Kolb home, the silent Parks and the frightened Hampton met and began their walk towards town.

When they reached the house of the girl who had been raped, they met the mob. Wiry Adam Parks placed his hands on his revolvers and spoke to the angry men carrying rifles and shotguns, "Gentlemen, I don't want anybody to move. I got this man in charge." Then Parks and Hampton moved toward the house and the mob stepped aside to let them pass.

Confronted with Hampton, the girl declared that he was innocent. Slowly, lazily, the mob melted away into the dust and heat of the summer. Because of a white man, Adam Parks, and a Negro, James Kolb, no one would be killed in Luverne that day, and Moses Hampton would live to be an old man.

All that happened a long time ago. Today James Kolb is 67 years old. He farms 41 acres of land he owns in Crenshaw County. The years have stooped his shoulders slightly and slowed his walk, but muscles still show when he

"I FOUGHT BY MYSELF"

wears his work overalls.

When the daily farm work is done, Kolb turns to other tasks. In the past year he has been arrested several times for leading civil rights demonstrations in Crenshaw County.

His mailbox has been bombed, and the letters 'KKK' are painted on the highway in front of his home--but Kolb still chairs the weekly meetings of the Crenshaw County branch of the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc.

Kolb is a good talker. He has an easy smile and an earnest manner. With a group of friends or in a mass meeting, he can go on for hours, recalling stories from his youth or explaining his views on the issues of the day--'breaking it down', as he puts it.

Kolb talks like a farmer who has seen a lot of the world:

"He doesn't know any more about that than a rabbit knows about bookkeeping."

"Ignorance is so thick on the streets

"BUT NOW I GOT HELP"

of Luverne that you can scoop it up and haul it away."

"You could take all the whiskey I've ever drunk, put it in a tablespoon and drive back to town with it."

"I wouldn't trust him any further than I could throw an elephant uphill by the tail."

In describing a local white man, for example, Kolb says, "He's bourgeois. No, I guess he's between the sap and the bark--petty bourgeois."

A word like "bourgeois" comes easily to Kolb. Although he says he is "nothing but a plowboy," he's been a lot of places, done a lot of things, and met a lot of people.

During the past 60 years he has worked in steel mills, warehouses, pipe foundries, and hospitals; on construction jobs, insurance routes, and farms. He has worked with Jews, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Spaniards, Africans, Russians and Poles. He has talked with such people as Negro organizer Marcus Garvey, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Communist Party leader Gus Hall, NAACP founder W.E.B. DuBois, and actor Paul Robeson.

"I've been just about everywhere in the country except the penitentiary, and I guess I just missed that," Kolb says.

James Kolb was born on Christmas Eve in 1898, near Luverne. His mother had no education and was the daughter of a former slave-owner, an Indian who had passed for white. His father worked for $4 a month as a sharecropper, and was forced to drop out of school in the third grade.

Kolb, like his parents, had little chance to learn. He was the oldest boy in a family of 12 children, and went to work in the fields when he was seven years old. Although he went to school for eight years, "the longest that I was able to get in school was eight weeks in one year."

When he was 18, Kolb went to Tuskegee Institute, but after three days "I was called out of school to help start the crop so my father could borrow money for the farm."

At an early age, Kolb puzzled over the way Negroes were treated in the South. "I could see the white people who lent us money come out to look at the crop and I could see how my father feared them. When they said the crop was good, my daddy would feel awfully good and he would talk about it when they left. One day when I was nine or ten I asked my daddy,

"'Do you believe God is just?'

"'Yes I do,' he said.

"'Does he think as much of me as he do of the white people in Luverne?' I asked. 'Why do I have to knuckle under and bow down to them and be punished to go without all the things they have?'

"And my father hesitated to give me an answer. He would say 'Ah, well...' and he would clamor for something to say. I just couldn't understand the setup."

Kolb wondered if he should go North to earn money. An incident in August, 1920 made up his mind. A white mob beat a Negro teenager on the main street of Luverne.

"They beat him with an axe handle and he was screaming from the blows. My father and myself were standing across the street against our wagon and I said to my father, 'This is another reason why I have to leave this town.' Two days later I caught the train to Cleveland."

In Cleveland, away from his family, the young Alabamian found little to do in his spare time. So he turned to books for new ideas on the problems which faced Negroes and poor people in general. Books by and about Negroes fascinated him--Frederick Douglass' "Autobiography of an Ex-slave," biographies of Booker T. Washington and G.W. Carver, Dubois' "Souls of Black Folk," and years later, Howard Fast's "Freedom Road."

Some of Kolb's fellow workers were Communists, and Kolb argued late into the night with many of them. He read histories of the Russian revolution, Lenin, Stalin, and Marx, as well as the Communist Party's newspaper, "The Daily Worker." While Kolb has never

agreed with communism he has always had respect for Communists and feels that he has learned a lot from them: "You're smart until you meet a Communist," he says.

In Cleveland Kolb began reading "Crises," the fiery magazine put out by a new group called the NAACP. And he helped Marcus Garvey's Black Star movement. Garvey, a Negro, organized a fleet of ships, called the Black Star Line, to carry Negroes back to Africa. Kolb nearly sailed on one of Garvey's ships, but decided against it after his mother begged him not to go.

Kolb found ideas but no money in Cleveland. In 1922 he came back to Alabama as poor as when he left. For the next few years he worked with his father on their rented land and in the steel mills of Birmingham. In April of 1927, he married Miss Willie Byrd, a pretty girl from Montgomery whom he first met at a Crenshaw County baseball game.

When nine Negro boys were accused

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

JAMES KOLB

ASCS: 'A Gut Issue'

BY NELSON LICHTENSTEIN

SELMA--"The ASCS committee puts more money into some rural areas than the county government itself," said Mike Kenny, field co-ordinator for the National Sharecroppers Fund. "That's why winning these elections is a gut issue."

ASCS committees decide how much cotton, peanuts, and tobacco farmers can grow.

SNCC, SCLC, the Sharecroppers Fund and the Alabama Council on Human Relations are working to get Negroes on the ASCS (Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service) committees this year.

"But time is short," said Kenny. "State ASCS usually holds the elections in the fall, but they moved them up this year, at the beginning of the harvesting season."

These civil rights groups and the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee have filed a lawsuit in federal court in Washington to get the elections postponed until December. Twenty Alabama Negro farmers will journey to the capital soon, to give testimony about alleged discriminatory election practices by all-white ASCS committees.

"If we win the lawsuit and postpone the elections," said Kenny, "we will have enough time to raise money to make a thorough campaign. If we lose we'll have an immediate state-wide meeting to determine if a boycott (of the election) would be effective."

In Dallas County, which has three times as many Negro farmers as white, 25 Negroes have been nominated for the 30 positions open on ASCS community committees.

"If I am elected, God help me, I'll do my best to help the little farmer," said nominee W. T. Towns at a meeting in the East Salem Baptist Church near Sardis. Towns has a cotton farm near Pleasant Hill in Dallas County.

Walter Blocton of Tyler, who is also running for his local community committee, said, "We want someone to run who will stand up against the big boss. We have never had anyone on the committee who would tell the Negro farmer what the ASCS can do for him."

George Rembert owns a part time eight-acre farm near Myrtlewood in Marengo County. "I am interested in the ASCS elections because the Negro has always been tricked right down the line," he said.

"I don't like the whites getting all the cotton allotment," he said. His small farm shows how important the decisions of the county ASCS committee (elected by community committee members) can be.

Right now, Rembert is raising almost four acres of cotton and four acres of corn on his farm. He'd like another acre of cotton, but he can't get an allotment for it.

"Cotton's worth $200 an acre and corn is only $150," said Rembert.

Bag Company, Union in Mobile Accused of Job Discrimination

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--"We are employed as direct press helpers at Bemis Company. This position pays $1.89 an hour. White men employed as helpers on the offset press do exactly the same work and receive $2.29 an hour."

Two Negro employees of the Bemis Company, which manufactures bags here, made this charge in a job discrimination complaint to the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Fourteen other workers at the plant, which employs 21 Negroes, also signed the complaint against the company and against the union which represents about 150 white workers at the plant.

The Negro workers charged that certain positions are filled entirely by Negroes, and "the Negro positions receive the lowest pay, even though many require more skill than white positions."

All lift truck operators are Negroes. They make "$1.89 an hour, while white 'yard men' who mow the grass and pick up papers receive $2.14 an hour," the complaint says.

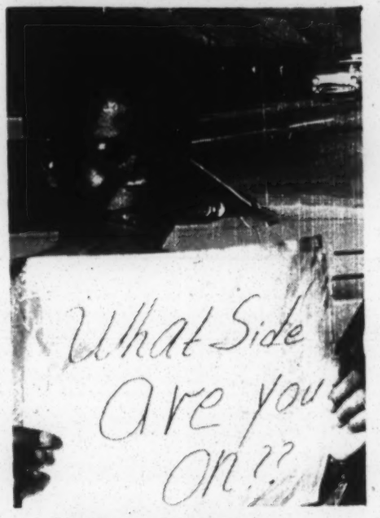
One Negro employee who has worked for the company over 20 years says he has trained five white men to do "exactly the same work" he does. The white men he trained receive 36¢ an hour more than he does, according to the complaint.

Differences in pay scales are the Negro workers' main complaint against the company. But they also charge that eating and washroom facilities are still segregated, even though "white" and "colored" signs have been removed.

They say the white union, Local 480 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, has helped keep the pay scales different and the facilities segregated.

The complaint was filed after some of the workers contacted a member of the Mobile NAACP's legal redress committee who has been working on job discrimination cases for about ten months.

The NAACP member says his ten months of work have convinced him that the conditions at Bemis are not unusual: "I get calls every day on problems people are having. The situation around here is just terrible."



Task Force

GREENSBORO -- A task force from Tuscaloosa, sponsored by the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations (COAPO) and directed by the Rev. Edgar Osburn, has expanded the picketing of Greensboro stores to include the testing of public accomodations.

When Osburn and six other people asked to be served in Williams Cafe Dinet last Saturday, Osburn said, "the white people left, leaving half-eaten steaks behind, and the waitress told us that the place was closing."

Last Wednesday saw the first arrest since the picketing began six weeks ago. SCLC field worker John Reynolds said he was charged with disobeying an officer as he urged other demonstrators to insist on their rights.

Shots Fired in Miss. At Negroes, Whites

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. -- J. E. Hurdle, city superintendent of schools, found his green-painted door sprinkled with gun-shot Monday morning.

Another white Philadelphian found his car window shot out the same morning.

And Freedom School teacher Jim Perkins called the FBI late Sunday night to tell them a shot had just blasted the front window of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party office here.

Philadelphia police arrested Norman Stevens and Steele Clay early Monday morning. The men were charged with assault and battery.

Hurdle, who has been Philadelphia superintendent of schools for six years, turned some local people against him last fall when he appeared on television before the opening of school to call for orderly integration of Philadelphia High School.

Miss Ajatha Morris, a student at Philadelphia High School last year, said Hurdle disciplined Stevens' step-son, David Sisson, for hitting one of the Negro girls at the school. "Mr. Hurdle was nice to us," said Miss Morris. But, she added, he is known to Negroes as a segregationist.

White community leaders were reportedly shocked by the shooting of the superintendent's trim white house just outside the center of town.

"It's made some of them realize," said one white lady, "that if you say nothing about the shooting of the FDP office, that leaves the door open to shoot into Jim Hurdle's house."

Meanwhile, not far away in Clarke County, Negroes were talking about the need for self-defense, after Mrs. Allie Jones' home in Shubuta was splattered with tomatoes; shots were fired at Jim McQueen and Sam Wallace in Quitman; and an integrated group was harassed while watching a movie in Quitman's Majestic Theater.

"I'm just so tired of people having to fight every time they go to a restaurant or movie theater or filling station," said MFDP worker John Sumrall.

TRY AGAIN

JACKSON, Miss. -- Elections for the Mississippi legislature cannot be held next year unless a new plan is drawn up for House and Senate districts.

A three-judge federal panel made up of Judges J. P. Coleman, Harold Cox, and Dan Russell said they agreed with a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party suit claiming the present plan didn't live up to the U.S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" rule.

Mississippi legislative districts were reapportioned in 1962 for the first time since 1890, but the federal judges said this plan still didn't give equal representation to people in every part of the state.

'They're Tired'

GADSDEN -- The program of the Gadsden Community Service Center used to be whatever the SCLC worker who lived there got around to doing. Now even she is gone, but local people have decided to keep the center going.

The all-Negro board of directors signed up a local student to plan a program. The student, William Fleming, has big plans--a new building, a library, exhibits on Negro history, and classes for children and adults.

Last Sunday, Fleming took the first step toward getting more local people interested in the center. He held a mass meeting at the Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Church. Only 15 people showed up.

But Fleming wasn't disappointed. ("Negroes here aren't lazy," he explained later. "They're tired.") He went ahead and gave the 15 people his speech: "Why We Can't Sleep."

Opp Desegregation

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Mayor J. Ned Moore agreed: "I think that would be the best choice for the local situation."

"We haven't had any race trouble since about 1905," said one white businessman, "but if they put a Negro teacher in that high school, I'm sure there would be some trouble."

White officials and businessmen said they were unhappy about the choices the town has been given. "It'd be different if we hadn't made an honest effort to comply," said one man. "But we offered freedom-of-choice and now they're trying to force this thing on us." However, the same white people said they would obey the law.

Reaction in the Negro community was mixed. Mrs. Chessie Lee Tolbert was happy about the Office of Education ruling: "I think everyone around here is pretty well pleased about what's happened. If they don't think it's good, [illegible]

county high school, while Negroes are bussed to Andalusia. Thomas W. Carroll, county superintendent of education, said Crowder told him that bussing Negro students to Andalusia must stop, and that students must be assigned to the school nearest their home.

Carroll is not yet sure what his office will do. "Whether we're going to get right with the federal government or not, I just don't know," he said.

JAMES KOLB

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

of rape in Scottsboro in the 1930's, the Kolbs tried to help them. Illegal NAACP meetings were held in Kolb's Montgomery home.

Looking back, Kolb says,

"This was the mess that got the whole thing burning today . . . . It took nine little old ignorant Negro boys and four very trashy thrown-away white people to open the eyes of the world."

wife, three daughters, and two grandchildren.

Kolb is trying to raise something besides vegetables in the county where he was born. He's working for justice and racial equality. They're tough crops to grow.

"Sure I'm scared," he said about leading civil rights demonstrations. "My knees are so wobbly they knock together, but I've got to face the issue."

times as many Negro farmers as white, 25 Negroes have been nominated for the 30 positions open on ASCS community committees.

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White officials and businessmen said they were unhappy about the choices the town has been given. "It'd be different if we hadn't made an honest effort to comply," said one man. "But we offered freedom-of-choice and now they're trying to force this thing on us." However, the same white people said they would obey the law.

Reaction in the Negro community was mixed. Mrs. Chessie Lee Tolbert was happy about the Office of Education ruling: "I think everyone around here is pretty well pleased about what's happened. If they don't think it's good, they're crazy."

But some mothers were worried. "I'm glad my child doesn't have to go there for another year," said one.

At least one other city in Covington County, Florala, may be affected by the Office of Education's efforts. White students in Florala attend a nearby county high school, while Negroes are bussed to Andalusia. Thomas W. Carroll, county superintendent of education, said Crowder told him that bussing Negro students to Andalusia must stop, and that students must be assigned to the school nearest their home.

Carroll is not yet sure what his office will do. "Whether we're going to get right with the federal government or not, I just don't know," he said.

A three-judge federal panel made up of Judges J. P. Coleman, Harold Cox, and Dan Russell said they agreed with a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party suit claiming the present plan didn't live up to the U.S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" rule.

Mississippi legislative districts were reapportioned in 1962 for the first time since 1890, but the federal judges said this plan still didn't give equal representation to people in every part of the state.

signed up a local student to plan a program. The student, William Fleming, has big plans--a new building, a library, exhibits on Negro history, and classes for children and adults.

Last Sunday, Fleming took the first step toward getting more local people interested in the center. He held a mass meeting at the Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Church. Only 15 people showed up.

But Fleming wasn't disappointed. ("Negroes here aren't lazy," he explained later. "They're tired.") He went ahead and gave the 15 people his speech: "Why We Can't Sleep."

JAMES KOLB

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

of rape in Scottsboro in the 1930's, the Kolbs tried to help them. Illegal NAACP meetings were held in Kolb's Montgomery home.

Looking back, Kolb says,

"This was the mess that got the whole thing burning today. . . . It took nine little old ignorant Negro boys and four very trashy thrown-away white people to open the eyes of the world."

White politicians and businessmen have separated the races in order to gain power for themselves, Kolb feels. And as long as poor whites and poor Negroes remain separate, "they're like the great big elephant who was chained to the little sapling. The woman came by and when she saw the elephant she shook her head sadly and said, 'If only he knew his strength.'"

During World War II Kolb and fellow white workers brought unions to U. S. Steel's Birmingham hospital. Shortly thereafter Kolb lost his job at U. S. Steel.

But luck was with him. He went North and found a better-paying job. When he returned to Alabama a year later he did something he'd wanted to do for years--he paid cash for 41 acres of farm land in Crenshaw County and built a house on it.

The farm has not always done well, and Kolb has had to leave it several times to find jobs in Birmingham and near Cleveland to support his family. But he is proud of his land and it now produces enough to feed him and his wife, three daughters, and two grandchildren.

Kolb is trying to raise something besides vegetables in the county where he was born. He's working for justice and racial equality. They're tough crops to grow.

"Sure I'm scared," he said about leading civil rights demonstrations. "My knees are so wobbly they knock together, but I've got to face the issue." And things have changed since Kolb watched Moses Hampton, an innocent man in trouble, face a mob with only one companion.

"It's been an uphill journey. . ." Kolb said. "I fought this thing a long time by myself, but I got a little help now."

STAR

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

schooling and measure their success in ways other than job placement.

"At least we can show them the advantages of education and give them a love for knowledge so they will refuse to let their children be dropouts," said Moore.

Many students are learning to take an interest in community activities, to register to vote, and to read newspapers. STAR gives classes in health habits, economical shopping, and paying bills.

"We can teach people to come down out of their castles in the clouds," said the Rev. Carl McArn, the school's social worker. "A woman tells me what she wants is to be able to read a cookbook and follow sewing instructions--she's dealing with reality," explained the Rev. R. S. Porter.

"Reality for these people is no bed of roses," said McArn, "but we've got to teach them to keep their feet on the ground."

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In Wiregrass Area

Voter Registration Lags

BY ELLEN LAKE

TROY--"The SCOPE workers registered more people in two days than I did in the year since they left," said Mrs. Johnnie Mae Warren, president of the Pike County Voters League.

"When they came (last summer), it was right after the voting bill and people was already eager to register. Now it's just got down to the real hard ones, and you can't hardly pull 'em out."

Mrs. Warren's discouragement is typical of feelings all over the Wiregrass area. Folks began to talk about this feeling after the special four-day registration period earlier this month.

Mrs. Warren said the first day of the registration period was the worst: "I stayed at the courthouse all day, and only one colored and one white came in. I went out into the streets, looking for people, and into the cafes and poolrooms. I even got the owner of the poolroom to go back and ask was there anyone who had not registered. But everybody had excuses." Thirty-two people registered in the four-day period, she said.

"SCOPE got people out that I never could," said James Kolb, president of the Crenshaw division of the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc. "Registration hasn't exactly quit since then, but it's slowed down a lot. There's so much going on, with TICEP (Tuskegee

MRS. WARREN

KOLB

Institute's Community Education Program) and all, that I don't know if we've been doing too much about registering."

In Abbeville, Clinton Harrell, a local leader, said he hadn't even known the Henry County courthouse was open during the special period: "Nobody worked to get the people out. I didn't see anybody register, and I generally be's up there every day."

As in most of the Wiregrass counties, Harrell said that the biggest problem was getting people down to the courthouse. "Once they get there, they don't have no trouble getting registered," he said.

Houston County, one of the few Wiregrass counties which had no SCOPE workers last summer, seems to have topped all the others recently in voter registration. Members of the Houston County Voters League and the NAACP brought 63 people to register one week this month, and they have registered more than 600 since Jan. 1.

J. C. Forrester, president of the voters league, explained its methods: "We passed out handbills and had announcements made on the white radio station," he said. In addition, he said, members of the voters league went to the churches and got the ministers to ask who was not registered. To these people, they gave cards reading, "I am a registered voter," which the people could fill out once they had registered.

Mrs. Jones Goes Back to School; ECHO Gives Her a Second Chance

MRS. WILLIE BELLE CARLISLE GRADUATES

625 ATTEND

BY DON GREGG

BIRMINGHAM -- Mrs. Helen Jones dropped out of school in 1952 to get married. She was six weeks away from getting her high school diploma. Now, at age 31, she's back in school.

Mrs. Jones is one of 625 Birmingham area residents, Negro and white, who are attending adult education classes at Miles College or Immaculata High School. She has five children. The oldest, 13-year-old Miss Marcella Jones, helps with the younger children while her mother attends classes five nights a week.

Miles College began this Educational and Cultural Help Organization (ECHO) as a small operation back in November. It has now joined forces with the Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta.

The Miles College ECHO program has reached its full potential at the two present centers, Miles and Immaculata, and there are plans to open eight other centers in Birmingham and Jefferson County in September.

The program--and the people in it, like Mrs. Jones--have three goals. The first is to prepare the students for a General Educational Development test. If they pass this test, students are awarded high-school equivalency certificates by the state. This certificate is as good as a high-school diploma.

At present, nine students have passed the GED test, administered by the Birmingham Board of Education. They were given a full scale graduation exercise.

ECHO's second goal is to give people a chance to get better jobs, or to compete for promotions on their present job.

Mrs. Jones, who has been attending classes for nearly two months, said she wants to attend a nursing school in Birmingham, or at least get a job that will pay enough to send her children to college.

Even when she passes her GED test, Mrs. Jones said, she will keep coming to the classes. This is the third goal of the program--to raise the social, cultural, and educational level of the students. One man, 71 years old, said, "I just want to learn how to read my Bible." Another man said he had always wanted to be able to write his name.

The eight new centers which ECHO plans to open in September will

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The eight new centers which ECHO plans to open in September will serve Birmingham and the rest of Jefferson County, in such communities as Warrior, Ensley, Leeds, Bessemer, and North Birmingham.

But money has proven to be a problem. Ralph D. Harris, director of ECHO, said the program applied for federal assistance from the OEO in the spring, and received authorization to "incur debt" on May 11.

But the ability to build up debts is only half of what it takes to finance a program. You've got to be able to pay the debts off once you make them.

Harris said $20,000 is supposed to be on the way, but as yet is not available. So the Miles ECHO program cannot pay off the debts it built up when buying textbooks. Worse, after June 30 it could no longer pay salaries to the staff members organizing the program and teaching in the classes.

Five teachers left when told of the financial situation, Harris said. "The people who are working on the program are doing so out of dedication."

An OEO spokesman in Atlanta said the money for ECHO was "under final processing" and "should be received by the local community in about ten days." ECHO's money problem is not unusual, he said: "We're all swamped with paper-work, and we are behind."

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MFDP Will Try Again in November Election

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--The Mississippi Democratic primary last June received less attention than Alabama's, because of the shooting of James Meredith the day before the election and the excitement of the march that followed.

Now that the official county-by-county vote tabulation has been released, people interested in Mississippi politics are taking a closer look to see what that election can teach them.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidates ran in the five U.S. congressional races and the senatorial campaign, and all of them lost by large margins.

In the senatorial race, the Rev. Clifton Whitley, dean of Rust College in Holly Springs, got 34,323 votes, about one seventh of the 240,171 polled by the present senator, James O. Eastland.

Whitley has announced plans to run for senator in the general election as an independent, and the MFDP will support independent congressional candidates in some districts.

As MFDP workers collected the signatures needed to get the independent candidates on the ballot in November, the questions to be asked were:

Why did the MFDP candidates lose so badly in June? And is there any reason to expect them to do better as independents in November?

The key to the answers is probably still voter registration. The 23 Mississippi counties with federal voting examiners averaged a 38% increase in Negro voter registration between August, 1965, and April, 1966. And these counties--less than a third of all the counties in the state--accounted for two-thirds of Whitley's total.

In just about every county, the total of votes for MFDP candidates fell well below the Negro registration. Only two counties--Claiborne and Jefferson--produced majorities for Whitley against Eastland, even though several other counties now have Negro voting majorities.

Most people agreed that many Negro voters just didn't know who the MFDP candidates were.

Whitley, who had appeared on television, ran a little ahead of the other MFDP candidates.

"We started too late. People didn't know him enough," said Mrs. Catherine Crowell of Meridian.

Other people said publicity wasn't the only problem. "I work till I was just as nutty as a nutmeg," said Mrs. Polly Heidelberg. These people said many new voters didn't know how to mark their ballots right. Other voters went to the wrong polling places, because they were confused by the redistricting in several towns. Some illiterates got no help in reading the ballot.

In some counties--such as Madison--registration workers said intimidation kept many voters away from the polls.

In a few places, the distraction of the Meredith incidents may have interrupted an all-out drive to get Negroes to vote.

MFDP chairman Lawrence Guyot expects that a split of conservative voters between Eastland and Prentiss Walker, the Republican candidate for senator, will help Whitley. But few people, even around the MFDP office, are predicting a Whitley victory.

And if Whitley can't win, many Negro people are wondering whether it wouldn't be better to vote for Walker, even though Walker is as conservative as Eastland. These people think an Eastland defeat might be an important step in shaping state politics. And it would let Negro voters feel they were on the winning side.

But Guyot had strong words for this

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT, Col. 4)

ROBINSON'S PLATFORM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

this month, he said that public defiance of the law by public officials is the major problem in Alabama today.)

The candidate was hesitant to classify himself politically. He said he doesn't like the titles of "liberal" or "conservative," because they have been used in the South for just one purpose--to label a person as an integrationist or a segregationist.

"Some people would call me a conservative because I believe that every able-bodied man ought to do a full day's work," said Robinson. "But some would call me a liberal because I realize there are people who must be cared for--old folks, the mentally ill, and disabled people, for example.

"I'd rather be known as a man who can recognize a problem, study that problem, and come up with an answer that is best for Alabama and her people."

Finally, Robinson has some strong ideas about the governor's responsibilities. He said it is the governor's job to see that there is a truly representative government. A committee should be set up to hear complaints and suggestions of people and groups from all parts of the state, he said:

"The people need to feel that paying taxes is like buying stock in a corporation. Stock-holders own a corporation, and this gives them the right to vote and the right to know how the business is being run. A governor should be like the president of a corporation, and should run the state like a corporation."

Robinson added that the governor should issue a statement each month giving details of how taxes are being spent. This would be possible, he said, if computers were used to do the state bookkeeping.

"I encourage the people to vote straight Democratic in November, except for one position--the one at the top," said Robinson. "I want them to vote Robinson for that position."

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT -- Mr. Samuel C. Jackson, a member of the President's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, will be speaking to the Montgomery community on Monday, Aug. 15, at 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced in this column later. There will be a question-and-answer period. Sponsored by the Montgomery Improvement Association.

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'I Feel Like I Want to Stay'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Mrs. Elizabeth Dotson lived on Hugh B. Tompkins' land for 20 years. In late May, she said, Tompkins' grandson, Warren Domergue, "came and told me if I didn't get the cow out of the pasture, he'd shoot her. Our cows had been there ever since we had been there."

The run-off election came May 31, and Mrs. Dotson voted a second time.

"On the tenth of June, Mr. Tompkins told me I'd have to move. He never asked to see my ballot. But that's the onliest reason I could see. I hadn't said nothing and I hadn't did nothing."

Tompkins, an old man who leaves most of the work to his grandson these days, said, "I didn't need her no more. Her husband was killed a year ago when a tree fell on him.

"His wife's all right, but she's got too many chilluns. She couldn't make anything with me. She needed to find work somewheres."

But Mrs. Dotson, who now lives in a three-room house with her son and nine children, said that Tompkins told her in January that she could stay and farm a small patch.

"It's really made things hard on me," she said. "I had cane, butter beans, potatoes, and a garden. I had to leave most of 'em there."

Christian and Mrs. Dotson said they voted for every Negro candidate on the ballot in the primary and in the run-off.

Leroy Huges and his wife only voted once, on May 3. Since they can't read or write, "we told the white lady to vote us for Flowers and the four colored ones," said Huges.

"After this, Mr. Tompkins' grandson said if I didn't vote like he wanted us to, we'd have to move. He talked like he knew who we voted for."

When it came time for the run-off, Mrs. Huges said, her husband was sick. "He got the high blood. The blood jumped up on him that day, and I had to stay with him. So we didn't vote."

"I been here 27 years," Huges said. "I worked on share till four years ago. Now I can't work."

His wife nodded her head. "We got no children and no land. I been here so long I wore myself out. I feel like I want to stay here. We got a good well, and our home . . . ."

"Someone's got to tell them niggers how to vote if they can't read and write," Tompkins said. "I got as much right to tell 'em as the federal government does, but I didn't. I say to 'em, 'The ballot is your business.'"

His grandson, Domergue, said angrily, "I'll talk in court when I get ready to talk."

But so far it doesn't look like anyone will take Domergue to court. The Christians said two Justice Department men talked to the three families and went away without making any promises.

"They listened but they didn't do nothing," Christian said. "And we can't prove anything." He looked at the cornfield, golden in the clear evening light.

"Pickett once told me it was right for me to vote," he said. "I think some of his neighbors got on him to make me move. Tompkins--he's an old man. He's treated his hands all right.

"It's the grandson who wants to tell everyone what to do. Well, he's young. Some day he'll learn everyone needs help sometime."

TUSKEGEE CHURCHES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

said, ". . . is giving everyone the green light to practice racial discrimination, violence, and mad acts."

Miss Marlene Ellis, a white summer instructor who attended the indoor Methodist Church service, said the congregation began whispering when they heard the knock on the door:

"One woman behind me said, 'Isn't it a shame this can happen in a civilized country?'"

MISS. ELECTION

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE SEVEN)

sort of reasoning. "The fight along those lines," he said, "does not offer an alternative. The fight simply against seniority, without constructed issues, undercuts the political momentum that will be necessary to convince Negroes and poor whites that they must become politically active."

The Rev. J. C. Killingsworth of Enterprise had another answer to people who are thinking of voting for Walker. He thought running a Negro candidate was important because "lots of Negroes still have the idea that they are not qualified to run for office. Our history book don't tell us about the Negroes who were in Congress."

The People Move In

WAYSIDE, Miss.--"I'm proud to be part of an organization of people who are tired and sick of working for the white man," said Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence. "This is the first step for black people all through Mississippi to gain independence and dignity."

She was talking about Freedom City, nine miles south of Greenville. Some of the people who moved into Freedom City for the first time last Sunday--like Mrs. Lawrence and Isaac Foster, project director of the group--were the same people who had been taken off the abandoned Air Force base near Greenville last February.

Living at Mt. Beulah in Edwards, Miss., with the Delta Ministry, these people joined together in the Poor Peoples Conference, and bought 400 acres of land near Greenville. Every day, people would get into cars at Mt. Beulah and ride for two hours to get to the land, where they planted soybeans.

For the past few weeks, the people had been putting up houses. When night came last Sunday, there were no lights yet at Freedom City, and the 21 houses were dark. Yet the people had seen worse times. Mrs. Lawrence said, "We are rich today, even if we are poor." (Photo by Nash Bason, Delta Ministry)

Selmont Residents Tell Mayor He Should Take All or Nothing

BY WAYNE HURDER

SELMA--"Take us all or leave us alone." That's what hundreds of people in the Selmont community are saying about plans to add a part of Selmont to the city of Selma.

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3. BLOWIN' IN THE WIND-- Stevie Wonder (Tamla)
4. I GOT TO LOVE SOMEBODY'S BABY--Johnny Taylor (Stax)
5. I BELIEVE I'M GONNA MAKE IT--Joe Tex (Dial)
6. I LOVE YOU 1000 TIMES-- Platters (Musicor)
7. WADE IN THE WATER-- Ramsey Lewis Trio (Cadet)
8. SEARCHIN' FOR MY LOVE-- Bobby Moore (Checker)
9. DIRTY WORK-- Little Joe Blue (Checker)
10. LAND OF 1000 DANCES-- Wilson Pickett (Atlantic)
11. AIN'T TOO PROUD TO BEG-- Temptations (Gordy)
12. OPEN THE DOOR TO YOUR HEART--D. Banks (Revelot)
13. LET'S GO GET STONED-- Ray Charles (ABC)
14. I'M WAITING-- Joe Hinton (Backbeat)

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6. PERFUME--Make him love you with this exciting French-like perfume. Just a dab behind the ear, on the neck or arm will be enough to set that dear one of yours on fire. He just can't resist it. Try it and hear him say, "Darling, darling, I'm hypnotized." One-half ounce bottle. Only $2.00.

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8. TOILET WATER--Truly a fine overall product. Put a few drops in your bath or on the skin and watch your friends call you a living doll. Yes, an amazing product that makes your entire surrounding smell with beauty. 4 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

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10. AFTER-SHAVE LOTION--Men, give your face that smooth cooling look with this fine fragrant lotion. Helps to prevent bumps in the face. Makes the face feel so icy-cool after shaving--and above all it forces the little lady to look you straight in the eyes and say. "Yum! yum!" 4 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

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The city will provide fire protection, a water system, a drainage system for sewers, street lights, police protection and better roads for the people in the part of Selmont being annexed.

Crum said Smitherman told him that the annexation would work a financial hardship on the city, since Selma will have to provide many new services, including a filtering plant. The city should get about $100,000 in extra revenue from the area.

WOW!

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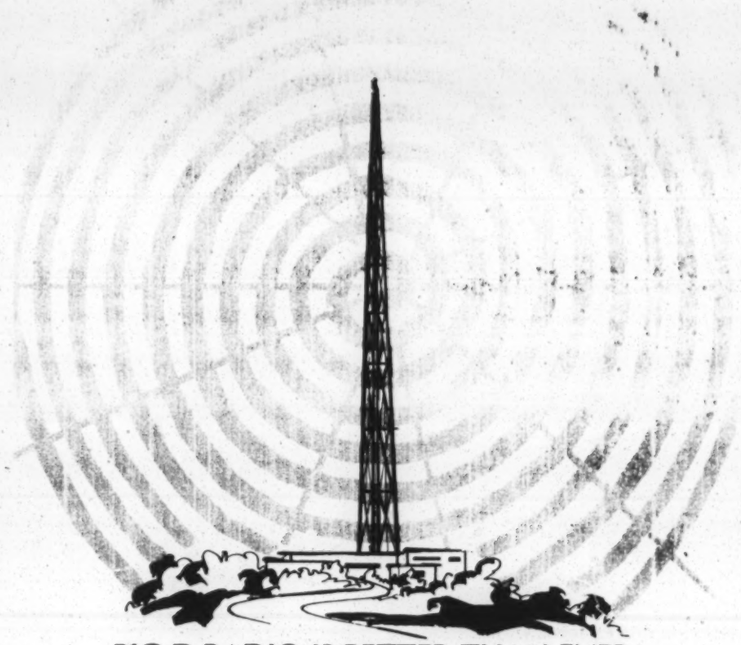

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SOUTHERN COURIER

How Two Girls Saw School Integration

'Everyone Expected King At Her Graduation'

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BIRMINGHAM--Suzy is an average sort of girl. She lives in a small, neat house on Birmingham's north side. She graduated from Phillips High School last spring. She plans to be a nurse.

But there is something just a little bit different about Suzy. At least, she thinks she is a little different. She felt sorry for the Negroes who integrated Phillips in the last two years. She still feels guilty about the way she and her white classmates acted.

Suzy was afraid to be friendly. She is afraid to say anything friendly even now. She asked that her real name not be used in this article. But this is how it was for her:

Someone told me there were nine Negroes at Phillips, but I never counted them. I only knew the one in my class. Her name was Lillie Mae. Everyone expected Martin Luther King to come to her graduation, since she was the first one. I think just her mother came.

I talked to her just once. She'd been absent a lot, and she asked me where could she get her graduation card--the little card that says where you graduated from. I'd picked mine up late myself. When she asked me, I looked around and there wasn't anybody in the room, so I told her where I had gotten mine.

When she came back, there was still no one there, so I asked her if she had gotten it. She said she had. I said, "It's a wonder they gave them to us this late." She said, "Yeah."

That was the only time I ever talked to her. The whole time, I kept looking at the door. If someone had seen me, they would have said, "Why'd you talk to her? You didn't have to tell her anything."

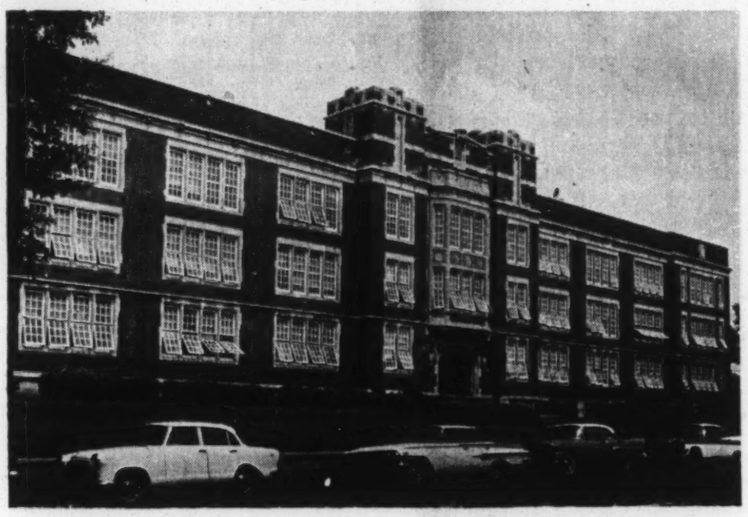
If she said everybody at Phillips was a big s.o.b., I'd understand why. She's going to go through life thinking she didn't have a single friend there. She's wrong, but she'll never know it.

I thought about writing her a note, but they'd know who did it. Every once in a while, I'd say something to sort of make them wonder.

One time people on the newspaper were making up jokes. They'd take a book title and put somebody's name next to it like he wrote it. There was a boy from North Dakota, so they put his name with "Yankee Go Home." Someone

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

It might seem that the two girls here aren't talking about the same situation, because their views of some of the facts are so different. But these are two views of integration as seen by members of the same class, in the same school, during the same period of time. Only the girls are different--one is Negro, the other white.



BIRMINGHAM--When school opened here in 1957, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth took his two teen-aged sons over to Phillips High School to try to enroll them.

That was the first school integration attempt this city had seen in recent times, and it didn't get very far. Shuttlesworth was beaten to the ground by a mob of chain-swinging whites.

It wasn't until six years later that the first Negroes actually enrolled in any previously all-white schools here. In 1964, the first three Negroes entered Phillips.

About 60 Negroes were in school with whites here last year. The board of education said last week that another 288 transfers to integrated schools had been approved for this fall.

'They Had to Stick With Friends--We Were New'

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BIRMINGHAM--Miss Lillie Mae Jones is an average sort of girl. She lives in a rickety frame house on the north side of town. She is 19 years old, quiet, and shy. She graduated from high school last May. She plans to marry in December.

But the high school she graduated from was Phillips. That makes her just a little bit different. Until she and two other Negro girls enrolled there two years ago, Phillips was an all-white school.

The two other girls graduated a year ahead of her. Younger Negro students have since transferred to Phillips. Last week, Miss Jones told what it was like for her:

It wasn't any big deal for me. When I was in elementary school, I was in New York. There were three of us in the school. There might have been more, but that's all I remember. And even though things are more integrated up there, they would shy away from us, too.

I don't know why I decided to go to Phillips. A minister came around and asked whether I wanted to transfer. At first, I said I wanted to stick with my friends. But then I said, "What the heck? I'll still see them every day." So I decided to go ahead on.

I felt it wouldn't be anything new to me, and I'd understand the kids there. In a way, I felt like I might get better courses there, and I think I did.

I didn't do too well--not well at all. Those kids joke and carry on, but they really get down to their lessons. Like at Hayes--I went there before I went to Phillips--if we had homework, I'd probably be able to do it in a study period. We might just have homework in one class.

But we had homework every day in every class at Phillips. I worked at least an hour and a half every night--sometimes longer than that.

It seems to me they graded harder, too. The grade was just what you did on the tests. At Hayes if you spoke up in class, that helped your grade.

I flunked physics. I just couldn't get it. The teacher helped me with it, but then he told me I didn't need it anyway, so I dropped it and took a home-making course.

The teachers were real nice. And most of the kids were nice and friendly. Whenever I thought I knew the answer,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 36 | WEEKEND EDITION: SEPTEMBER 3-4, 1966 | TEN CENTS

Everybody's Talking About Schools

Greene County High Desegregates

BY JOHN SHORT

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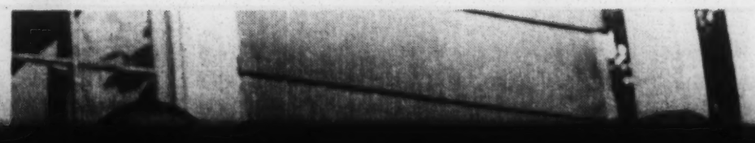
the schools. In the spring, the board sent out a notice announcing the desegregation of the first grade and grades seven through 12. "Any student who will be entering one of these grades next



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WILL MOORER ON HIS LAND; ASCS STAKE AT FRONT LEFT

Negro Farmers Bury Their Cotton Crops

BY WAYNE HURDER

TYLER--Will Moorer has been harvesting since Aug. 24, and it looks like a bad year. He expects his crops of cotton and corn to be about half as big as they've been the past few years.

But things could have been a little bit better, he says, if a man from the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) hadn't told him to plow under more than an acre of his cotton.

Moorer said there were two reasons for this year's poor harvest. First, he said, J.A. Minter--who rents Moorer his farm land--wouldn't rent it to him until April, so he had to plant his crops a month late. Second, he said, a drought in late June killed many of the young plants.

But, he said, the reason he had to plow under an acre of his cotton isn't so clear.

In mid-April, Moorer said, a man told him that ASCS had given him a cotton allotment of about 14 acres. "He measured it off," said Moorer, "and told me where to put the stick."

About five or six weeks later, Moorer said, the man "came back and measured again." This time, he said, the man told him that he had planted too much and would have to plow up more than an acre.

The man said he had made a mistake measuring the first time. "It weren't no mistake on my part," said Moorer. "I planted right down to where he said."

Sam O'Hara, head of the Dallas County ASCS, said that if the measuring man makes a mistake, the farmer doesn't have to plow up the extra cotton. "If he has planted exactly within the stakes," O'Hara said, "then we stand by it."

But all over the Black Belt, Negro farmers have been plowing under some of their cotton for several years. This year is the second time for Will Homer. In 1964, he said, he had to plow under a quarter of an acre.

In Pleasant Hill, William Towns and other farmers in his community each had to bury 2 1/2 acres of their cotton.

In Sardis, W.B. Clarke said he has plowed under about three acres of cotton three or four times in the past ten years. His brother, March Clarke Jr., had to plow under more than an acre this spring.

A member of the Farmer's Aid Committee in Selma, Miss Shirley Mesher, said she is investigating several of these cases. She said she thought these mistakes victimized too many Negro farmers too often.

FARMERS FILE SUIT

WASHINGTON--Six Dallas County tenant farmers are suing the U.S. Department of Agriculture to get it to stop making crop susidy payments under the present system. The farmers say the payments are no longer doing what they were intended to do.

The payments are made to all farmers who voluntarily cut down on the number of acres of cotton they plant.

When the crop-subsidy law was passed, the farmers' suit says, a tenant farmer could get part of his payment at the time of planting, so he could finance his crop. With this money, a tenant farmer wouldn't have to buy supplies on credit at the plantation store.

But now, the suit says, under a U.S. Department of Agriculture regulation, a tenant farmer can be forced to turn his subsidy check over to the plantation owner as security for the rent.

The suit mentions the J.A. Minter plantation as one of the places where tenant farmers have had to turn their checks over to the plantation owner.

OOPS

YORK--"Yes, I love the Negro," said the Rev. W. H. Spears, Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, at a rally here last Friday. An aged Klansman looked up at Spears from underneath his drooping white hood. The 40 or 50 men, women, and children stirred a little.

"But I love him in his place," the Grand Dragon added.

Everybody's Talking About Schools

Greene County High Desegregates

BY JOHN SHORT

EUTAW -- "How fast does light travel?" asked a Greene County High School teacher. It was Percy Johnson's turn to answer. "One hundred eighty-six thousand miles per second," he said, and got it right.

It was just a normal school day --except that Percy Johnson was a Negro student in a formerly all-white school. He and seven other Negro students attended the first day of classes last week at the high school, as classroom desegregation came to Greene County.

Last year, attempts to integrate the high school were blocked. Marchers left after they were met on one side by members of the Ku Klux Klan, and on the other by Sheriff Bill Lee and the police. The only Negro admitted was given her own private classroom until she dropped out.

This year it was the county Board of Education that decided to desegregate the schools. In the spring, the board sent out a notice announcing the desegregation of the first grade and grades seven through 12. "Any student who will be entering one of these grades next year may choose to attend any school in the Greene County Public School System, regardless of the school's former racial designation," the notice said.

So on Monday, 80 Negroes showed up to register at Greene County High. Principal J.J. Schwerdt said the school had only enough room for two Negro students in each of six classes. Admission, he told the students, would be decided by how good their last year's grades were and how near they lived to the school.

On Tuesday, eight Negro students who had been accepted went to classes. Some others had been accepted, too, but they didn't make it to their first day.

For the eight, the half day of school was spent filling out forms, planning schedules, and getting textbooks.

How did it feel? "We were just like one of them," said Percy Johnson, who is in the ninth grade with his twin brother Jesse. "They didn't call us names or anything like that."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

PERCY AND JESSE JOHNSON

'Willing to Go Down Swinging'

SEN. BILL McCAIN

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- The anti - school - guidelines bill inched slowly but surely toward passage this week in the state Legislature. The Senate approved a newer and tougher version of Governor George C. Wallace's bill Wednesday, with the slightly surprising total of seven senators voting "No."

The Senate's version of the bill--which the House was expected to adopt --would make it impossible for local school boards to sign guideline compliance agreements, now or in the future.

The House passed a bill last week that would have thrown out all current compliance agreements, but allowed school boards to "re-comply" if they wanted to.

Senator Bill McCain of Tuscaloosa County--which could lose up to $900,000 under the Wallace bill--spoke out Tuesday against this feature of the bill. Under the Senate bill, said McCain, school boards can't comply with the 1966 desegregation guidelines even if they want to:

"You're not giving them but one thing to do--turn over their negotiating rights (with the federal government) to the governor's commission. . . .I don't think it's a good bill."

But Senator Bob Wilson of Walker County said he was "willing to go down swinging" in the fight against the guidelines. The purpose of the desegregation guidelines, said Wilson, is "making people kneel down, making 'em crawl, making 'em submit to the wishes of the federal bureaucracy. . . .

"No system has ever been socialized or communized without sacrificing efficiency and excellency."

The substitute bill was written by Senator Larry Dumas of Jefferson County, and strongly supported by Bob Gilchrist of Morgan County. Both senators -- particularly Gilchrist -- have opposed Wallace in the past, but Gilchrist explained:

"I've probably had more fights with Governor Wallace than any of the others. . . .When I think he's wrong, I'll oppose him. When I think he's right, I'll support him."

When the bill was finally passed, those voting against it included McCain, Neil Metcalf of Geneva County, L.D.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

Tuscaloosa City, County Boards Stand To Lose $900,000 in Aid

BY JOHN SHORT

TUSCALOOSA--The Tuscaloosa city and county school boards were looking forward to the start of school this fall. They had more than $900,000 of federal money to spend--and they had the projects to spend it on. But last week they decided to wait and see how Governor George C. Wallace's anti-guidelines bill turns out.

The county board of education postponed the opening of its schools a week --until Tuesday. Superintendent W.W. Eliot said the board wanted to see if Wallace's bill will make it illegal to comply with the federal government's desegregation guidelines.

"We are in compliance with the federal regulations," said Eliot, "and we hope our funds are not withheld." The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could take away more than $500,000 from the county schools if the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

Teachers Rehired, Marches End In Helicon School Agreement

BY ELLEN LAKE

HELICON--Mrs. Versie G. Merriweather arrived at the Crenshaw County Courthouse one morning last week, expecting a fight. She had come to a hearing to explain why she should be given back her teaching job at the Helicon School.

The hearing never took place. But before the morning of Aug. 25 was over, Mrs. Merriweather had been rehired. So had four of the other five teachers fired last spring after a six-month boycott by Helicon students. And B.Y. Farris, Helicon's unpopular principal, had been replaced by Murray Foster, a teacher at the school.

In addition, Crenshaw County Negro leaders were told that at least some of the 134 students who had applied to transfer to the white Highland Home School would be accepted. In return, they promised not to resume the dem-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

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Man Convicted of Assault, Battery After Being Shot by State Trooper

BY WAYNE HURDER

SELMA--State trooper W. E. Stewart stood in the door of the courtroom with a cigarette in his mouth, looking as if nothing in the world was happening.

Inside the Dallas County courtroom, the man Stewart was accused of trying to kill -- Jeffrey Henderson -- was being tried for resisting arrest and assault and battery.

If Henderson were found guilty of the two charges, that would probably give Stewart a legal excuse to use in his own case.

The trooper, seemingly relaxed, listened as Judge Hugh Mallory announced his verdict:

"Jeffrey Henderson, I find you guilty of assault and battery, and fine you $500 and costs and sentence you to six months hard labor for Dallas County.

"For resisting arrest, I fine you $100 and costs and sentence you to six months hard labor."

A white man--who had just been fined $5 for making an improper turn--listened as Judge Mallory told Henderson, "For making an improper turn, I fine you $10 and costs."

After the trial Aug. 25, Negroes began planning a march from Brown's Chapel to the county courthouse. It was scheduled for last Monday, but then was called off.

In court, Henderson said he was shot when he tried to ward off a blow from Stewart's flashlight.

The state trooper, however, testified that he shot Henderson after Henderson swung at him and knocked him down.

Henderson was shot July 23, after he and his girl-friend, Miss Dolores Smith, were stopped by the trooper on their way home from church.

As Henderson was walking back to the trooper's car, he said, he mumbled that he didn't see why he was getting a ticket.

Henderson testified that the trooper, hearing what he said, walked over and raised up his flashlight, as though he were going to hit him. Henderson said he lifted up his arm to protect himself.

"My throwing my hands up caught the lick," said Henderson, but the trooper "backed off and shot me."

Stewart testified that he told Henderson to get into the patrol car, but Henderson didn't and said he wasn't going to.

Then, the highway patrolman testified, Henderson suddenly started swinging. After Henderson knocked him down, Stewart said, he shot him.

When defense lawyer Bruce Boynton asked Stewart if he had been taught to defend himself without using a gun, the trooper said yes. But, he added, he had been unable to stop Henderson by hitting him with a flashlight.

Boynton is appealing the decision.

Boynton said he had been told that Stewart would also be tried Aug. 25, on the charge of assault with intent to kill. However, the judge sent the case to the grand jury without telling Boynton.

It will now be the grand jury's duty to decide whether there is enough evidence to put Stewart to trial.

Editorial Opinion

How's That Again?

Last week, a federal anti-poverty official in Atlanta, Ga., seemed to say that funds were withheld from 21 all-Negro Head Start programs because of discrimination against white people.

The official was Robert W. Saunders, regional civil rights coordinator for the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). An Atlanta newspaper quoted him as saying the 21 proposed summer Head Start programs had refused to recruit white students and teachers. Civil rights, he is supposed to have said, "is for the white man as well as the Negro." Much was made of the fact that Saunders--who was responsible for withholding the money--is a Negro and former NAACP official.

This story, naturally, was picked up by other newspapers all over the South. A Montgomery paper ran the story under the headline, "Head Start Funds Denied for Reverse Discrimination."

Some people thought the story sounded fishy. If it is true that Saunders found 21 cases of Negroes discriminating against whites, and none of whites discriminating against Negroes, then either things have changed around here in a heck of a hurry, or Saunders doesn't see too well. It also seemed that Saunders was falling into the old OEO habit of finding "reverse discrimination" in Negro programs that simply couldn't beg, borrow, or kidnap white participants.

Of course, no one can be sure that Saunders said what the papers said he said. He has been extremely hard to reach since the story appeared. That's the way the game is played in high government circles. Whenever an official puts his foot in his mouth, he goes off to the mountains to have it removed while other officials try to explain what he really meant.

So an OEO statement from Washington, issued by

GREENE COUNTY HIGH

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

It was much the same for Miss Patricia Ann Branch in the 11th grade. "I had a very nice home-room teacher," she said.

Greene County apparently decided to accept desegregation before a court ordered it. A Birmingham federal judge was about to reach a decision on a desegregation suit filed by the Rev. William Branch of Forkland. The judge was

Discussed at MFDP Convention

Black Power, Strike City

BY PATRICIA JAMES

SUNFLOWER CITY, Miss. -- More than 125 people showed up in this small town last Sunday for the state-wide Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) Convention.

Among the things discussed in the Baptist Grove Church were "black power," CDGM, political education, Strike City, support for MFDP, reorganization of the freedom party, welfare, and voter registration.

Johnnie Matthews from Humphrey County asked for a definition of black power. Ray Robinson Jr., a civil rights worker from Washington, replied, "Negroes spend too much time trying to define black power. Black power means as much as white power does. Every black man should know what black power means. Black power does not mean for you to go and kill white folks."

Up in Chicago, Robinson said, black power means "Burn, baby, burn." If that's what it means in Chicago, that's black power, he said.

"Seems to me like it's a new thing to these folks," said W. G. Middleton from Panola County. "We talk about black power, but power is in the ballot. Get people together and discuss politics."

"In the examination of the civil rights movement there are slogans we can use. This is the one that frightens the hell out of the white folks," said the Rev. Clifton Whitley, a Negro candidate for the U. S. Senate.

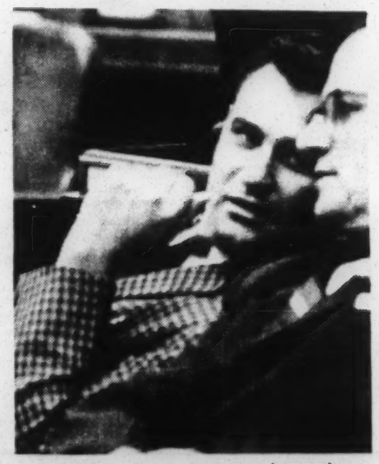
Robinson, who has been traveling all over the country to get money for the people in Strike City (near Greenville), said that since winter would be coming soon, he wanted to know what is going to be done to keep the people in the tents from freezing to death. He said there should be something organized to help these people.

Mrs. Annie Devine from Madison County said the people in Strike City and Tent City have their own organization. MFDP should try to deal with these folks' problems, said Mrs. Johnnie Mae Walker from Forrest County. A meeting was announced for this Saturday in Greenville, to determine what can be done to help the people in Strike City and Tent City.

Whitley was asked whether he himself thought he had a chance of winning the November election against Senator James O. Eastland and Congressman Prentiss Walker. "Eastland is not going to take any votes from me, with your help," Whitley said. "We have got to organize our people around people."

It was decided that the people would go out and campaign for Whitley.

Legislature



SEN. BOB GILCHRIST (LEFT)

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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Two Stories About Deal In Helicon School Dispute

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Of course, no one can be sure that Saunders said what the papers said he said. He has been extremely hard to reach since the story appeared. That's the way the game is played in high government circles. Whenever an official puts his foot in his mouth, he goes off to the mountains to have it removed while other officials try to explain what he really meant.

So an OEO statement from Washington, issued by Samuel F. Yette, special assistant for civil rights, said that "in no instance did Negroes oppose white participation in the program." This is at least as improbable as the first story. "The opposition," continued the statement, "came from school and other local officials who failed to meet civil rights criteria."

So which is it? Do only Negroes discriminate, or don't any Negroes discriminate? And did Saunders say what they said he said, or not? And if not, why doesn't he say that he didn't say what they said he said?

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I have several questions I have been wanting you to answer for quite some time now....

1. Why the almost total change in the Southern Courier's "staff"?

2. Why every once in a while the extra two pages?

3. Are the over-sized advertisement spaces and photo page to make up for not enough news articles?

4. Why won't you keep a permanent sports article instead of an occasional one?

I was delighted to see the WJLD "Top 14" and "Party Line." The "Editorial Opinion" is out of sight (I'm a teenager), but my favorite is (Jim) Peppler's brilliant photography. I'd rather study it than watch television.

Robert Fikes
Birmingham

(In answer to Mr. Fikes' questions:

(1. Many staff members from the North are being replaced by people from Alabama--this has always been the paper's goal. Besides, since the average salary for a staff member is about $30 a week, many people have had to leave for better-paying jobs.

(2. The paper has eight pages whenever people buy enough advertising space to pay for the additional cost involved. Hopefully, this will happen more often in the future.

(3. The size of the ads is determined by the advertisers who pay for them. The photo page is intended partly as a showcase for Peppler's photography. Every week, the Courier staff works on more stories than there is room for in the paper.

(4. We'd like to.--THE EDITOR)

THE SOUTHERN COUTIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

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Negro Cashiers In Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM -- Bruno's Food Stores, a local retail grocery chain, has hired two Negro cashiers at its store on Sixth Avenue South.

The women began work Saturday, two months after a meeting between the Rev. Edward Gardner of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and James Baldone, personnel manager for Bruno's.

The meeting took place last June, after 17-year-old Larry Coleman was dismissed from a Bruno's store.

Gardner said he told Baldone that Bruno's stores were "way overdue" in hiring Negroes. The only reason the Christian Movement wasn't already picketing Bruno's, said Gardner, was that the leaders wanted to talk to the personnel manager first.

"I went to the Sixth Avenue store before we met with Mr. Baldone," Gardner said, "and I watched the place for about 45 minutes. Just about all the customers were Negroes, and I saw one Negro man purchase $45 worth of groceries. They had nine cash registers going, and not a Negro on any of them."

Now there are two Negroes on the cash registers, but Gardner said that two clerks would not be enough to satisfy the Christian Movement.

Baldone was out of town this week, and no one at Bruno's could say whether more Negroes would be hired.

Legislature

SEN. BOB GILCHRIST (LEFT)

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Bentley of Blount County, George Hawkins of Etowah County, Ed Horton of Limestone County, Roscoe Roberts of Madison County, and A.C. Shelton of Calhoun County.

While the legislators were debating, federal court action was about to affect the school situation.

The Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La., ruled that Wilcox County must desegregate grades one to three and seven to nine by the time classes begin on Sept. 12.

And in Montgomery, the U.S. Justice Department asked a federal court to stop the state of Alabama from paying students' tuition at "racially segregated" private schools.

TUSCALOOSA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

bill doesn't let them comply.

To comply with the 1966 federal guidelines, the city and county schools had to have more than just token integration.

Last year, there were nine Negro students attending classes with whites in the county system; this year, there are supposed to be 99. In the city schools, the number of Negro students in integrated classes is to go from 67 last year to almost 300 this fall. The faculties of both systems are to be integrated.

If the anti-guidelines bill turns out as most people expect, Tuscaloosa schools could lose a lot more than just fededal money. "We spent last year in planning, purchasing, and training," said City School Superintendent H. D. Nelson. "We have new reading centers, mathematics centers, new library equipment, and 44 new staff members. The fruits of our labor last year were about to be harvested."

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Two Stories About Deal In Helicon School Dispute

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

onstrations that accompanied last year's boycott at Helicon School.

This agreement emerged from a small back room in the county courthouse. But there were differing versions about how the agreement was reached.

"We were waiting in the courtroom, when Alton Turner (attorney for the county Board of Education) called out Fred Gray (attorney for Mrs. Merriweather)," said James Kolb, chairman of the Crenshaw County Democratic Conference.

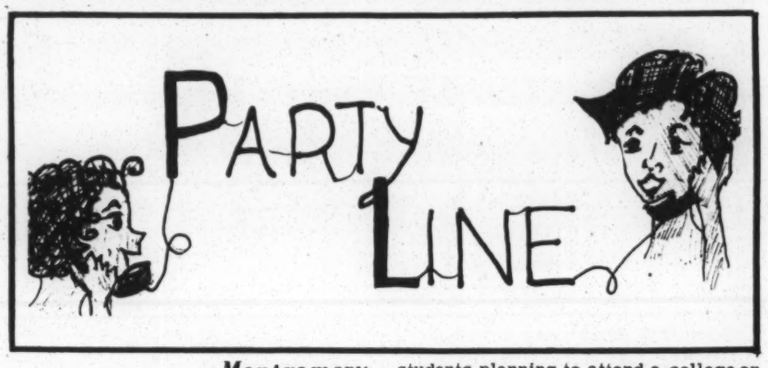
"Then Gray called out Mrs. Merriweather, Collins Harris, and me, and told us what Turner had proposed. He said that Mrs. Merriweather and other teachers would be rehired and some of the kids accepted at the all-white school, only if we agreed not to demonstrate around the schools."

But James H. Hollis Jr., a member of the board of education, had a different story. He said the board had already decided to rehire the teachers at a meeting held just before the hearing was scheduled.

"We are trying to have enough teachers so that if all the students come back to school, we'll have enough to teach them all," Hollis said. If not all the students return, he added, some of the rehired teachers will be fired again.

Hollis said that the only thing the Negro leaders got in exchange for their promise not to demonstrate was a list of the Negro students who had applied to go to Highland Home and the names of those who had been accepted. According to that list, received last Tuesday, nine of the 134 applicants will be allowed to transfer.

Nine cases of contempt of court stemming from the Helicon boycott and demonstrations were supposed to come to trial last Tuesday. But Mrs. Josephine Golden, register of the Crenshaw County Circuit Court, announced that the cases were being "indefinitely" delayed. She said a number of similar cases, scheduled for trial next week, will also be postponed indefinitely.



Montgomery

"I didn't have too much trouble," said Mrs. Josetta Maxine Brittain Matthews. "When I first entered the school, the only trouble was that when I entered the lunch room and sat down, some of the kids would get up and move." Mrs. Matthews was talking about her year at Auburn University. On Aug. 24, she became the first Negro to receive a degree from the 118-year-old school, when she was awarded a master's degree in education. Mrs. Matthews, a 23-year-old graduate of Indiana University, is the daughter of Joseph M. Brittain, a professor at Alabama State College in Montgomery.

Selma

SNCC workers Gloria Larry and Stuart House were married last Saturday at St. Andrews Episcopal Church. Afterwards, a reception was held at the Freedom House in Selma. The new Mrs. House is from Berkeley, California, and her husband is from Detroit, Michigan. They are planning to spend their honeymoon working to elect Negro candidates in Dallas County on Nov. 8.

Montgomery

Last Sunday, Day St. Baptist Church sponsored a "Back to School" program, designed to give helpful information to students planning to attend a college or trade school. Some of the topics discussed by a panel of students were "Getting Adjusted to School," "Financial Aid," "The Proper Dress," and "Religion." The panelists included Jacob Qualls and Miss Carolyn Gibson, Hampton Institute; C.P. Everett, Tuskegee Institute; Miss Rosa Moore, University of Alabama; Dock Rone, an entering freshman at University of Alabama; the Rev. Thomas Jordan, a graduate of Morehouse College; and Isaac Green of Morehouse. The moderator was Miss Patricia Guy, a student at Huntingdon College.

Troy

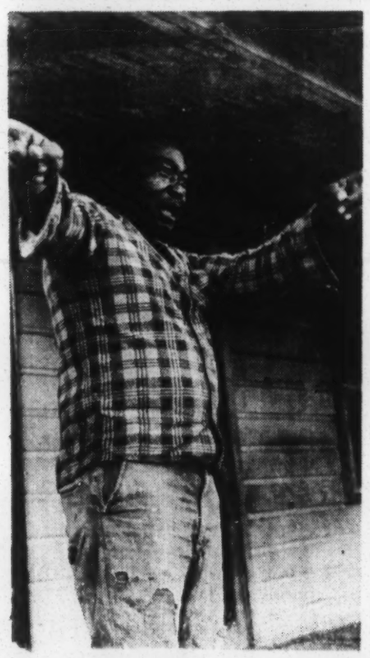
Grown-ups and children packed the First Baptist Church for the closing exercise of summer TICEP (Tuskegee Institute Community Education Program). Tuskegee Dean P.B. Phillips, head of TICEP, spoke on how to organize a local community action program.

Meridian, Miss.

Mrs. Polly Heidelberg, who has been and still is going to school in the STAR adult-education program, had this to say when she came home from school one day: "I ain't what I used to be. I ain't what I want to be. And thank God I ain't what I'm goin' to be."

Gees Bend Farmer Namon Pettway:

No Land and No Money



NAMON PETTWAY

BY JOHN SHORT

GEES BEND -- Namon Pettway supports his wife Beth and 12 children by selling the timber he grows on 48 acres of his land down by the Alabama River.

But the federal government is building a dam across the river at Millers Ferry, 15 miles downstream from Gees Bend. The dam will create a lake for fishing and swimming by flooding the land next to the river.

And Namon Pettway's 48 acres will be covered by the rising water.

Pettway said he would be left without land -- and without money. "A man came around and offered me a small price for this land," he said. "I didn't take the first small price. But when someone came around the second time, I gave in. I figured the government would take it, anyway."

Pettway said he sold his land to the government for about $65 an acre--less than he had paid for it many years ago. After he got the money, he said, he had to give it right back again. It was just enough to pay his debt to the government, which had sold him the land in the first place.

Pettway said he bought the land about 14 years ago, when Gees Bend was part of a federal project. He was given 40 years to pay, and has been paying more than $100 every year since then.

How will Pettway support his big family when the water rises? "I don't know," he said. "I wish I did know.

"I might have to move. The white man advised me to move, because I won't have any land."

Pettway has another problem, too. For the last few years he's had a disease that he can't name, but only describe. He said that every couple of weeks, he has an attack of pains in his stomach and the back of his head. Then he passes out for 24 hours or longer.

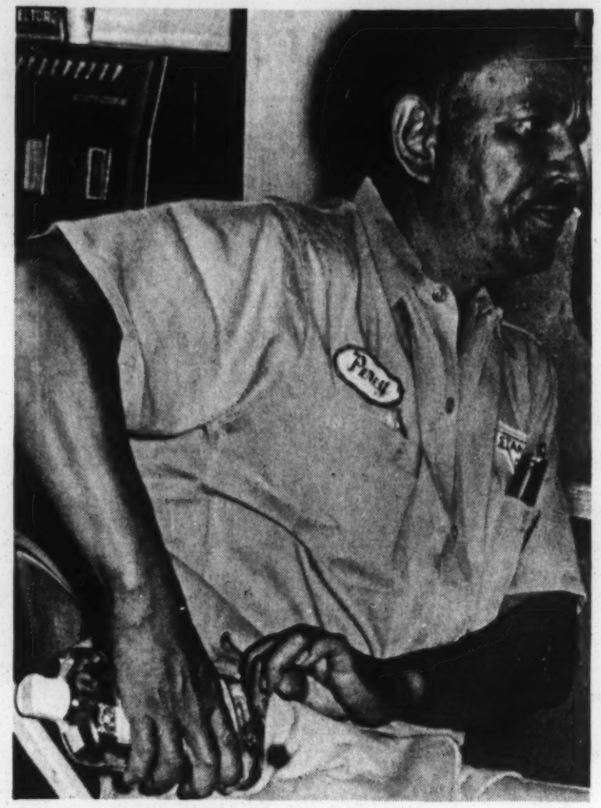
Because of his illness, he can't work his 48 acres of timber or the field of green vegetables he grows next to his house. His boys (ages 17, 16, 14, and 12) work the land.

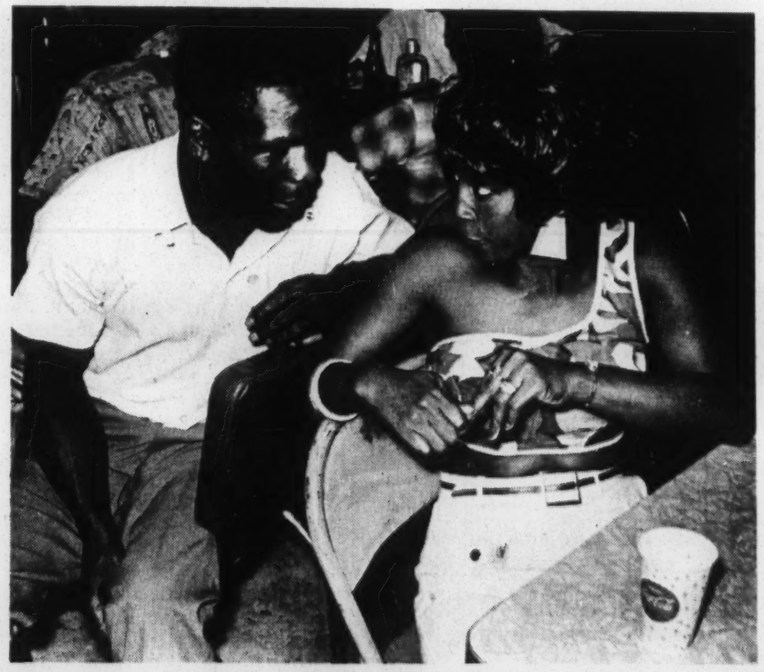
Hospitals in Birmingham and Montgomery have told Pettway that he can't be cured. And his doctor bills from his visits there are more than he can afford to pay--especially now.

The government promises that the dam--now halfway across the river--will bring business and industry into the area. "But the fact of this business is that this is a farming area," said Gees Bend store owner Roman Pettway.

The people of Gees Bend, an all-Negro community, didn't get any reaction when they tried to stop the dam.

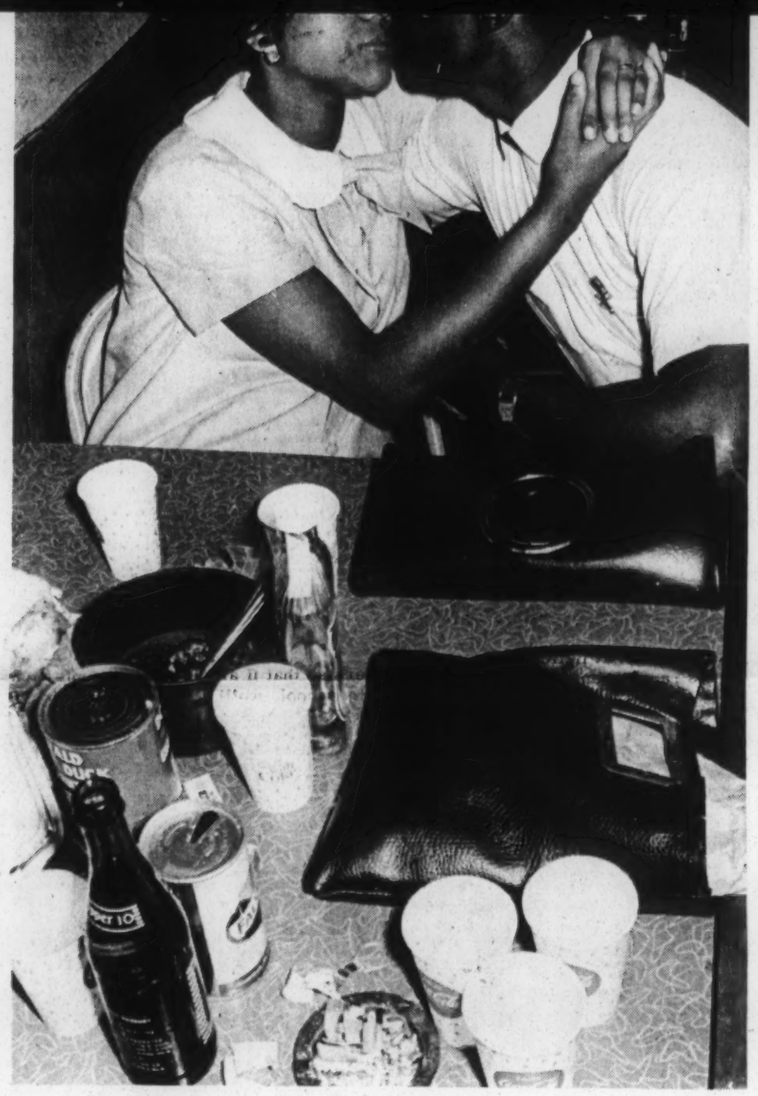
Said Daniel Nicholson, a farmer who will lose more than half his land: "You try to take some white man's place, and you'll have trouble. But in here, you won't have no trouble."





It Could Be Dick's Place, Harry's Place,

Or Frank's Place, but It's...



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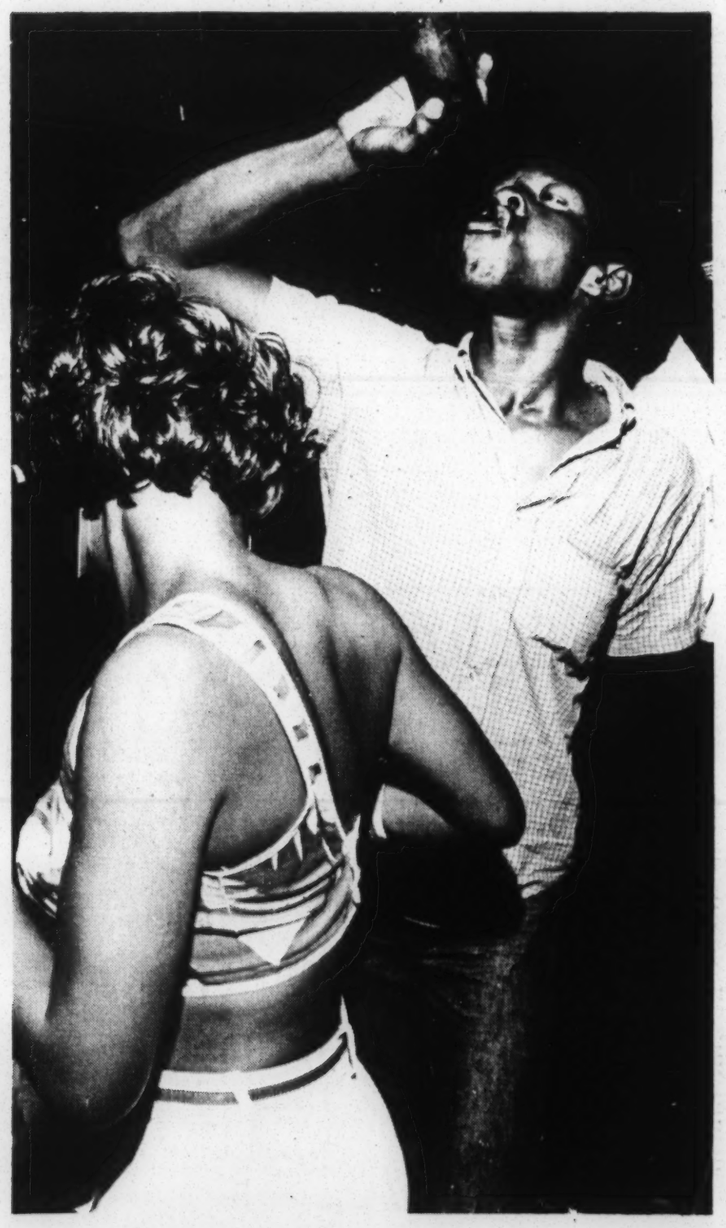
TOM'S PLACE

Photographs by Jim Peppler



'Something to Be Really Proud Of'

FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

BY WAYNE HURDER

ALBERTA -- Negroes in Dallas and Wilcox counties have found a way to end their dependence on the local white man's money.

Negro women used to spend hours making quilts which they sold to white people for $5 or traded to them for rags. Now about 150 women are selling their quilts up North for $25 or $30 apiece.

What's doing it for them? The Freedom Quilting Bee, a co-operative started last February by the Rev. Francis X. Walter, an Episcopal minister.

Father Walter said he started the quilting bee because he thought the Negro women who made the quilts were being cheated: "I got interested in it because it made me mad that the people were being cheated of knowing that they were doing something bold, that this quilting was something to be really proud of."

It all began last January when Father Walter and a friend were in Possum Bend, doing some work for the U.S. Justice Department. They saw some quilts hanging on a line--and an old woman quilting on her front porch. They tried to talk to her, but when the two white men came up to her house, she ran back into the woods.

Father Walter--who now works with the Selma Interreligious Project--came back later with an SCLC worker and talked to the lady about her quilts. When she told him how little she got for making the quilts, Father Walter decided to do something about it.

In February he got $300 from the Jonathan Daniels Memorial Fund, and bought 30 quilts for $10 each--about twice what the people usually got.

With the help of three friends from Birmingham, he held an auction in New York City and sold all the quilts. One of them brought $70, and the others sold for $30 to $40. Another auction was held later in New York. Altogether at the two auctions, 125 quilts were sold for $3,200.

SEWING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF QUILTING

This was the beginning of the Freedom Quilting Bee. Anybody could become a member, simply by making a quilt and selling it to the co-op. The co-op, in turn, would sell the quilt in the North.

The quilting bee got a big boost back in June when Miss Lois Deslonde came up from New Orleans, La., to be technical assistant for the co-op. She was supported by a $300 grant from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Ga.

Her main job this summer, as she explained it, "was to get them conscious of good workmanship." She spent the summer holding workshops in 12 different communities, to tell the people how to make better quilts. She also worked at getting the people to run the

QUILTS ON DISPLAY AT FREEDOM QUILTING BEE FESTIVAL

Soon there will probably be two committees to figure out how much to pay for the quilts--one on the east side of the Alabama River, the other on the west side.

The first thing a committee looks for in judging the quality of the quilts is the sewing. The stitches must be fairly close together, and even. The corners of the pieces have to be sewn down, and there shouldn't be any stitching on the outside.

A quilt is really just two layers of cloth, with cotton or other filling in between. The first step in making a quilt is to pick out a design. The design is occasionally taken from a book, or it might be a design that has been handed down from mother to daughter. Sometimes people will take a portion of an old design and use it as the design for a whole new quilt.

The next thing to do is to get scraps of cloth and sew them together to make the top layer of the quilt.

To make the bottom of the quilt, old feed sacks are sewn together. The bot-

they feel free to design them any way they like.

Father Walter said the people in the quilting bee are very creative, because they have been able to make such unusual and bold designs with a limited amount of material.

A museum in New York thought enough of the designs to buy a couple for

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)

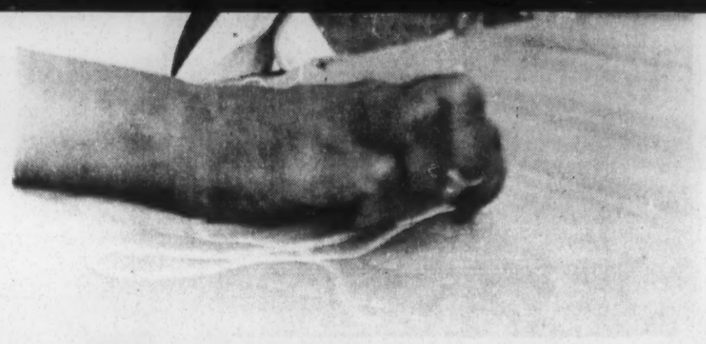
they were doing something bold, that this quilting was something to be really proud of."

It all began last January when Father Walter and a friend were in Possum Bend, doing some work for the U.S. Justice Department. They saw some quilts hanging on a line--and an old woman quilting on her front porch. They tried to talk to her, but when the two white men came up to her house, she ran back into the woods.

Father Walter--who now works with the Selma Interreligious Project--came back later with an SCLC worker and talked to the lady about her quilts. When she told him how little she got for making the quilts, Father Walter decided to do something about it.

In February he got $300 from the Jonathan Daniels Memorial Fund, and bought 30 quilts for $10 each--about twice what the people usually got.

With the help of three friends from Birmingham, he held an auction in New York City and sold all the quilts. One of them brought $70, and the others sold for $30 to $40. Another auction was held later in New York. Altogether at the two auctions, 125 quilts were sold for $3,200.



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Her main job this summer, as she explained it, "was to get them conscious of good workmanship." She spent the summer holding workshops in 12 different communities, to tell the people how to make better quilts. She also worked at getting the people to run the co-op themselves.

The co-op is run by a 12-man board of directors. A committee of members decides what quilts to buy, and how much to pay for each.

When the co-op first started, each person usually received $10 for a quilt. However, since some quilts could be sold for more than that, it was decided to pay some people $13.

A little later, the members of the co-op began giving a bonus to each person whose quilt sold for more than $20. However, last Friday the members decided that it wasn't fair to give bonuses --since the quilts that were sold at auctions usually brought more that those sold in stores, even though than might not be any better. So the co-op is going to start grading each quilt according to how well it is made, and the grade will determine the price.

WOMEN PONDER DECISION AT CO-OP MEETING

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The next thing to do is to get scraps of cloth and sew them together to make the top layer of the quilt.

To make the bottom of the quilt, old feed sacks are sewn together. The bottom layer is spread out, and cotton filling is laid on it evenly. It's important that the cotton be even, or the quilt will be lumpy. The cotton used for the filling usually comes from the maker's own field.

The final step is to put the bottom of the quilt on a frame. It is drawn tight, and the top is laid over it. Then the top and bottom are sewn together.

Usually four or five people will get together to visit and work on a guilt.

It normally takes one person a week to make a quilt, working two or three hours a day.

There are many co-ops across the country that try to sell quilts and other handicrafts. But the Freedom Quilting Bee's quilts are different.

Alabamians have a "more carefree interpretation of designs," said Miss Deslonde. Since a lot of the people don't read anything about quilts, she said, they feel free to design them any way they like.

Father Walter said the people in the quilting bee are very creative, because they have been able to make such unusual and bold designs with a limited amount of material.

A museum in New York thought enough of the designs to buy a couple for

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)

LOOKING OVER THE QUILTING BEE'S POTHOLDERS

Mrs. Bessie Munden Builds a Playground

BY WAYNE HURDER

CAMDEN--"The children played in the streets between passing cars," said Mrs. Bessie Munden. "They had no place to swim except for a mudhole. It had tin cans around it and mosquitoes breeding in it. That was a hazard, and I knew something had to be done about it."

And so in 1950, Mrs. Munden began working to get a playground for Negroes in Wilcox County.

The result of her efforts is the Bessie Munden Playground, just outside Camden. There kids can swim in a pool while a lifeguard looks on; they can swing, seesaw, or play football, baseball, or basketball. Events like the recent Freedom Quilting Bee festival are held at the playground.

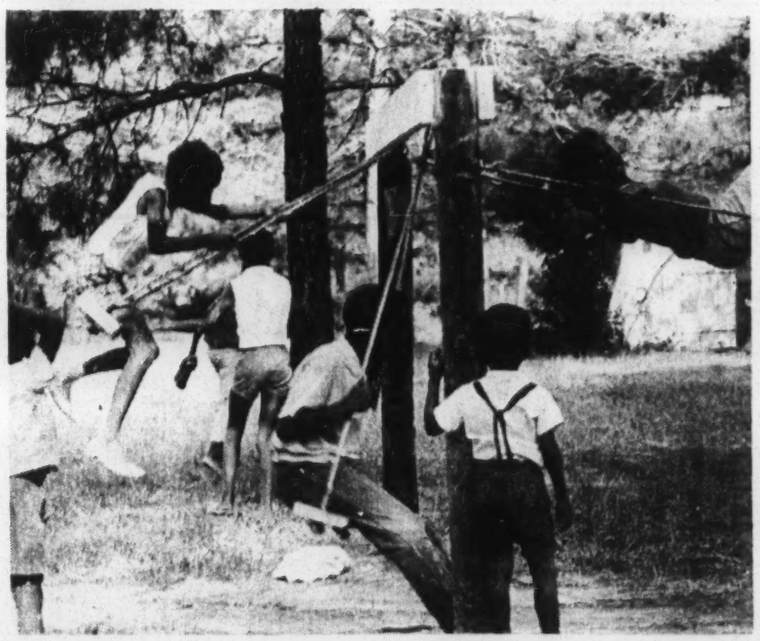
It was 11 years ago that Mrs. Munden convinced the 180 Negro teachers in the county to put up $20 each for land. With that money, they bought 20 acres for the playground.

That first year, they received $1,200 from the Wilcox County commissioners. Since then they have received $1,000 every year except this year from the United Fund. (This year there was no United Fund drive in the area. However, to make up for the lost income, the county commissioners gave $900 for the playground.)

By 1959, there was enough money to build a pool and hire a life guard. A cement roller-skating area was installed, along with a large covered area for kids to play under in case of rain.

The playground is owned by the Wilcox County Teachers Association, an organization of Negro school teachers. Every year, the members make a contribution to the playground.

A board of directors--made up of school principals and local citizens--run the playground. Mrs. Munden is chairman of the board of directors.



MRS. BESSIE MUNDEN

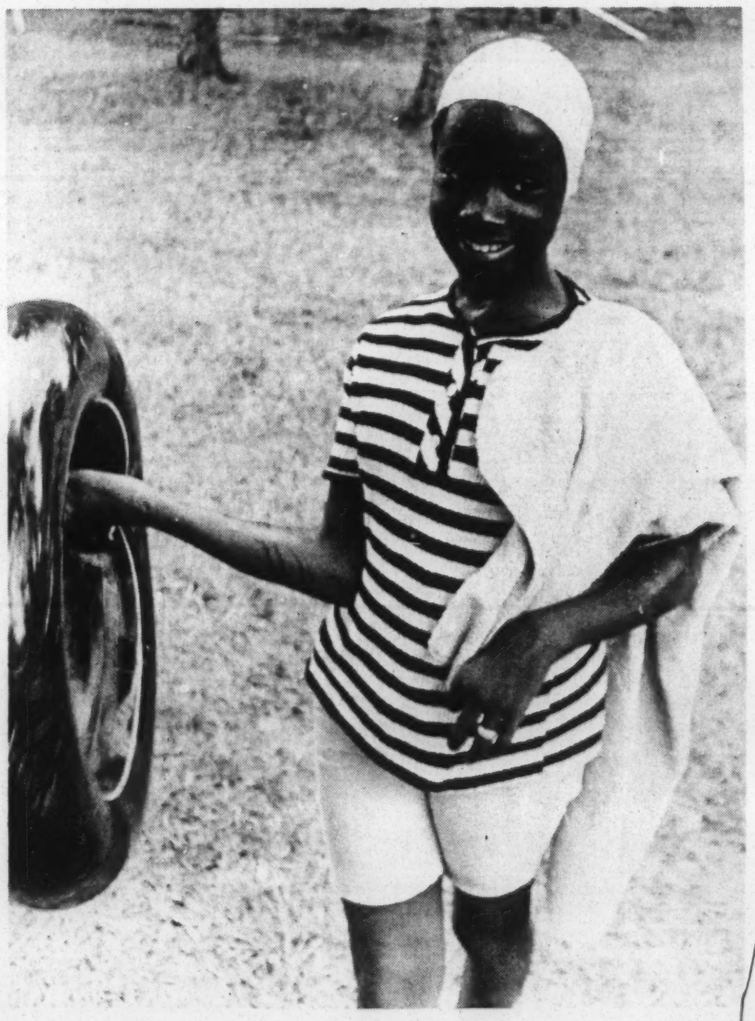
In all, the teachers have invested $25,000 in the 20 acres, and they have no debts. For their next project, they are planning to put up a club-house and light the ball fields.

Albert Gordon, who said he lost his teaching position because of civil rights activity, is the director of the playground. He keeps it open every day of the week except Friday.

Kids from all over the county come to the playground. The Negro teachers have even been allowed to use the county's buses to haul school-children to the park on special play days.

A former county school superintendent, W. J. Jones, has helped the playground a lot, said Mrs. Munden. He has given the teachers money, attended their meetings, allowed them to use the buses, and donated baseball equipment to the park, she said.

Mrs. Munden is now a teacher-counselor at Camden Academy. For 28 years before that, she was a supervisor of instruction at county schools.



'MOST OF THEM WERE PRETTY NICE KIDS'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

I'd raise my hand. If the teacher called on me, they were always quiet and let me talk.

The first few days at Phillips, it was kind of terrible--calling you nigger and saying nasty things to you and you haven't done anything. It kind of makes you feel bad.

It used to be you couldn't step out in the hall without hearing "Nigger!" They'd jump back, say "Here come the nigger. Get out the way." Of course, we'd just laugh.

The boys were mostly the troublemakers. Like maybe in the trig class, there were a lot of boys there, they'd be saying nigger, or gorilla, or Godzilla.

In one class, this boy was giving a report on part of Africa. He had this picture of an African with horns sticking out of his head. He said something like, "This is another of our nigger friends."

I just sat there. I have my feelings easily hurt, and it kind of makes you feel down inside. It kind of makes you want to cry, but then you don't want to cry.

I laughed it off. I don't know if they really meant anything or not. It was just some of the boys who liked to be mischievous--you know, the ones who wanted to be show-offs. I've met the very same ones afterwards, and they were shy, and like saying "I'm sorry" on their faces.

They would call you things, but they would never come out and hit you--except for once. It was 3 o'clock, and school had turned out. We were going down the stairs, and I heard one say, "Kick that nigger down the stairs!" This boy kicked me. I turned and hit him with my umbrella.

I could tell he really didn't want to fight. He could really have hurt me, if he wanted to. I don't believe he would have done anything, if there hadn't been a crowd there yelling, "Get that nigger! Get that nigger!"

Of course, there were some who were friendly right from the beginning--would throw a smile the first day I was there.

I had two friends in my class. These two would talk to me no matter where--lunch room, class room. They may have been called nigger lovers by some of the others. I guess they just didn't care. One had a high average, and she was friendly with everyone. The other was the same.

After a while, some of the very ones who were calling me nigger would smile and pass words with me in the lunch room. They probably saw their friends doing it. They just followed the crowd.

The majority of them were like that. Maybe I'd be walking down the hall and a girl would smile or say hello, but if she was with her friends, and they'd say nigger, well, she just wouldn't say anything.

They had to stick with their friends. We were something new to them. They knew they wouldn't come in touch with us as much as with their other friends. They were just sticking with the crowd. I'd do the same.

I think most of them were pretty nice kids. When I graduated, there was actually a girl who told me, "Congratulations." It felt pretty good behind that year of nigger, nigger, nigger.

Don't Miss

The Indianapolis

CLOWNS

See world-famous pitcher Leroy Satchel Paige, the "hurling phenomenon"! Monday, Sept. 5, at 7:30 p.m., Patterson Field, Montgomery.

HELP-HELP-HELP

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Jesus is truly giving victory to many, many people's problems. SUCCESS CAN BE YOURS. See or write me today. I have a special message for every troubled soul. Last week many, many people were helped by my special selected Bible reading, to be read on Special Days. If you want to be delivered quickly, Send $1.00 and stamped, self-addressed envelope to:

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Macon, Ga., Phone SH. 5-6475

You will get these

Suzy's Story--'We're All Bums'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

came up with "Return of the Native." They wanted to put her name by it.

I don't know what I said, but somebody asked me if I was a Communist. I said, "If believing in freedom is to be a Communist, I guess I am."

Saying things like that would make them know that if she got a nice note, I wrote it.

They finally did use "Return of the Native." I think they put one of the other Negroes' names by it. They used her name for something else.

People laughed at her a lot. There was one class where everybody was giving reports on different countries and continents. One boy was talking about Africa. He had it all planned. He showed these pictures and started talking about how all the people there were savages.

She was right in front of him. She didn't do anything. Everybody else was laughing and laughing. I didn't laugh, but I didn't say anything, either.

She came to school sometimes wearing heels. No one wore heels to school. Anyone who did that was really out of it. People kept saying Martin Luther King must have bought them for her.

One time she got into a fight with a boy on the staircase. She whapped him over the head with her umbrella, and he hit her in the nose. A teacher came out and tried to stop it. The teacher had a bad heart, and he had a heart attack. I heard they had to call an ambulance.

I knew it was a boy named Ronnie who hit her, and I knew a boy named Ronnie. I liked him. I thought he was a nice boy. One of my friends told me he was the boy who had done that.

I was shocked. I thought, "He's always been a gentleman around me. How could he do that to her?" I don't think he could tell I'd changed my feelings about him, but I didn't go out of my way to be friendly with him after that.

Anyway, it was funny when she came to school the next day and her nose was all swollen up. We laughed for hours about that.

I know it was cruel and raunchy. But it was funny, and I laughed.

You probably think everyone there was just awful. They didn't think they were. They thought they were doing the right thing. Their parents had drummed it into them, and their parents' parents had drummed it into them.

They thought she didn't belong there, and they were trying to get her out. They'd throw spitballs at her anytime the teacher turned her back. They showed how they felt. I'm just as rotten and crummy as they are. I just sat back and didn't do anything.

We're all bums. We're good kids, but we're bums. Anybody that would hate somebody and be vicious to somebody just because of her color is a bum.

Maybe if I had talked to her, it would have started something. Someone else might have talked to her, then someone else might have. It might have been a whole new day for Phillips. But I didn't want to be the one to start anything, even if it was something good. I just didn't want to start something.

Anything could have happened. Somebody might have burned a cross on my lawn, or thrown a dead cat on my window. Maybe somebody would call me a name, and I thought that would have been terrible. There would have been little whispers: "Oh, just wait till I tell you what happened this morning. . ."

Once I thought that after graduation I'd hug her and hug her and say, "You made it! You made it!" But I was so happy to graduate myself, I just threw my cap in the air and took off.

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"This is Norman Lumpkin, News Editor and Reporter. For one newscast I write, call on the telephone, and talk with all sorts of people for YOU. Hear news from Central Alabama as well as from Viet Nam on WRMA, 950 in Montgomery, Ala." Norman Lumpkin reports eight times daily, every hour on the half-hour. Do you have news? Call 264-6440 and ask for Norman Lumpkin.

WANT ADS

SKY DIVERS--Four sport parachutes for sale, never been used, perfect condition. Various colors. Call 595-2343 in Birmingham, afternoons and evenings.

ALL FARMERS--If you have been told by ASCS to plow up part of your allotment because it was measured wrong, come by 31 1/2 Franklin Str., Selma, or call Shirley Mesher at 872-3427 in Selma before they plow it up. If you paid to get land measured by ASCS surveyors and never had it measured, you should also come by or call.

WORK IN NEW YORK--Do you wish self-employment? Suitable couple, with or without family, wanted to re-locate in New York State, and take care of retarded children who are wards of the state. 13-room house available for rent. For more information, write to Mrs. M.B. Olatunji, P.O. Box 358, Millerton, N.Y.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

WE NEED tables, chairs, and books for the new Community Center on Ardmore Highway in Indian Creek. Help the Community Center by giving items which you don't need. Call Arthur

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P.R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

CLOTHES WANTED--The La Ritz Social & Savings Club is sponsoring a charity drive for the Boys Town. The club is soliciting clothing and linen. If you want to contribute to the drive, call Mrs. Nellie Hardy, at 263-0948 in Montgomery, or drop off your donation at her house, 628 Colony St.

TWIN COVERLETS WANTED -- Wanted, two hand-made quilted coverlets for a pair of twin beds, suitable for a girl's room. Write to Mrs. M. B. Olatunji, P.O. Box 358, Millerton, N.Y.

FANTASTIC BARGAINS--For sale: 8mm movie camera, $49.95; 100% human hair wigs, any color, $49.95; watch with jet plane watch hand, $29.95; beautiful ladies' watches, $29.95; camera, $14.95; ladies' pressing oil with Bergamot, $1.50; sage & sulphur hair & scalp conditioner, $1.75. Write: United World Traders, P.O. Box 872, Mobile, Ala. If you are in business, you can get these things wholesale.

$500--One family sold $500 worth this month. You could, too! No age limit. Call 263-2479 in Montgomery after 6 p.m. Sell near home, among friends.

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Tickets now on sale at:

Dean's Drug Store
Soul City Record Shop

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FOOTBALL

Carver vs. St. Jude

HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY

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DISTRICT MEETINGS

ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
FOUNDED 1882
SERVICE-LEADERSHIP
PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

October

Oct. 1--District II, 9 a.m., West Highland High School, Fayette, Ala.
Oct. 8--District I, Lakeside High School, Decatur
Oct. 15--District VII, time and place to be announced
Oct. 22--District IX, time and place to be announced

November

Nov. 12--District VII, Smith High School, Ozark
Nov. 19--District III, time and place to be announced

December

Dec. 3--District III, time and placed to be announced

January, 1967

Jan. 14--District IX, time and place to be announced
Jan. 21--District VIII, time and place to be announced
Jan. 25--District VII, 6:30 p.m., place to be announced

April, 1967

April 5--District VII, 7:30 p.m., place to be announced
April 15--District III, time and place to be announced

Alabama State Teachers Association

THINK AND GRIN

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

Paul: "That cake you're eating looks good."
Saul: "It is good."
Paul: "It makes my mouth water."
Saul: "To show you what a good guy I am, here's a blotter."

Baby Ear of Corn: "Mama, where did I come from?"
Mama Ear of Corn: "Hush, darling, the stalk brought you."

Hughie: "Hey! Why are you wearing my raincoat?"
Louie: "You wouldn't want your best suit to get wet, would you?"

Con: "My brother is connected with the police department."
Dick: "Police department? How?"
Con: "By a pair of handcuffs."

Freshman: "But I don't think I deserve a zero on this paper."
Professor: "Neither do I, but it's the lowest mark I can give you."

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Mrs. Isaac Dickson

of the First C ME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my

Southern Courier Subscription Drive

CHURCH GROUPS! CLUBS! ORGANIZATIONS! Would you like to make money, too? Are you having a fund drive, or is there something you would like to buy?

Have a subscription drive for The Southern Courier, and join the many other groups who are raising money this way. Sell subscriptions to your friends

Busted Nose

THOMASVILLE--Saturday in Thomasville continues to be the roughest time of the week.

Two Saturdays ago, a Negro girl got slammed by a door, and a white man was punched in the teeth. Last Saturday, said Andrew Leslie, president of the Thomasville Movement for Dynamic Action, Eddie Lee Jones "got his nose busted."

Jones said he and two other Negroes bought Cokes at the front window of the Dairy Queen on Highway 43. Then, said Jones, one of four white men nearby said, "You niggers won't come up front to get served any more."

At that, said Jones, he and his friends went back toward the front window, and some of the white men pulled out knives. Jones said he was hit with the closed knives, and "I went out." When he came to, his nose was smashed and bloody.

Jones said he signed a warrant charging three of the white men with assault and battery.

This was "the first incident" at the Dairy Queen, said Leslie. "We've been going there a good while to get service."

Old School Annex to Come Down After PTA Complaint in Mobile

MOBILE--Students at all-Negro Williamson High School are scheduled to get a new wing on their school this year. Parents in the Williamson PTA say the threat of a boycott--or of stepped-up school integration--produced this action.

For years, Williamson students have been using a wooden annex, built during World War II. Each year, it has fallen apart a little more. Now its roof leaks, the toilets are broken, and there are holes in the walls.

"It's an unsanitary fire trap," said Earnest L. Freeman Jr., vice-president of the Williamson PTA. The Mobile Fire Department condemned the building last year.

The school board has planned for eight years to tear down the annex, and replace it with a new wing for the high school.

Cranford H. Burns, superintendent

of Mobile County schools, said the old wooden annex "is embarassing." But, he said, the annex had not been replaced because there had been other, more pressing needs in the school system.

Last June, the school board promised to start work on the new wing during the summer. "But in August," said Mrs. Carrie Thomas, head of the Williamson PTA, "they were just patching it up again. When we saw those patches, we knew we were not going to let our kids go into that school again."

A committee from the PTA told the school board last week that if the annex wasn't torn down, they would either boycott the school or transfer their children to "some of the high schools in their immediate area where these conditions do not exist."

Many of the 1,200 students at Williamson High are now bussed down Dauphin Island Parkway past two new white high schools, B. C. Rain and Maryvale.

But, said one Williamson parent, "our threats paid off."

The wooden annex is being torn down almost immediately. And the school board has promised to start the new wing in December or January. Meanwhile, Williamson students will use ten modern portable classrooms.

"We've got to stop asking and start demanding our educational rights from the school board," said a PTA member. "That's the only way we're going to get things done."

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6. WORKIN' IN THE COALMINES-- Lee Dorsey (Amy)
7. POVERTY-- Bobby Bland (Duke)
8. HOW SWEET IT IS-- Jr. Walker (Soul)
9. I GOT TO LOVE SOMEBODY'S BABY--Johnny Taylor (Stax)
10. I BELIEVE I'M GONNA MAKE IT--Joe Tex (Dial)
11. NOTHING IN THE WORLD CAN HURT ME--Buddy Ace (Duke)
12. OPEN THE DOOR TO YOUR HEART--D. Banks (Revilot)
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FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

exhibit, and one of the biggest furniture stores in New York bought three to put in its show windows.

Besides making quilts, the co-op also sells pottery and baskets. The pottery is made by a white man in Chilton County. Four other men in the co-op make white oak baskets. There aren't many people in the area who can make baskers, because it is hard to get the wood. Few of the people have timber on their own land, so they have to ask white people for it.

Miss Deslonde had to leave last Sunday to go back to New Orleans. Now that she is gone, the co-op is looking for a person who knows something about handicrafts and business, to be the manager.

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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held on Monday, Sept. 5, in St. Paul AME Church, 300 Fourth Court N., the Rev. S. M. Davis, pastor. Guest speaker will be the Rev. Prince Jenkins.

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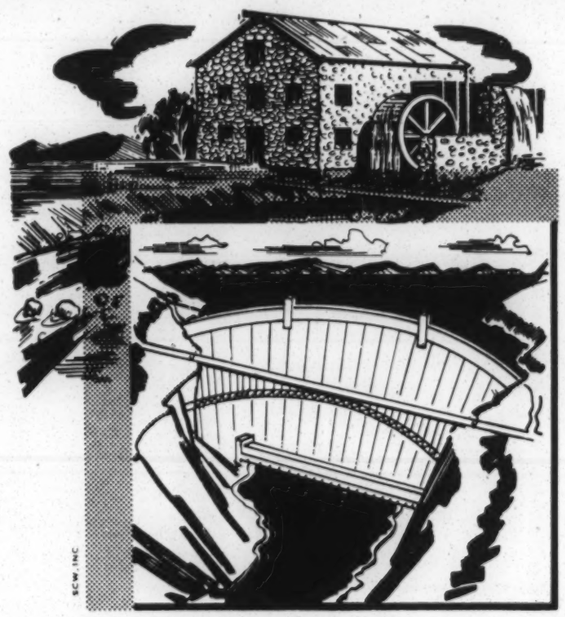

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VOL. II, NO. 39 WEEKEND EDITION: SEPTEMBER 24-25, 1966 TEN CENTS

Lawyer, Judge Fight It Out in Court

ALTON TURNER

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--After a federal court ordered Crenshaw County's white schools to admit 202 Negroes, State Representative Alton Turner said on television and in the newspapers that the court had [illegible] morally unfit stud[illegible]

Judge Frank M[illegible] the Crenshaw sch[illegible] confrontation betw[illegible] Monday.

Turner said tha[illegible] tient in a mental h[illegible] mental incompetence and mo[illegible] unfitness of this student, 17-year-old Joe Louis Dean, by listing the charges (including drunkenness and fighting in public) that had been made against the boy.

Dean was a witness at the hearing. He said he was committed to a mental hospital about a month ago, and was discharged two weeks ago. Johnson asked Dean if the doctors had discharged him for good. "Yes," Dean replied.

"Was the question of mental incompetence raised before he (Dean) asked to transfer?" Judge Johnson asked Turner. "No, sir," Turner admitted. "Why?" asked the judge. "It was not known," answered Turner. Judge Johnson said no mentally incompetent student should be allowed to attend any school, Negro or white.

Johnson repeatedly reminded Turner that the purpose of the hearing was to prove that morally unfit and mentally in[illegible] students were ordered into white schools. He [illegible]rner many times, "Was the question raised when [illegible] at the Negro school?" or "Why is it being raised [illegible]

[illegible] said, "The errors were overlooked in the Negro [illegible]d community." Another time, he said the stu[illegible]ght be competent to attend a school in a communi[illegible]wer moral standards than those of Highland Home and the other predominantly-white schools in Crenshaw County."

Turner's first witness, former Helicon School principal B.Y. Farris, read to the court the number of days of school each student had missed during last year's boycott of Helicon. The numbers ranged from 88 to 120, out of a school year of 180 days.

"What has absenteeism got to do with moral unfitness or mental incompetence?" asked Judge Johnson.

At the end of the hearing, Johnson refused to hear any more of Turner's evidence. "There was no defense in this case," he said. "I won't hear any more of this."

"We didn't ask for this, sir," said Turner.

"You did it on television," replied the judge.

JUDGE JOHNSON

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Attorneys Challenge Miss. Case

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--The lawyers for 17 men accused of conspiracy in the deaths of James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman sounded like civil rights attorneys this week.

They told U.S. District Judge Harold Cox last Tuesday that the charges against their clients were no good, because the grand jury that indicted the men did not include enough Negroes or women.

Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Deputy Cecil Price, and the 15 other accused men had been scheduled to stand trial next Monday in federal court in Meridian. They are charged with conspiring against the rights of citizens, in connection with the deaths of the three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., in 1964.

As a result of Tuesday's hearing, however, the trial has been put off indefinitely.

Last week, the defense lawyers asked Judge Cox to consider 20 reasons for delaying or calling off the trial. At the hearing Tuesday, Cox took up the jury challenge first, because it was "the most serious thing we've got."

Lawyers for Negroes and civil rights workers have often argued that their clients couldn't get a fair trial from mostly-white juries.

But on Tuesday, the tables were turned. Defense lawyers from Meridian and Philadelphia--most of them known for anti-civil-rights views--showed that the jury lists contained a far lower percentage of Negroes, Indians, and females than the over-all population.

Therefore, they argued, the jury did not represent a good cross-section of the community.

And U. S. Assistant Attorney General John Doar--the government's top civil rights lawyer--tried to show that the South Mississippi district court did

'We Need That Free Food,' Says Discouraged Leader in Bullock

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--"It looks like it's been a long hard fight for nothing," said H. O. Williams. "We aren't going to get any surplus food into this county until we have some new county commissioners."

"They don't want it at all," Williams said about the present commissioners and the Union Springs City Council members. "They want the food stamp plan instead."

The Bullock County Improvement Association (BCIA), a Negro group, has spent the last month trying to persuade the county commissioners and the city council to split the cost of distributing free surplus food. Williams said he and the other BCIA leaders haven't gotten anywhere.

But R.E.L. Cope Sr., attorney for the county commissioners, said things might not be as bad as the BCIA leaders think.

give you $20 worth of food stamps for every $10 you give them.

"But if you have fewer children or make more money, then they would give you less-$15 or $12 worth of stamps for $10 in cash. And you have to have some money to begin with. A man can't work for $2 a day and live off it."

Williams said a free-food program made more sense: "If somebody makes $10 a week and you give him $10 worth of food without taking any of his money, he's got $10 to spend for clothes."

Cope, the commissioners' attorney, admitted that some of the commissioners and city councilmen "have expressed a preference for the food stamp plan."

Williams said some councilmen put it more strongly than that when they met with four BCIA leaders Monday night. He quoted one councilman, Dr. O. Emfinger, as saying that the free food "wasn't fit for consumption and the stamp program was best because people obtained fresh food by trading at individual stores."

Williams said he thinks what Emfinger really meant was that a free food program would cut into local food sales. Emfinger refused to comment.

"They talked mighty nice," Williams said about the other city councilmen. "They said they wanted to do what's best for the majority. The commissioners said the same.

"Well, that's fine with me. Negroes are 71 per cent of the people in Bullock County. Our median income is $901 a year. We need that free food."

Judge Finds New Guideline For

Special Report:

A School Boycott In Arkansas

Discouraged Leader in Bullock

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

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But R.E.L. Cope Sr., attorney for the county commissioners, said things might not be as bad as the BCIA leaders think.

"I don't think they (the commissioners) have turned anything down," Cope claimed. "My understanding is they and the city council agreed to investigate the relative merits of the stamp program and the other, to determine which is best. I think they are going to adopt one of the two."

That sounded as though the officials were planning to meet the Negroes halfway. But Williams saw it a little differently.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture could start sending in surplus food as soon as the county set up a distribution system, he said. The food stamp plan might not begin for several years.

"The Department of Agriculture says they have more applications than money for the food stamp program," Williams said. "Only five counties in Alabama have it now. We'd have to go on a long waiting list."

He had another objection to food stamps. "It's done on a percentage," he explained. "Say you make $10 a week and have ten children. They might give you $20 worth of food stamps for every $10 you give them.

"But if you have fewer children or make more money, then they would give you less-$15 or $12 worth of stamps for $10 in cash. And you have to have some money to begin with. A man can't work for $2 a day and live off it."

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Judge Finds New Guideline For Greene School Desegregation

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM--A federal judge last week found an unusual way to let a few more Negro students into mostly-white Greene County High School. Judge H. H. Grooms told the school to accept Negro transfer applicants until the student-teacher ratio at Greene County High was the same as at all-Negro Carver High School.

Last spring, 240 Carver students asked to transfer to Greene County High. The board of education never told them whether or not they were accepted. After 87 Negro students appeared at Greene County High on the first day of school this fall, principal J. J. Schwerdt enrolled 12 of them. He told the rest that there wasn't any more room.

But Judge Grooms found that there was more room at Greene County High than there was at Carver. Last year, the classes at Carver had an average of 24 students, while the classes at Greene County High averaged only 19 students.

The judge's ruling resulted from a suit filed a year ago against officials of the Greene County school system. That suit, initiated by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund on behalf of five Negro students, charged the officials with maintaining a dual school system based on race.

The suit went to trial last May, but the trial court refused to take any action until the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals made a ruling on the questions involved. But when only 12 Negro students were admitted to Greene County High School this fall, the U.S. Justice Department asked for, and won, a temporary order against the Greene County school board.

The Justice Department charged the school officials with violating their own new desegregation plan. The plan provides for complete desegregation of the county school system by 1967-68.

In Grenada, Miss.

Mayor Won't Talk to Dr. King

GRENADA, Miss.--Grenada Mayor G.D. Quinn turned down an invitation from the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. last Tuesday. King had suggested a meeting between Grenada officials and Negro leaders to discuss 51 demands for an "open city."

Grenada officials originally agreed to the demands when Dr. King presented them at the time of the Meredith march last June. But since then, local Negroes contend, officials have failed to

All About Grenada-- Page 4

act on--or even talk about--the demands.

Speaking for the city council, Quinn told Dr. King that all Grenada citizens were treated equally under the law.

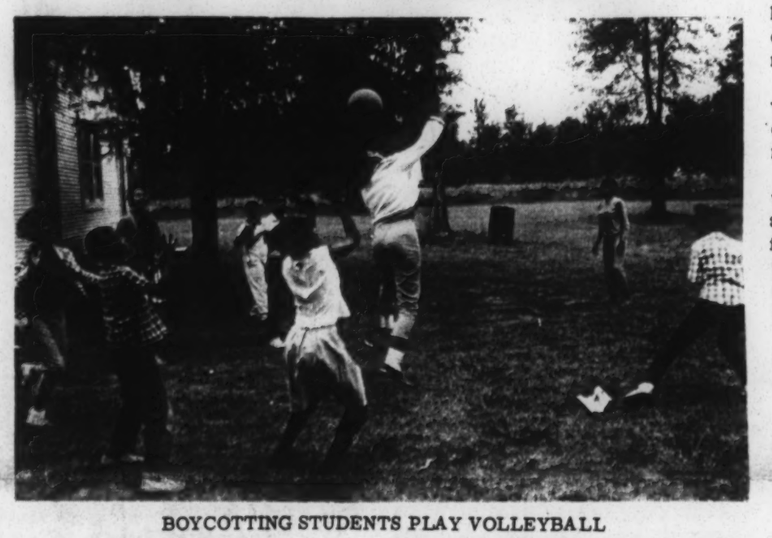
The names of the mayor and city councilmen were among 300 signatures on a statement of principles printed last Tuesday in the local paper, condemning both violence and boycotts.

The statement said, "We are unalterably opposed to the use of violence in the settlement of our problems, and we deplore and condemn the acts of violence which have been committed against citizens, both white and Negro."

Dr. King accompanied Negro students to previously all-white schools here Tuesday (at right). He told them to "learn, baby, learn."

(SCLC Photo by Bob Fitch)

A School Boycott In Arkansas



BOYCOTTING STUDENTS PLAY VOLLEYBALL

BY JIM PEPPLER

MARVELL, Ark.--The Negro community in Marvell School District #22--a consolidated district including two Arkansas counties, Phillips and Monroe--had been preparing all summer for the expected school integration this fall.

Mrs. Gertrude Jackson, of the Jones Ridge area outside of Marvell, said mass meetings were held and steps were taken so people would apply to send their children to all-white Marvell High when the freedom-of-choice forms came. (There are a little over 600 whites in Marvell High, while 1,300 of the district's 1,800 high-school-aged Negroes go to Tate High School. The rest go to smaller schools.) But the freedom-of-choice forms never came.

So when school opened on Aug. 29, about 1,500 of the 1,800 Negro students stayed out of school. For two weeks, the boycott was almost 100% effective. After two weeks, about 600-700 students returned to class. But 1,100 to 1,200 are still staying away.

Earlis Jackson, Mrs. Jackson's husband, explained the reasoning behind the boycott: "There is a federal law saying that you have to fill out a freedom-of-choice form to go back to school. We'd be breaking the law if we went back to those Negro schools without having filled out a freedom-of-choice form."

According to SNCC field worker Miss Myrtle Glasgow, Schools Superintendent C.G. Cowsert has said the government's 1966 desegregation requirements are "too strict" and "not suited to this district."

But Jackson said the districts all around Marvell #22 have desegregated with no problems. He charged that the farmers who control the Marvell school board are afraid that with the schools integrated, Negroes will learn to do more than pick cotton for a living.

While the superintendent's failure to send out the freedom-of-choice forms sparked the boycott, the sustaining force has apparently been the Negro community's strong dissatisfaction with the Negro schools.

One girl said that at Tate, "two people would sometimes have to sit in one seat. I know because I did. . . . The quality is s-o-o-o poor."

One of the demands of the boycotting parents has been the closing of six Negro "wing" schools--one-, two-, and three-room schools with one or two teachers for as many as eight grades. Since the start of the boycott, three of the wing schools have been closed.

People say the white community has applied pressure in an attempt to break the boycott. A mother of eight said her welfare worker told her she couldn't get her payments if her children didn't go back to school. The boycott leaders decided to fight back by expanding the boycott to include the county fair.

Said Mrs. Jackson: "Since they act so ugly and so nasty, and the fair is so important to them, we decided we could stay away."

MERIDIAN SCHOOLS

MERIDIAN, Miss. -- U. S. District Judge Harold Cox this week ordered two changes in Meridian's school-desegregation plan.

Cox said the city schools must make an "adequate start" toward teacher desegregation this year.

He also said the question of race could not keep any child from transferring to any school the child is otherwise eligible to attend. This means that Negro students in all grades--even those not desegregated under Meridian's freedom-of-choice plan--may transfer to white schools this year.

A Good Example

MONTGOMERY--Henry E. Garrett, who calls himself a "world-famous psychologist," toured the state last week, telling white Citizens Councils how to fight public-school desegregation. Last Saturday, he advised the Montgomery Citizens Council to organize, like another well-known group.

"Look what the NAACP has been able to do through organization," Garrett told about 50 council members here in the Whitley Hotel.

of the three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., in 1964.

As a result of Tuesday's hearing, however, the trial has been put off indefinitely.

Last week, the defense lawyers asked Judge Cox to consider 20 reasons for delaying or calling off the trial. At the hearing Tuesday, Cox took up the jury challenge first, because it was "the most serious thing we've got."

Lawyers for Negroes and civil rights workers have often argued that their clients couldn't get a fair trial from mostly-white juries.

But on Tuesday, the tables were turned. Defense lawyers from Meridian and Philadelphia--most of them known for anti-civil-rights views--showed that the jury lists contained a far lower percentage of Negroes, Indians, and females than the over-all population.

Therefore, they argued, the jury did not represent a good cross-section of the community.

And U. S. Assistant Attorney General John Doar--the government's top civil rights lawyer--tried to show that the South Mississippi district court did have enough Negroes on its jury.

He called on Miss L. E. Wharton, who was in charge of collecting names for the jury list until she retired in 1965.

Miss Wharton testified that Negroes had served on district court juries since 1933. After 1957, she said, "I was very interested in having colored people from every county" on the jury lists, "and I did have them."

The 23-member grand jury that indicted the 17 men included one Negro and two women. But there was testimony Tuesday that all was not right with the court's jury system at the time.

Albert C. Thomas, clerk of the court, said more than 50 per cent of the names on the jury list had to be removed earlier this year. Cox said the names were "objectionable under the Rabinowitz case."

(Miss Joni Rabinowitz, a civil rights worker in Albany Ga., had been charged with lying to a grand jury. But the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the charge because Negroes had been kept off the grand jury that indicted her.)

Cox said the Rabinowitz decision meant that "one name wrong in that box taints the whole box." And, he said, it wouldn't make any difference if a "perfectly fair" jury were picked, if the selection procedure had been wrong.

"The Rabinowitz case is not one I could subscribe to, but it is the law of the Fifth Circuit," said Judge Cox.

Cox asked the lawyers for both sides to give him final arguments on the jury challenge Oct. 5. If he doesn't throw out the case then, there are 19 other motions for dismissal. He probably won't start considering them until November.

MAN IN THE MIDDLE

ANNISTON--Bill Cassidy, principal of the Walter Wellborn High School near here, says school desegregation has put him "on the fence." He said he has been criticized by Negro parents on one hand, and by members of the National States Rights Party on the other.

Eight Negro students attended Wellborn last year, and ten are in class there this term.

But several Negro parents have complained that their children weren't given adequate protection when they went to Wellborn. Six Negro children who started out at Wellborn this fall have transferred back to all-Negro schools.

Valentino Lanier, a 14-year-old ninth-grader, said he went to Wellborn for two days. He said he was threatened, pushed around, hit, and spat on by some white boys.

"If they wouldn't push me or spit on me, I'd go back over there," he said after returning to his old school, Thankful Junior High. "I don't care about them calling me names."

Lanier's mother said school officials had told her they couldn't guarantee her son's safety.

Cassidy said he made sure that all of his students were safe. He said some Negro children really didn't want to go to an integrated school, but their parents made them. These children would say anything to get out, he said.

He mentioned the charge that he had called one Negro student "black boy." (At least two of the children who left Wellborn made the charge.) "Hell, that's not so," said Cassidy.

At the same time, Cassidy said, he has also been getting complaints from members of the violently anti-Negro National States Rights Party, who think there is too much integration. The party's local head, Kenneth Adams, has a son enrolled at Wellborn.

Negroes, said Cassidy, have "accused me of being in with (Adams') views. By the same token, I've been accused by his group of being in with them."

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Editorial Opinion

Brutality in Mobile

There was brutality in Grenada, Miss., last week, as mobs of white people terrorized little Negro children on their way to school. But even the events in Grenada hardly equaled the civilized savagery displayed in a Mobile courtroom last Tuesday.

After Edward Boykin Jr., a 25-year-old Negro man, pleaded guilty to five charges of robbery, a jury of nine white men and three Negroes sentenced him to die in the electric chair.

Earlier, the jurors were confused on one aspect of the law. They asked Judge Walter Gaillard if the sentences for each robbery would run end-to-end or all at the same time, and he told them the terms would run one after the other. But the jurors weren't taking any chances--they voted the death penalty for all five robberies.

Only a society of cave-men would pass a law providing the death penalty for a mere robbery. And only a group of blood-thirsty and inhuman jurors would invoke such a monstrous penalty for such a small crime.

The Boykin case--like the Thomas Coleman case in Lowndes County a week ago--also shows that putting Negroes on juries is no guarantee of justice. There were three Negroes out of 12 on Boykin's jury, and there were 11 Negroes out of 18 on the grand jury that unanimously refused to raise the charge against Coleman. A jury of hooded Klansmen, with the Imperial Wizard as foreman, couldn't have done any worse.

In U.S. Senate

Rights Bill Is Killed

WASHINGTON--The 1966 civil rights bill, already weakened by amendments in the U. S. House, was killed in the Senate last Monday.

For the second time in less than a week, the Senate refused to stop a filibuster against the bill. This meant the bill would never come to a vote. The vote on stopping the filibuster was 52 yes and 41 no, but that was 10 short of the two-thirds margin needed to limit debate.

Both Alabama senators, Lister Hill and John Sparkman, helped to kill the bill by voting no.

The most controversial part of the bill was the "open housing" section, designed to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of houses and apartments. This section would probably have had more effect in the North than in the South. The House had already amended the bill so it would affect only 40% of the nation's housing units.

Another section of the defeated bill would have ended discrimination in the selection of state and federal court juries. This was probably the most important section for the South.

After the final vote, Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield appealed for racial peace and reason to prevent "grim days for all of us." But civil rights leaders were not optimistic about the future.

The bill's defeat shows a "trend of the Congress as well as the administration to sell black Americans down the river of political expediency," said Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE.

Failure to pass the bill "can only serve to worsen an already serious racial crisis," said Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

According to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., "It surely heralds darker days for this social era of discontent."

U.S. Representatives Jim Martin of Alabama and Howard Callaway of Georgia, both Republican candidates for governor, have moved to keep alive the parts of the bill that they like.

They have co-sponsored a new bill aimed at killing the federal school desegregation guidelines. It says the government cannot withhold funds in order to overcome "racial imbalance" in public schools.

Negroes Lose ASCS in Bullock; Election To Be Re-Run in Macon

WILBON THOMAS (left) AND OTHER ASCS CANDIDATES

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--Six weeks ago, Bullock County civil rights leaders were busy working to elect Negro farmers to the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) community committees.

When white ASCS officials named dozens of Negro candidates in an apparent effort to split the vote of the county's Negro majority, the civil rights leaders backed just a few candidates from the long lists.

Then 29 Negro farmers from Black Belt counties went to Washington and told a federal court that they needed more time to explain the ASCS elections to people in Alabama. The court moved the election deadline back from mid-August to Sept. 15.

But when the ballots were counted this week, Negroes in Union Springs and Midway had failed to elect a single representative to the Bullock County ASCS community committees.

"It was close," said H. O. Williams, a Union Springs Negro leader who saw the votes counted. "I was the high man (of the Negroes). I got 84 votes." The highest number of votes for a white man in Union Springs was 101, Williams said, with the rest of the white candidates ahead of him and behind the winner.

"But there were 36 Negro ballots thrown out unopened because they were unsigned," Williams said. If even half of those ballots had been marked for him, he probably would have been elected to the ASCS committee.

Why weren't the ballots signed? "Misunderstanding or neglect," said Williams. "They didn't attend our meetings, and we didn't get to their houses."

"I can't fault nobody but the Negroes," he added. "This time, nobody else was to blame."

Wilbon Thomas, who organized the August ASCS election campaign in Midway, agreed. "We had some Negroes talk against it. After we did all we could do, we didn't push it.

"We had everything settin' pretty good in August. Ain't nobody talkin' about it now."

TUSKEGEE--The state ASCS committee has thrown out Macon County's election for community committeemen because the ballots weren't kept in a locked box. The election will be run over later this fall.

Bob Valder, associate director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations

The 'Ah Counter'

MERIDIAN, Miss.--Meridian's Negro leaders and businessmen have often been criticized for not getting together.

But for several weeks, a druggist, teachers, ministers, funeral directors, dentists, and restaurant owners have been getting together--once a week at 7 a.m., for breakfast and meetings of the Cloverleaf Toastmasters' Club.

Connie Moore, director of STAR, Inc., of Meridian (the adult literacy program), started the club to give businessmen, religious leaders and "up and coming politicians" some practice in speaking and discussion.

At the beginning of each meeting, members are called on to speak without notes for two minutes on some subject that's been in the news. Last month, a member had to outline what should be done in Meridian to prevent riots. Others were called on to discuss the airline strike, the opening of Meridian's first package liquor store, and Luci Johnson's wedding.

"This is to keep members on their toes, to get them to read the newspaper," said Moore. "You can't be a leader and not be an informed leader."

After these off-the-cuff discussions, two members give prepared speeches on subjects they select.

Each meeting follows a careful minute-by-minute schedule. A time-keeper stops speakers when they go beyond their time limits. A grammarian corrects mistakes in grammar, and the "ah counter" keeps count of the number of times each speaker says "ah."

There are Toastmasters' Clubs all

One School Bus Is Desegregated

EUFAULA--Barbour County desegregated a school bus this week and, as a result, three more Negro children enrolled in two mostly-white Eufaula City schools.

It happened after a hearing in federal court on a suit filed by the children's father, Elijah Franklin.

The suit charged that although the Eufaula City Schools had agreed to accept the children, they were forced to attend all-Negro schools because Barbour County had refused to give them transportation.

White children who live in the same part of the county as the Franklin chil-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

electric chair.

Earlier, the jurors were confused on one aspect of the law. They asked Judge Walter Gaillard if the sentences for each robbery would run end-to-end or all at the same time, and he told them the terms would run one after the other. But the jurors weren't taking any chances--they voted the death penalty for all five robberies.

Only a society of cave-men would pass a law providing the death penalty for a mere robbery. And only a group of blood-thirsty and inhuman jurors would invoke such a monstrous penalty for such a small crime.

The Boykin case--like the Thomas Coleman case in Lowndes County a week ago--also shows that putting Negroes on juries is no guarantee of justice. There were three Negroes out of 12 on Boykin's jury, and there were 11 Negroes out of 18 on the grand jury that unanimously refused to raise the charge against Coleman. A jury of hooded Klansmen, with the Imperial Wizard as foreman, couldn't have done any worse.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

Three white young men armed with crow-bars came up to the car in which we were parked at the Krystal hamburger restaurant located at Government near Michigan Ave. The white man said to us, "Don't you think it is time to git moving? This is not an integrated place. Have you called in your order yet?"

I told them that we had been served there before and I am fixing to place my order now. As I picked up the speaker and placed it to my ear to call in the order, one of the white men grabbed the phone. This caused the waitress to come outside to investigate what was wrong.

So the waitress said the manager would have to put a guard outside, because they are having enough trouble already....

A similar incident occurred at a drive-in on Highway 45 in Prichard. Three white men came up to some colored young men and told them, "Nigger, let me see you run." They replied, "Run? Run where? We aren't going to run." The white men, seeing they weren't afraid, went on and left them alone.

This may not be worth printing. I am only wanting to let you know how the white is sneaking around these establishments at night and meddling the Negroes.

I read what happened at the drug store in Prichard and nothing was done about it. But I am so glad that the poor fellow had nerve not to run, even though he was slapped and hit.

There is one who will give us Justice and He is never asleep--Our Lord And Saviour Jesus Christ.

May God bless you and your staff and here is hoping your paper will grow and grow.

(Name withheld)
Mobile

* * * *

To the Editor:

Mrs. Lavonia Nichols loves to read The Southern Courier. She loves it so well until if she has company or anybody at the house, she just opens up the paper and starts reading it anyway as soon as it arrives.

Mrs. Marcella Young
Philadelphia, Miss.

* * * *

To the Editor:

As a citizen of the United States, I think that I have a right to speak out on the way that Governor George C. Wallace is running things in this sovereign state.

Wallace may or may not know it, but if the federal government decides to cut off all federal aid to Alabama, he couldn't do a thing about it. Since the anti-guideline bill has been passed, there will be much confusion in the way the things are run in Alabama schools.

He must not realize that if he has to close the Negro schools because of no federal aid, there will be a large growth in juvenile delinquency among the children in Alabama. But someone must remind George that if he has to close Negro schools, he will be forced to close the so-called white schools also.

Many of the white people who voted for George (Oops! I mean Lurleen) didn't bother to look at the bad side of Wallace. They only see him as keeping the Negro down. But I hope before some of them die, they will see that Wallace is pulling more money out of their pockets than they are putting in....

I wish that I could probe the mind of Wallace. That man is pitiful. He thinks that he has a little country to himself. I wouldn't be surprised if in the next year we secede from the rest of the states. The name would read as follows:

"The United Counties of Alabama, George C. Wallace, President," or, "Wallace Country, George C. Wallace, Pres., Lurleen Wallace, Vice-Pres."

But all in all, Wallace is a human being. And we are all allowed some mistakes. Nevertheless, Wallace is making too many.

Wallace is kind of playing cards with President L. B. Johnson. But he better think before he plays the wrong card, because Johnson is holding four aces and one extra just in case. And that little measly $38,000,000 surplus he has for education won't last long and can't stand up to all the money the federal government is holding....

I know this one thing, that someone better give Wallace a long talk before he does something drastic and the state of Alabama falls like the empire of Rome.

This is my cry for Governor George Corley Wallace:

"WALLACE -- PLEASE, PLEASE WAKE UP."

(Name withheld)
Montgomery

* * * *

To the Editor:

I am writing to pay a long-overdue debt of gratitude for what The Southern Courier means to me. Among the numerous publications that I read, the Courier and Harry Golden's Carolina Israelite are my favorites, because each is doing a job forthrightly and honestly that no one else has had both the courage and ability to do.

All of your stories and editorials have been well done, and many have exerted a particular appeal for me. Among the many excellent works in the Courier, none has been more effective than Stephen E. Cotton's recent twin stories on Miss Lillie Mae Jones and the anonymous Miss Suzy. The story on Miss Suzy reveals quietly, but with tragic force, the terrible cost of racial prejudice to people who happen to be born with white skins.

Miss Lillie Mae Jones has obviously grown in stature as a result of her trials, but Miss Suzy, caught in a network of fear of not being accepted by her white peers, has denied her essential humanity and has lost the opportunity to win the friendship of a real person--of Lillie Mae Jones, who has what it takes to look real fear and danger straight in the eyes and say: "You shall not master me."

Keep up the good work of striving toward a society in which the timid Suzies (there are many of them, and let us admit that the potential is in most of us) will have an opportunity to be the free human beings that they really want to be.

Jerry Roden Jr.
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn

* * * *

To the Editor:

In a meeting of Sept. 13, our membership adopted the following position:

We are grateful that it did not occur in Pittsburgh, but we are shocked that inadequate preventive measures allowed children to be beaten in the South. Lead pipes, ax handles, and tire chains were used in the presence of police and government officials who "willfully refused" to protect the children. The children's "sin"?--attempting to attend school.

In the Grenada (Miss.) events of Sept. 12, a 12-year-old boy sustained a broken leg as he "ran a gauntlet of cursing whites for a full block, his face bleeding, his clothes torn (AP dispatch)."

How many years more, and in how many places, must we see this spectacle? We cannot escape the conclusion that the federal government is negligent in not preventing these acts of violence, since collusion of white local and state police with racist extremists is known.

Use of federal enforcement agents, such as marshals and troops, must supplant the present methods, or the dreary vicious cycle will continue indefinitely. Prevention of brutality is only possible through adequate federal presence.

We urge all organizations and individuals feeling as we do to express themselves promptly and vigorously.

Pittsburgh Chapter
Medical Committee for Human Rights
Pittsburgh, Pa.

teachers, ministers, [illegible] dentists, and restaurant owners have been getting together--once a week at 7 a.m., for breakfast and meetings of the Cloverleaf Toastmasters' Club.

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EUFAULA--Barbour County desegregated a school bus this week and, as a result, three more Negro children enrolled in two mostly-white Eufaula City schools.

It happened after a hearing in federal court on a suit filed by the children's father, Elijah Franklin.

The suit charged that although the Eufaula City Schools had agreed to accept the children, they were forced to attend all-Negro schools because Barbour County had refused to give them transportation.

White children who live in the same part of the county as the Franklin children "are enrolled in Eufaula High School...and are transported...by buses owned and operated by the defendant county board of education," the suit said.

It asked the court to order the Barbour County school board to permit Negro students to ride the same bus as the white children.

After testimony at the hearing last Friday, U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. agreed that Barbour County wasn't following its freedom-of-choice school desegregation plan. He told the county to provide transportation for the Franklin children.

Judge Johnson said the county did not have to provide bus service for another Negro youngster, Carlton Crawford Jr., who lives eight miles from the nearest school bus route. But he said the county eventually will have to re-draw its bus routes to serve all students equally, regardless of race.

War on Poverty For Mobile?

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--About a month ago, it looked as though Mobile County would finally get an anti-poverty program, after almost two years of fighting over control of the program and after a veto by Governor George C. Wallace last June.

Rival anti-poverty committees merged into one last spring, and the federal Office of Economic Opportunity quickly approved it. But then Wallace vetoed it.

He apparently did not entirely approve of the committee's board of directors. The committee made some adjustments, and then elected a new president last month, in a battle between anti-Wallace members and neutral or pro-Wallace members.

One candidate for president was Dr. Hollis Wiseman, who had openly supported Richmond Flowers against Mrs. Wallace in the Democratic primary. The other was the Rev. Thomas Nunan, a Catholic church official.

Nunan won easily, and the committee again submitted its plans for the governor's approval.

Since then, the committee has heard nothing from Wallace about his decision. But a few days ago, Mobile Mayor Joseph Langan and County Commissioner Leroy Stevens, both members of the committee, got letters from Wallace saying that the committee seems to be almost the same as the one he vetoed before.

Nunan said he is "not quite sure" what Wallace wants. But, he said, the committee is going ahead with its planning, and expects to get approved eventually.

speaking and discussion.

At the beginning of each meeting, members are called on to speak without notes for two minutes on some subject that's been in the news. Last month, a member had to outline what should be done in Meridian to prevent riots. Others were called on to discuss the airline strike, the opening of Meridian's first package liquor store, and Luci Johnson's wedding.

"This is to keep members on their toes, to get them to read the newspaper," said Moore. "You can't be a leader and not be an informed leader."

After these off-the-cuff discussions, two members give prepared speeches on subjects they select.

Each meeting follows a careful minute-by-minute schedule. A time-keeper stops speakers when they go beyond their time limits. A grammarian corrects mistakes in grammar, and the "ah counter" keeps count of the number of times each speaker says "ah."

There are Toastmasters' Clubs all over the world, but Moore said Meridian has the first chapter for Negro businessmen. "We need Negroes who can make speeches and know about parliamentary procedure," he explained.

Officers of the club are George Frank Sims, president; Billy Sykes, administrative vice-president; Moore, educational vice-president; Obie Clark, secretary; Dr. William Butler Fielder, treasurer; and W. Albert Jones, sergeant-at-arms.

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Why weren't the ballots signed? "Misunderstanding or neglect," said Williams. "They didn't attend our meetings, and we didn't get to their houses."

"I can't fault nobody but the Negroes," he added. "This time, nobody else was to blame."

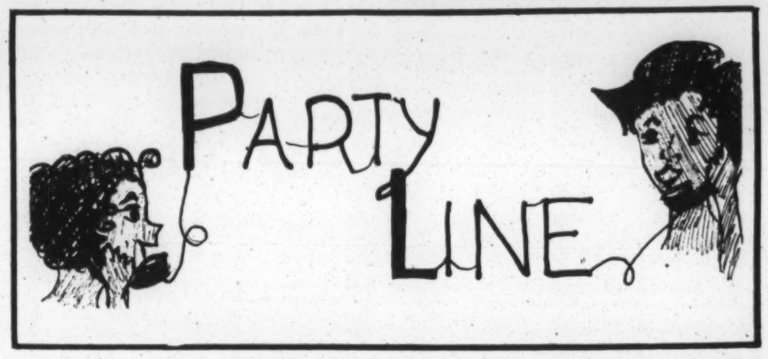
Wilbon Thomas, who organized the August ASCS election campaign in Midway, agreed. "We had some Negroes talk against it. After we did all we could do, we didn't push it.

"We had everything settin' pretty good in August. Ain't nobody talkin' about it now."

TUSKEGEE--The state ASCS committee has thrown out Macon County's election for community committeemen because the ballots weren't kept in a locked box. The election will be run over later this fall.

Bob Valder, associate director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, pointed out the violation of ASCS rules to the state office. B. L. Collins, state ASCS executive director, then ruled the election invalid after talking with ASCS officials in Washington.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.



Birmingham

The Tittusville Civil League has recently been organized for community development. Officers serving presently include Lionel Williams, president; Erskine Hayes, president-elect; Mrs. Ruby Veale, secretary; Mrs. Eleanor Smith, assistant secretary; Theodore McIntyre, treasurer; and George Walker, chaplain. Committee chairmen are Mrs. Carol Woods, social; A. Downing, youth; Harrison Rutledge, contact; Mrs. Eleanor Smith, beautification; Mrs. Alma Vandiver, program; Frank Lamar, political action; and Mrs. Margaret M. Jones, publicity. Meetings are held each Tuesday night at 7 p.m. at the Westminster Presbyterian Church. The public is invited.

Ozark

Mrs. Vera Blackmon returned home recently after visiting Eddie Hill in Akron, Ohio. She had a wonderful time. Some of the exciting events included visits to Cleveland and Steubenville, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; West Virginia; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Canada.

Tuskegee

The Macon County Community Committee #1 has elected as its officers: John B. Richardson, chairman; Joseph Holmes, co-chairman; Mrs. Arizona Pace, secretary; Mrs. Bessie Chappell, assistant secretary; D. V. Joseph, parliamentarian; Charlie Morgan, sergeant-at-arms; and Mrs. Addie Adams, chaplain. Mrs. Annie Dees is acting treasurer.

Evergreen

The Antioch Baptist Church recently held revival services. The Rev. W. M. Patton, pastor of Second Mt. Zion Baptist Church, was the evangelist. The Rev. L. Sims is pastor of Antioch Baptist Church.

Montgomery

Miss Geraldine Walker, daughter of George Walker Sr.; Miss Aubra Jean Patterson, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Patterson; and Curtis Thomas, son of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Thomas, left Montgomery to attend Tennessee A & I in Nashville, Tenn. All three are 1966 graduates of Booker T. Washington High in Montgomery.

Meridian, Miss.

There are 39 Negro kids attending Meridian Senior High School. Roscoe Jones called a meeting for all the Negro kids last Sunday in Allen Chapel Methodist Church, to discuss what had happened during the first week of school. It was discussed that the kids would form a group to get together and attend all the football games at the high school.

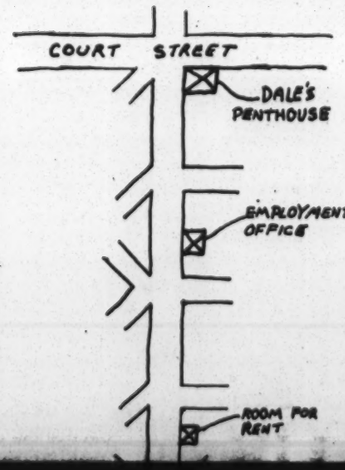
Marvell, Ark.

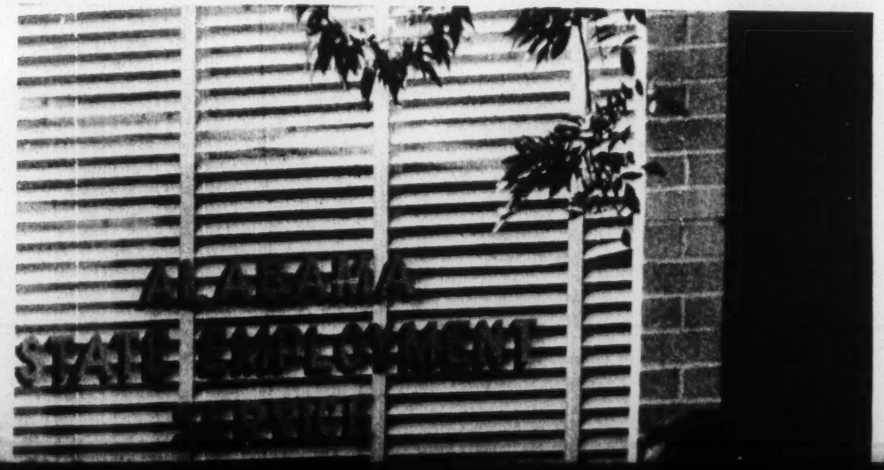
The sewers at all-Negro Turner Elementary and Junior High School near Marvell were installed up-hill. For years, the parents complained, sent petitions, went "up there" to see the school board, and finally, last February, began a boycott of the school. Still, the school board did nothing. Then, as a result of a complaint, the State Board of Health sent an inspector around. The sewers were ordered reconstructed. During all this, parents at the site of the school learned from a state official (who had the original blue-prints of the building) that two classrooms and an auditorium on the plans were never built.

CLAYTON STREET, MONTGOMERY

which could be most any 'white' street in Alabama

Photographs by Jim Peppler





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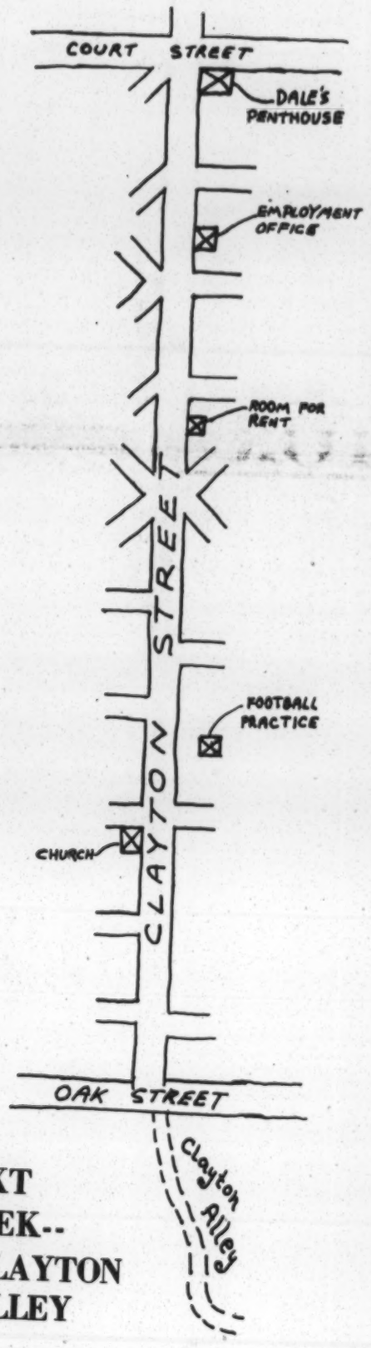

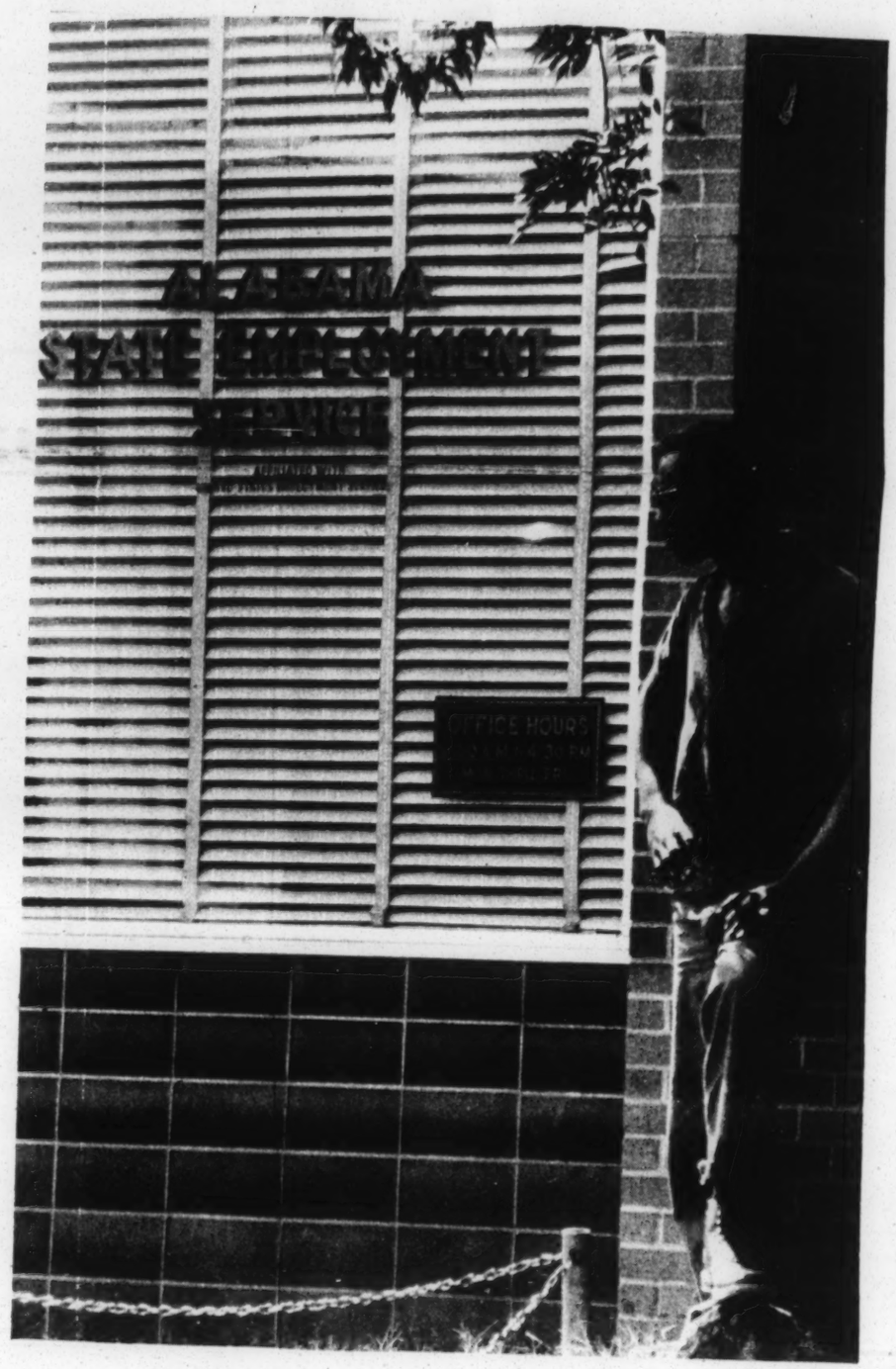

NEXT WEEK-- CLAYTON ALLEY

TROUBLE IN GRENADA

Court Orders Protection for Negro Pupils

IN JUNE, MEREDITH MARCHERS PLACED AN AMERICAN FLAG ON THE CONFEDERATE MONUMENT IN GRENADA

BY GAIL FALK

OXFORD, Miss.--For two full days last week U. S. District Judge Claude Clayton listened while witnesses described what happened when Negro children attended classes for the first time at Lizzie Horn Elementary and John Rundle High schools in Grenada.

He heard the schoolchildren tell how they were beaten with blackjacks, axe handles, and motorcycle chains, while local officials looked on and did nothing.

He heard a doctor from Mound Bayou say he had treated one of the children for a skull fracture and another for a broken leg caused by the beatings.

He heard a lawyer with a black eye testify that he had been beaten by five or six white men at the feet of Grenada County Constable Grady Carroll. He heard a newsman describe the beating of a reporter and a news photographer.

And he heard local Grenada officials explain that they "deplore violence" and that they simply didn't have enough policemen to restrain the white mob that gathered at the schools Sept. 12 and 13.

The witnesses had been called so that Judge Clayton could decide whether to grant a request by the Justice Department. The department's lawyers had asked him to order Grenada officials to protect Negro children who attend desegregated schools in the county.

When the last witness and lawyer had had their say, Judge Clayton was silent for a moment. Then, in a stern ringing voice, he said that if local officials could not keep order in Grenada, the federal government would.

"The savage and senseless and, I might say, futile series of events of Monday and Tuesday are not only the shame of the active participants in those events; they are also the shame of all the people of Grenada County and also the shame of all the people who are possessed of public leadership. . .in the city and county of Grenada.

"I am astonished that such violence as has been disclosed by this record could have occurred as many times as it did with so little reaction on the part of the public officials. . ."

Judge Clayton said he agreed with Justice Department lawyer J. Harold Flannery, who said "the systematic and ongoing beating of children and teen-agers over a period of hours" could not be explained by blaming "a small group of 'rednecks.'. . . They made a calculated judgment based on the type of government they have come to expect. . . of what they could do with impunity.

Last week's hearing was not the first time Judge Clayton had heard complaints about Grenada. Earlier this summer he ordered the Mississippi State Highway Patrol and Grenada officials to protect civil rights demonstrators, who had been met with tear gas, beatings, and arrests.

And near the end of August he handed down the school desegregation order under which the Negro children were attending the John Rundle and Lizzie Horn schools.

Last Saturday, the federal government showed it was willing to go even further. FBI agents arrested 13 white men and accused them of coming "with chains, sticks and pipes" to attack the pupils at the desegregated schools.

The men were charged with conspiring to deprive Negro citizens of their rights and were placed under $1,000 bond. The maximum sentence is $5,000 fine or 10 years in prison, or both.

Since the charge is a felony, the men must first appear before a grand jury, who will decide whether there is enough evidence against them to hold a trial. The next grand jury for federal court in Oxford is scheduled to meet in January.

During the riot Sept. 12, only five city policemen were on duty. Police Chief Pat Ray testified in court that he was cruising around town in a car without a radio, out of touch with his men for an hour and a half.

But local government began to disintegrate in Grenada long before the opening of school two weeks ago.

Ray admitted that he has depended on the Mississippi Highway Patrol to keep order. Large numbers of highway patrolmen have been stationed in Grenada since the start of civil rights demonstrations this summer; 275 patrolmen and game and park service wardens were in town last week.

Chief Ray has added only one member to the police force all summer. He says he has been unable to find qualified men who were willing to join the force. Negroes say he has turned down all the people they chose.

At a city council meeting Sept. 12, hundreds of angry whites demanded the removal of the Highway patrol. In an effort to persuade the council to send the patrolmen away, one man shouted, "You get the highway patrol out of here and in 24 hours there won't be a nigger left."

At the same meeting, city manager J.E. McEachin resigned. McEachin, considered a moderate segregationist by Grenada standards, has not been replaced.

According to SCLC staff member Alfonso Harris, there is no white leadership, not even behind the scenes. "If there was, we could get to them."

But with law and order under federal care, the SCLC workers believe that they may be able to force Grenada's white citizens to fill the vacuum. They hope that a Negro boycott of white stores will convince white merchants to demand responsible and moderate leadership from the city government.

'What's Happening To Mississippi?'

GRENADA, Miss.--After school last Wednesday, the Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of SCLC, asked a group of Negro children to tell about their first classes at John Rundle High School.

Miss Carolyn Springfield said that in her ninth grade English class none of the white children answered when the teacher asked for a definition of fiction. "So I told her fiction is untrue and non-fiction is true."

Young asked how many other children had given answers in class. Several hands were raised.

"Aren't you scared to talk--with all those white folks around?" he asked.

"No!" shouted all the children.

"Goodness gracious," Young laughed, "what's happenin' to Mississippi!"

IN JUNE, MEREDITH MARCHERS PLACED AN AMERICAN FLAG ON THE CONFEDERATE MONUMENT IN GRENADA

THIS WEEK, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING RETURNED TO AID GRENADA'S MOVEMENT (SCLC Photo by Bob Fitch)

New Freedom Movement Fights for an Open City

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss. -- A white schoolteacher up in Water Valley, the next town along Highway 7 from Grenada, shook her head over her neighbors' troubles.

"They need to bring a case against those freedom workers," she said. "They just fanned and fanned that town with all their marching till it was at a fever pitch. If you keep on waving a red flag, of course someone's going to get angry."

Grenada, she said, would have been just like Water Valley, where schools were desegregated peacefully this September, if SCLC hadn't stirred things up.

Down in Grenada, a Negro school teacher shook her head when she heard someone had blamed SCLC for the violence last week.

It's true, said Mrs. Senora Springfield, that Grenada never had a movement until the James Meredith march came to town. "We hadn't ever heard of a freedom song here before June," she said.

Although civil rights workers have been organizing in the area since 1961, none of them ever happened to come to this north Mississippi town of 8,000.

"But the trouble was always here," said Mrs. Springfield. "We knew there was injustice. We used to talk about it. But we didn't know how to work to do anything about it. Then the march came and the SCLC workers came and--well, glory halleluia!"

When the march came, the people in Grenada joined in as though they'd just been sitting and waiting for freedom to come.

Even city officials rolled out the red carpet. They agreed to a long list of demands presented by Dr. Martin Luther King, and opened the courthouse for a special voter registration session.

Mrs. Springfield was one of the four Negroes hired to help register the hundreds of Negroes who poured into the courthouse. She remembers telling her father that "(Constable) Grady Carroll's the nicest man down there. He showed us all around the courthouse and offered to get us Cokes and cookies," she said.

"My father answered me, 'You watch, he'll be leading you right into the KKK,'" said Mrs. Springfield.

Her father turned out to be closer to the truth. During the summer, Carroll was repeatedly accused of standing by and permitting attacks on Negroes. Last week he was sentenced to four months in prison for beating a civil rights lawyer who tried to give him a summons to appear in court.

A lot of people besides Grady Carroll changed once the march and national attention had moved on.

SCLC workers who kept their promise to return to Grenada several days later found a very different welcome in the Negro community. People who had begged them to come back were now afraid to associate with them. The SCLC workers discovered that many people had been threatened after the march left town.

"To get up people's spirit," said SCLC staff member Jim Bullock, "we got some of the teen-agers together for a movie integration attempt." That was the first of many demonstrations SCLC led to back up 51 demands to city and county officials for an "open city."

Often demonstrations were broken up by white toughs, policemen, or highway patrolmen. On one bloody Sunday in July, Negroes outside the Grenada County jail were dispersed by highway patrolmen with billy clubs.

The Negro community responded with an economic "blackout" of downtown businesses. Most white and a few Negro establishments are boycotted. Coca Cola is also on the blacklist. White restaurants are not included because most of them are serving Negroes for the first time this summer.

Only a few businesses have a sign that says, "Grenada County Freedom Movement approves." It is signed by the Rev. S. T. Cunningham, pastor of Bell Flower Church and president of the Grenada Movement, and Alfonso Harris, SCLC project director.

The boycott has been very effective in this town where almost half the population is Negro. At least three stores have closed and many others are in trouble. One grocery store owner says he used to take in $1,500 a week and now gets $500.

But the boycott has not brought white merchants to work for Negro demands, as SCLC hoped. The only real progress toward an open city has come from U.S. District Judge Claude Clayton's school desegregation order.

The judge ordered all the white schools in the county to accept Negro transfer applications for all grades. More than 300 Negro students filled out the freedom-of-choice forms for transfer to the white schools.

But some white people fought back with threats against the Negroes, and parents changed their children back to the Negro schools.

The people who made the threats seemed to know which Negro children had signed up for each white school, although the list of transfers was not public. Negroes have demanded an explanation from Schools Superintendent Gayle Wilborn.

After the violence Sept. 12 and 13, many Negro parents kept their children home from the white schools. But last Friday, 149 Negro students attended John Rundle and Lizzie Horn schools. About ten others planned to go back Monday, and 30 others whose applications had been lost still hoped to go to the white schools.

The transfer students say that things are better inside the schools than outside. Although many white students, especially the boys, peck at the Negroes, most teachers try to stop the heckling.

Whatever happens, the Negro transfers say, they intend to stay where they are.

At a mass meeting Saturday night, an SCLC staff member talked like a general winding up a campaign: "We've gotten hundreds of people to register, we've done integrated every school in the county, and the boycott has almost broken whitey downtown."

The question people are starting to ask now is, "What will happen when SCLC leaves Grenada?" Will they take freedom with them? Will threats and intimidation destroy Negro spirit, as they did when the Meredith march left town?

SCLC workers give two answers. In the first place, they say they aren't about to pull out as long as demands for an open city remain unanswered.

Negro citizens would like to negotiate. A delegation tried to talk to Sheriff Suggs Ingram Saturday, but they were told he was busy. Until Grenada officials show that they are ready to talk, says Alfonso Harris, marches will continue.

Sooner or later, however, SCLC will move on. By then, the workers say, they hope local leaders like Bingham and Cunningham will keep things going.

Even now, people have a better idea of how to work on things. They have sat in federal court and seen that the law can be their friend. They have found out how to get help from civil rights lawyers. And they have learned about using their dollar and their vote to get what they want.

city and county of Grenada.

"I am astonished that such violence as has been disclosed by this record could have occurred as many times as it did with so little reaction on the part of the public officials..."

Judge Clayton said he agreed with Justice Department lawyer J. Harold Flannery, who said "the systematic and ongoing beating of children and teen-agers over a period of hours" could not be explained by blaming "a small group of 'rednecks.'... They made a calculated judgment based on the type of government they have come to expect... of what they could do with impunity.

"The problem lies at the very door of city hall and the very door of the sheriff's office."

As if to show that his orders were not just scoldings to be forgotten, Judge Clayton called forward Beat One Constable Grady Carroll. The constable had been accused by several witnesses of ignoring or laughing at pleas for protection from white attackers.

As Carroll stood limp and red-faced before the court, Judge Clayton sentenced him to four months in prison for contempt of court. (The contempt charge was based on Carroll's attack on a lawyer who tried to serve him a court summons.)

ary.

During the riot Sept. 12, only five city policemen were on duty. Police Chief Pat Ray testified in court that he was cruising around town in a car without a radio, out of touch with his men for an hour and a half.

But local government began to disintegrate in Grenada long before the opening of school two weeks ago.

Ray admitted that he has depended on the Mississippi Highway Patrol to keep order. Large numbers of highway patrolmen have been stationed in Grenada since the start of civil rights demonstrations this summer; 275 patrolmen and game and park service wardens were in town last week.

Chief Ray has added only one member to the police force all summer. He says he has been unable to find qualified men who were willing to join the force. Negroes say he has turned down all the

GRENADA, Miss.--After school last Wednesday, the Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of SCLC, asked a group of Negro children to tell about their first classes at John Rundle High School.

Miss Carolyn Springfield said that in her ninth grade English class none of the white children answered when the teacher asked for a definition of fiction. "So I told her fiction is untrue and non-fiction is true."

Young asked how many other children had given answers in class. Several hands were raised.

"Aren't you scared to talk--with all those white folks around?" he asked.

"No!" shouted all the children.

"Goodness gracious," Young laughed, "what's happenin' to Mississippi!"

TENSION HAS BEEN HIGH ALL SUMMER

HUNDREDS OF NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE DURING THE MEREDITH MARCH

In Georgia Primary

Former Governor Vs. Segregationist Hero

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--Ellis Arnall, Georgia's former "fighting governor," came out ahead in last week's primary in his bid for a second term. But he still faces a run-off battle next Wednesday with segregationist Lester Maddox, former fighting restaurant owner.

The run-off--first in the state in 30 years--will decide who opposes U. S. Representative Howard "Bo" Callaway, the Republican candidate for governor.

Arnall, the most liberal of the six Democrats running for governor, got 211,176 votes, to 166,392 for Maddox and 153,857 for Jimmy Carter, the "unknown" state senator from Plains. Albany newspaper publisher James Gray, a segregationist who many thought would make the run-off, finished fourth.

The former governor, who has been practicing law in Atlanta since his first term ended 20 years ago, has built his campaign on his past achievements and on the need he sees to reform present state government. He issued paperback editions of his two books, which deal with such things as his lowering the voting age in Georgia, re-accrediting the state's educational system, revoking the Ku Klux Klan's charter, and his sympathy with the aspirations of the Southern Negro.

Arnall's support of federal aid has led Maddox to call him "the candidate of the Great Society."

Maddox, campaigning on "sensible constitutional government, states rights, and free enterprise," is further along the road to political office than ever before. A staunch segregationist, he closed his Pickrick restaurant in Atlanta in 1964, rather than serve Negroes. He has been defeated in the last three elections for mayor and in the 1962 lieutenant governor's race, but has received a large vote each time.

His strong stand against civil rights has won him wide support among rural and working class white people. This kind of support may be growing as a result of Atlanta's recent racial troubles.

With one week left before the run-off, the big question is who can get Carter's votes. Carter, described as a moderate, surprised everyone by taking votes from Maddox in south Georgia and from Arnall in the big counties. If the votes of the other three candidates go to Maddox, as they probably will, the Carter votes will decide the winner in the run-off.

STATE SEN. HORACE T. WARD

Callaway, the Republican candidate, has been keeping his campaign platform under wraps until after the run-off. He said Monday that the one-party system in Georgia had kept the issues the same for 20 years: "Competition is what makes the whole ball game work."

In other races last week, Democrats nominated two Negro candidates for the state Senate and nine for the state House.

Present State Senator Horace T. Ward won re-nomination in a district where white voters outnumber Negroes by about 3,000. Also nominated were State Senator Leroy Johnson, the first Negro elected to the Senate since Reconstruction, and Julian Bond, the former SNCC official who was refused a seat in the House last term because of his stand on the Viet Nam war.

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New Tuskegee Citizens Meet Mayor

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Mayor Charles M. Keever was the guest speaker at a meeting of Macon County Community Committee #1 one night last week. But he did more listening than talking.

The main speakers turned out to be the people who live in Greenwood Heights, a Negro area that will become part of the City of Tuskegee on Oct. 1. They told the mayor they want the city to do more for them than the county has done.

"We been living on trails and paying for streets," said Herbert J. Williams. "The county been getting our taxes. What have they been doing with them?

"I feel the city should go in and demand the county to share the money they been collecting for years. We finally got honest people in City Hall--now these honest people should go dig up some of these dishonest people."

"That's right," shouted one of the 50 people gathered in First Emmanuel Baptist Church to meet their mayor. Some of the others nodded their heads. Williams went right on talking about their problems.

"The man come to read the water meter, he stand out in the street. I can't see it unless I go look at it. They're not reading the meters, they're just charging what they want.

"Same way with the gas. I go away for a month and come back to a $3-$4 gas bill."

He turned to the mayor. "We couldn't squawk before, because we needed the service," he said. "You know, if we raised too much sand, they just cut it off."

"You and the city councilmen should go around and check. . . . We're paying for services we never see. If it stay like that, we might as well not come into the city limits."

The people in the church nodded their heads again. So did Mayor Keever. "I need to hear complaints more than compliments," he said.

"Anything we can do for you, we're going to do it as fast as we can. But I can't spend money the city doesn't have. The previous city council left us with a debt of $575,000. We spent $168,000 more than we got last year."

"We know it isn't your fault if the other administrations didn't distribute their money equally," replied Clarence Dunn. "But it's not the taxpayers' fault, either.

"We getting more revenue now than ever before. A man live out here all his life, he deserves a street--even if it won't get us out of debt. We entitled to sewage, streets, lights as you can get around to 'em."

One service the city plans to give its new residents right away is garbage collection. Several questioners wanted to know whether they were going to be treated the same as the old residents.

"When I was campaigning two years ago, I found in the white areas the garbagemen went to the back of homes," Keever said. "In the non-white areas, if you didn't lug it out to the street, they didn't pick it up.

"Now we have a different policy. We'll pick it up wherever you leave it, whoever you are."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held Monday, Sept. 26, in Mt. Hebron Baptist Church, 503 5th St., Thomas, the Rev. T. L. Fisher, pastor.

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FOOTBALL
Carver vs. Carver of Gadsden
HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY
Friday, Sept. 30 7:30 p.m.
ADM.: Students 75¢, Adults $1.25

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MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

Mrs. Isaac Dickson
of the First CME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my
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It can work for you, too. Formal talk among members of all races in your community, thru a Human Relations Commission, can start solving the problems of education, delinquency and equal jobs.

To be most effective, a Commission should have official status, power to act, an adequate budget, skilled staff, and membership widely representative of the community.

If you want to know how to set up a Commission, or how an existing one can be more effective, write for the Community Relations Service booklet, "How To Turn Talk Into Action." Address: ACTION, Washington, D.C. 20537.

Face the problem, face to face. Talk, plan, act.

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FANTASTIC BARGAINS--For sale: 8mm movie camera, $49.95; 100% human hair wigs, any color, $49.95; watch with jet plane watch hand, $29.95; beautiful ladies' watches, $29.95; camera, $14.95; ladies' pressing oil with Bergamot, $1.50; sage & sulphur hair & scalp conditioner, $1.75. Write: United World Traders, P.O. Box 872, Mobile, Ala. If you are in business, you can get these things wholesale.

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WE NEED tables, chairs, and books for the new Community Center on Ardmore Highway in Indian Creek. Help the Community Center by giving items which you don't need. Call Arthur Jacobs Jr., 752-4989, in Huntsville.

CLOTHES WANTED--The La Ritz Social & Savings Club is sponsoring a charity drive for the Boys Town. The club is soliciting clothing and linen. If you want to contribute to the drive, call Mrs. Nellie Hardy, at 263-0948 in Montgomery, or drop off your donation at her house, 628 Colony St.

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P.R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

MERIDIAN POVERTY--Poor people will elect representatives to the board of directors for the Lauderdale County Community Action Program at the following six meetings next Thursday: Beat 1, Middleton attendance center; Beat 2, Northeast Lauderdale School; Beat 3, West Lauderdale School; Beat 4, Clarksdale High School; Beat 5, Southeast Lauderdale School; Meridian city, Wechsler Elementary School. All meetings will begin at 7 p.m.

ALL FARMERS--If you have been told by ASCS to plow up part of your allotment because it was measured wrong, come by 31 1/2 Franklin Str., Selma, or call Shirley Mesher at 872-3427 in Selma before they plow it up. If you paid to get land measured by ASCS surveyors and never had it measured, you should also come by or call.

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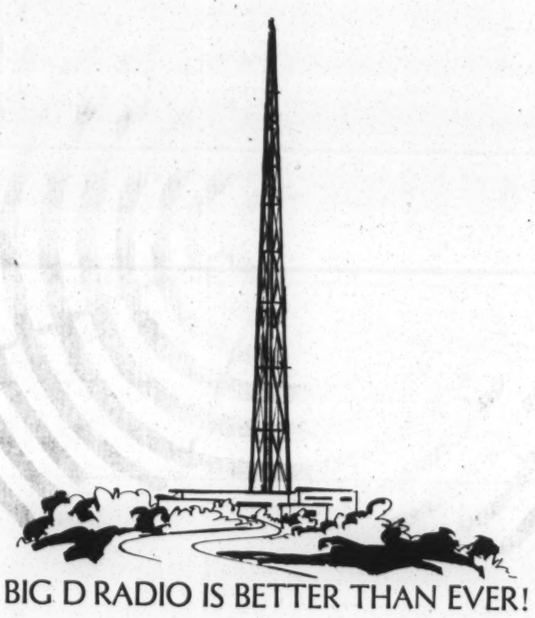

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Games of the Week

TWO MONTGOMERY TEAMS LOOK TOUGH

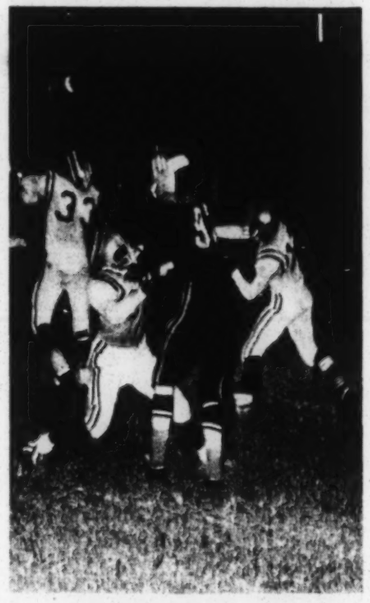
BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--Two pretty good teams--Hudson High of Selma and Cobb Ave. of Anniston--came to town last week for football games with Booker T. Washington and Carver High. They barely got out with their lives.

BTW, with a new pro-style passing attack, bombed Hudson, 33 to 6. And Carver, with a new-found place-kicker, surprised Cobb Ave., 21 to 7.

For both Montgomery teams, it was the second win without a loss.

Quarterback Clinton Drake threw two touchdown passes in the Yellow Jackets' win over Hudson Sept. 15 in Cramton Bowl. Drake opened the scoring with a four-yard pass to Edward Wimberly, and he hit John Street from 11 yards out in the second period.



CARVER TRIES A PASS

Even the freshmen got into the act late in the game, as first-year quarterback Henry Crawford passed to Wimberly for 25 yards and a touchdown.

When Hudson tried to trade aerials with the Yellow Jackets, the result was disaster. In the fourth period, Wilbert Rogers of BTW intercepted a Selma pass and rambled 25 yards for a TD.

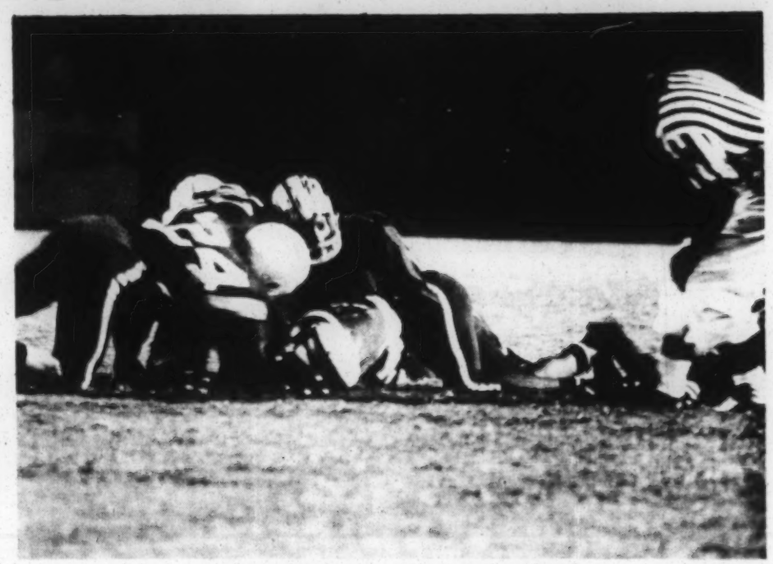
After the game, BTW coach Buddy Davis was modest about his passing game. "We're trying to work one up," he said.

Last year, Davis said, Washington was basically a running club. But this season, he said, "we revised the offensive system, with more wide-open stuff." BTW uses "a lot of pro sets," he said, as well as the popular I-formation.

BTW's other scores came on a 15-yard run by Willie James Harris and a safety. Quarterback James Collins got Hudson's only TD on a five-yard sneak.

Carver's triumph was definitely an upset. Cobb Ave., the defending state champion, had whipped the Wolverines, 19 to 15, last year. And while Carver had been weakened by graduation, Cobb Ave. had most of the same players back.

But Carver struck first in the opening period, when quarterback Oscar Belser hooked up with Donald Vinson on a 28-yard touchdown pass. Cobb Ave. then tied it up on Robert Cook's seven-yard run with a recovered Carver fumble.



HUDSON TACKLERS BURY BTW RUNNER

In the second period, Willie Arrington scored for the Wolverines from 15 yards out. Vinson put the game out of reach in the final period, racing 47 yards after grabbing a Cobb Ave. fumble in mid-air.

Center Thomas Mitchell, in his first game as a place-kicker, booted all three extra points for the Wolverines. An extra point or a short field goal would have meant a lot to Carver in several games over the past few seasons, but apparently no one knew about Mitchell until Coach John Fulgham noticed him trying some kick-offs in practice last week.

"He couldn't do too well kicking off," said Fulgham, "because he couldn't kick deep enough. But he kicked a high ball--it was high coming off the tee--so I decided to switch him to extra points. He really surprised me. The first one was a beauty. The second just cleared the cross-bar, but the third was a beauty, too."

Fulgham said even he was surprised by Carver's performance. "The team was better than we thought it would be, for this time of year," he said.

The Wolverines' passing attack wasn't too effective against Cobb Ave.--they completed just one of eight tosses. But that one went for a touchdown. "Basically, we're a running team," Fulgham said.

So the City Classic in November shapes up as a battle between a good running team and a good passing team. That game may well decide who represents this area in the state championship game.

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THINK AND GRIN

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

Jester: "My uncle is a Southern planter."

Lester: "You mean he owns a plantation?"

Jester: "No. He's an undertaker in South Carolina."

What miracle happened when Mr. Stone and Mr. Wood stood on a corner and a pretty girl passed by?

Stone turned to Wood and Wood turned to Stone. Then they both turned to look. The girl turned into a beauty shop.

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WRMA

"This is Norman Lumpkin, News Editor and Reporter. For one newscast I write, call on the telephone, and talk with all sorts of people for YOU. Hear news from Central Alabama as well as from Viet Nam on WRMA, 950 in Montgomery, Ala." Norman Lumpkin reports eight times daily, every hour on the half-hour. Do you have news? Call 264-6440 and ask for Norman Lumpkin.

would have meant a lot to Carver in several games over the past few seasons, but apparently no one knew about Mitchell until Coach John Fulgham noticed him trying some kick-offs in practice last week.

"He couldn't do too well kicking off," said Fulgham, "because he couldn't kick deep enough. But he kicked a high ball--it was high coming off the tee--so I decided to switch him to extra points."

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Fulgham said.

So the City Classic in November shapes up as a battle between a good running team and a good passing team. That game may well decide who represents this area in the state championship game.

THINK AND GRIN

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

Jester: "My uncle is a Southern planter."

Lester: "You mean he owns a plantation?"

Jester: "No. He's an undertaker in South Carolina."

What miracle happened when Mr. Stone and Mr. Wood stood on a corner and a pretty girl passed by?

Stone turned to Wood and Wood turned to Stone. Then they both turned to look. The girl turned into a beauty shop.

Wife (trying on hats): "Do you like this turned down, dear?"

Husband: "How much is it?"

Wife: "Sixty dollars."

Husband: "Yes, turn it down."

Randy: "What would you do if you were in my shoes?"

Sandy: "Polish them."

Wall: "Why do all bank cashiers run to Canada?"

Street: "I give up."

Wall: "Because that's the only place they have Toronto."

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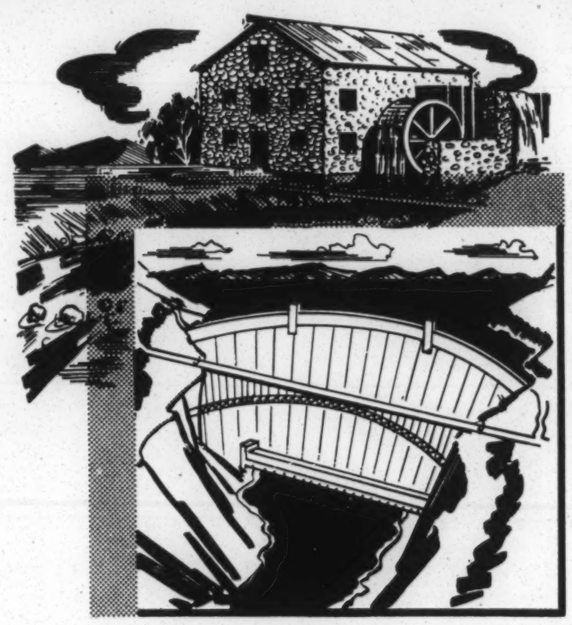

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SOUTHERN COURIER

Russell County Has a Negro Deputy--Or Does It?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

PHENIX CITY--Garner Lee Johnson sometimes wears a uniform and a badge saying he's a member of the Russell County Sheriff Department. But is he the county's first Negro deputy sheriff?

Sheriff M. Lamar Murphy says yes.

Johnson says no.

And civil rights activist Nathaniel Gosha--who put the pressure on Murphy to hire a Negro officer in the first place --says he isn't sure.

"Johnson's been up there about two months now," Gosha said this week. "He's full-time all right, but he never seem to wear that uniform. He got no gun. He got a badge, but it's not the right type. Look like they made it just for him."

Johnson didn't want to talk about his new job. At first, he said he didn't even have it. Then he explained he didn't count it as his main occupation because he also works for a car dealer.

"I'm not a deputy," Johnson said. "I just do some work for him (the sheriff) up there some time.

"He's got five, six guys in competition for the deputy job. He won't say when he's going [illegible] aybe he won't hire [illegible]

[illegible] re both [illegible] e can't [illegible] e five [illegible] other, [illegible] now training him as a [illegible]

EDWIN STANFIELD
SOU RES COUNCIL INC
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

"He works with me most of the time," Murphy said. "He's in civilian clothes days, but he has a uniform otherwise, when he's on the night shift. He has everything he needs, including a badge and a gun if he needs one. I don't believe in carrying a gun unless you need it."

The sheriff wouldn't say what Johnson gets paid, but he admitted it wasn't as much as the official deputy sheriffs get. "It goes by seniority," Murphy said. "He's under the six-month merit system--he'll get a raise then if he's doing all right."

When Gosha asked Sheriff Murphy to hire a Negro deputy three months ago, one request was that the new officer be assigned to work all over the county--not just where Negroes live.

Murphy said Johnson goes almost everywhere, with one exception: "I don't think he's worked in the nigger area at all."

"He has the authority to arrest anyone anywhere who's breaking the law," the sheriff said about Johnson. But he hasn't used his authority much.

"He's arrested people, but only with me. You don't put a new man on his own right away. It's dangerous. He could get hisself killed."

Murphy said he didn't know when he could hire more official deputies. "The state has to pass a law," he explained. "We're hoping for three new men." Will Johnson be one of them?

"It's not an easy job, being a deputy," Sheriff Murphy replied. "A deputy has to be a peacemaker. He has to know some law. And he has to know how to be firm.

"This boy's a real good boy. He works hard, he's loyal. But I don't know yet if he'll make it."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 40 | WEEKEND EDITION: OCTOBER 1-2, 1966 | TEN CENTS

Vanity Fair May Build Plant, Looks for People to Work in It

BY VIOLA BRADFORD
AND ROBERTA REISIG

MILLBROOK -- Vanity Fair Mills conducted a "job survey" last Tuesday in seven towns near here.

Vanity Fair, makers of lingerie and other ladies' wear, is interested in building a new plant in Elmore County, possibly near Millbrook. The company took the survey to see if enough people would be available to work at the plant.

Company officials said they would need about 700 people, most of them to operate sewing machines. They said about 90% of the workers at the proposed plant would probably be women.

People who wanted to work at the plant were asked to register Tuesday at centers in Wetumpka, Millbrook, Montgomery, Prattville, Holtville, Eclectic, and Tallassee. "If you are truly interested in employment," said a leaflet advertising the survey, "come in and register."

In all 2,130 people did come in--about as many Negroes as whites. But the company had hoped as many as 4,000 people would turn out.

"We've been advertising it on the TV and radio," said a woman giving out registration forms at the Millbrook Community Center.

But, said one of the men standing with her, "it hasn't turned out like we ex-

Eight Negro Jurors, But Same Verdict in Lowndes

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

HAYNEVILLE--Jury integration came to Lowndes County in a big way this week, but nothing else seemed to change. Eight Negroes and four white men tried Eugene Thomas for the murder of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker. They acquitted the 43-year-old steel-worker, just as an earlier all-white jury had freed Thomas' companion, Collie Leroy Wilkins.

The Thomas case was the first criminal trial held in the county since a federal court ordered a new jury list drawn up last February. Forty-two Negroes were among the 75 men called for possible jury duty.

When the potential jurors arrived last Monday, the white men were seated in one section of the courtroom and the Negroes in another.

The 12 jurors were finally picked Tuesday from a group of 21 Negroes and 11 whites. These 32 were the men found legally eligible to serve on the case. The 32 were boiled down to 12 by the process known as "striking" a jury, in which the prosecution and the defense take turns dismissing the men they don't want.

Two Negroes--John Hulett and Frank Miles Jr.--had said they were members of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the black panther political group. They were the first two men dismissed by Thomas' lawyer, Art Hanes of Birmingham. Hanes then dismissed 12 more Negroes.

Alabama Attorney General Richmond

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"We've been advertising it on the TV and radio," said a woman giving out registration forms at the Millbrook Community Center.

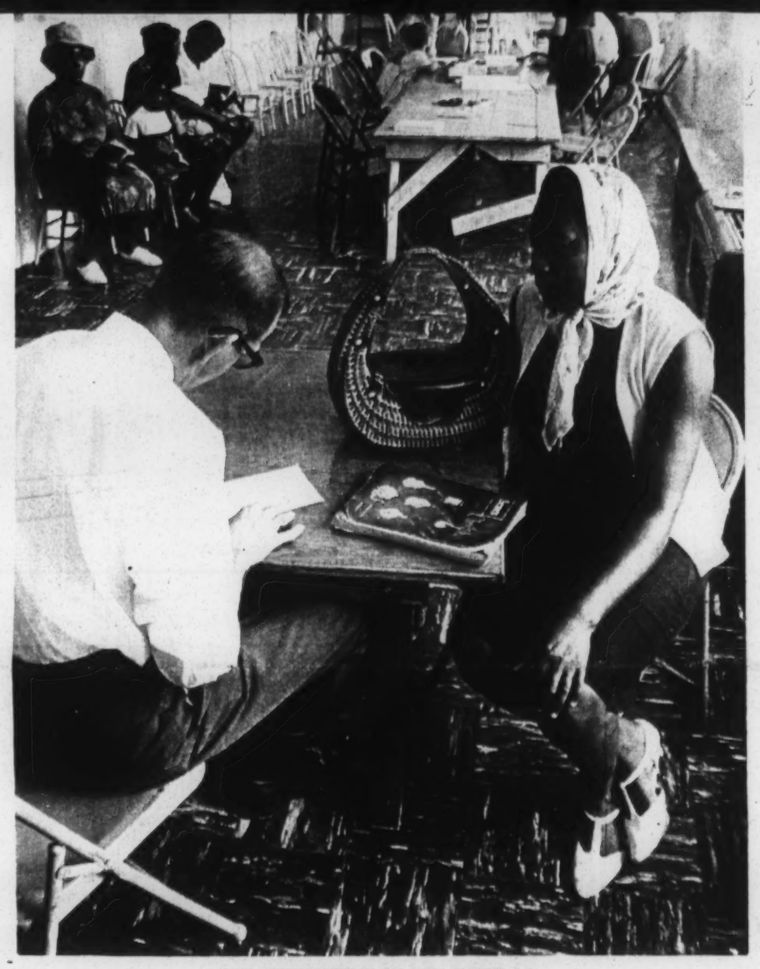
But, said one of the men standing with her, "it hasn't turned out like we expected." Near mid-day, only about 150 people had come to fill out the preliminary interview blanks in Millbrook, though 300 or more were expected.

Each applicant at Millbrook was interviewed personally by Enoch Northcutt, vice president of Vanity Fair. Northcutt greeted each person with a warm and friendly smile.

Two car-loads of Negro students (the youngest about 15) came to apply. Northcutt told them they could fill out the blanks, but because of their age and the fact that they were in school, he suggested that they wait and finish high school. Then, he told the group, if the plant were built in the area, they could try to be hired after graduation.

Company officials said they made a real effort to find Negro workers. "I've been to Sandtown (the Negro neighborhood)," said an official at Millbrook. "One woman told me, 'Ah, they won't hire me.' But see, she has an attitude of defeat at the beginning."

"Some of them think they won't be hired, but they will be," he said. "This is going to put the maid service out of business. And if they get some of these jobs, they will be able to get a maid themselves."



JOB INTERVIEW IN PRATTVILLE

If Vanity Fair, an Alabama-based company, builds a plant in the area, how will it decide which of the many applicants to hire?

Reliability is a very important factor, said Prattville interviewer Jack Avery. If the plant is built, he said, all applicants will be given dexterity tests, written tests, and a physical examination. They will also be asked for references.

For the women at least, experience is not necessary. "We don't care if they've never seen a sewing machine in their lives," said Avery.

In a totally different industry, the McWane Cast Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham last week announced plans for building a $15,000,000 pig-iron plant in Mobile.

The plant, to be finished in two years, will employ about 100 people when it opens.

They acquitted the 18 year old [illegible] freed Thomas' companion, Collie Leroy Wilkins.

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Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers and his chief prosecutor, Joe Breck Gantt, first dismissed S. D. Payne, who had said he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan "ten or 15 years ago." Then they struck six more white men.

As the 12 jurors were called to take their places in the jury box, four white men sat in the front row and the first six Negroes filled up the back row. The last two Negroes also tried to sit in the back row, even though there were no more seats, until court officials told them they could sit in front.

The trial itself was a re-play of the Wilkins trial--with a few important exceptions. The state did not use the two men who were star witnesses last time --Leroy Moton, the young Negro who was with Mrs. Liuzzo when she was killed, and Gary Thomas Rowe, the Klan member turned FBI informer. Flowers said they had done the state's case more harm than good.

An hour and a half after the jurors got the case, they returned with a not-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

JURORS (IN WINDOWS) DISCUSS THOMAS CASE

... And Thomas Coleman Goes Free Without a Trial

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

HAYNEVILLE -- There apparently will be no state-court prosecution of Thomas L. Coleman for the near-fatal shooting of the Rev. Richard Morrisroe.

Coleman, who was acquitted last fall in the death of civil rights worker Jonathan Daniels, had been scheduled to go on trial this week on charges of assault and battery.

But when the case was called here last Monday, Alabama Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers asked to have a conference with Judge T. Werth Thagard and Coleman's lawyer, State Senator Vaughn Hill Robison.

Earlier, Flowers had tried to raise the charge against Coleman to the more serious crime of assault with intent to murder. But a Lowndes County grand jury of 11 Negroes and seven whites refused to return a stronger indictment.

When the conference was over, Flowers looked grim and Robison appeared jubilant. The state senator led Coleman and a group of friends from the courtroom, and he told them:

"It was dismissed with prejudice. It can't be brought up any more. We're through."

Flowers said he had asked the judge to dismiss the case, because the assault charge didn't match the seriousness of the crime. But Flowers said another grand jury could still indict Coleman on a more serious charge.

"No judge in the world can stop a grand jury from indicting for any crime," said the attorney general.

Judge Thagard, who ordered the case dismissed, said Robison was right, not Flowers. "I told the attorney general very frankly," he said, "that if a subsequent indictment is based on these facts, I will dismiss it on my own motion. The state has had due process and its day in court."

But even if Coleman could be re-indicted, the Lowndes County grand jury will not meet again during Flowers' term of office. And neither of the candidates for Flowers' job--Democrat MacDonald Gallion or Republican Don Collins--has shown interest in the case.

Despite Federal Court Ruling

BULLOCK JP's STILL COLLECT FINES

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--It's "unconstitutional" for justices of the peace to get paid if they convict someone, and not get paid if they set him free.

That was what a federal judge told Bullock County's three justices of the peace two months ago.

But all three justices--Paul Adams, E. O. Hickman, and L. L. Reeder--are still collecting fees along with fines.

"They've gone right back like they were before," said H. O. Williams, a Negro leader who helped organize the lawsuit that brought the justices into federal court.

The suit was filed by 38 Negroes who received tickets when state troopers swarmed into Bullock County early in June. The Negroes charged that it was wrong for the justices to be paid out of the fines they collected. The system gave the justices a financial interest in convicting people, the suit said.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. agreed. He ordered the three justices never to try the people arrested by the state troopers June 2, 3, and 4.

"We wanted a blanket order--one that would apply to everyone who came before the justices of the peace," Solomon S. Seay Jr., the Negroes' attorney, said this week. "We didn't get it. We only got a specific order.

"But the principle is clear. All these people the J. P.'s have been fining since the trial Aug. 2--they probably didn't need to pay."

If people refused to pay and took their cases to federal court instead, Seay said, "we'd have to try them one by one, but we'd win."

"But we can't do anything about it if they plead guilty and pay the fine," he added.

So far, that's what most of the people in Bullock County have been doing. Some of them have paid huge fines, like the three men from Perote who went fishing in a private pond recently. Hickman fined them $100, $79, and $112.50.

Some have paid smaller fines, like Andrew Tarver, who ran a stop sign. It cost him $12. "I just didn't want to have no dealings with 'em no more, so I went on and paid it," Tarver said.

Only a few haven't paid at all. James Russell, a farmer from Mount Zion, is one of them.

"I was arrested in June," he said. "About two weeks ago Mr. Reeder stopped me to come up to his office. When I got there he showed me a list of the people who went to court, and said he could try anybody whose name wasn't on that list.

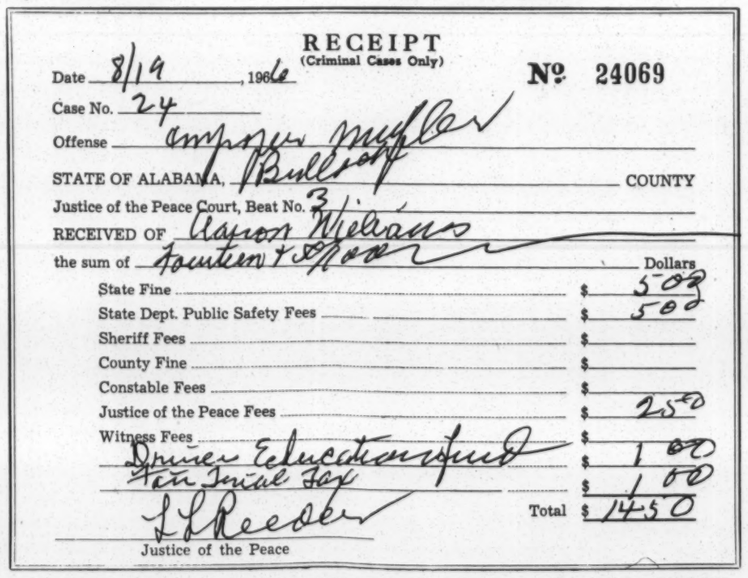
"I wasn't on the list, but I should be. My ticket's on file in Montgomery with the rest. So I give him to know I turned it over to the court and I wasn't gonna pay it.

"Now I want to be fair--he wasn't altogether trying to make me pay it. He's kinda scared to. He just thought I might go on and pay it if he asked me to," Russell said.

"Well, I want to do what's right. But I don't mean for the law to intrude on me. I'm not gonna be intimidated."

Reeder denied the whole incident. "I didn't do nothing to him," he said. "I'm trying to do my duty as I see it as a justice of the peace."

That was all Reeder had to say about the situation. But Hickman and Adams were more outspoken.



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Ten Trial Tax	$ 1.00
Total	$ 14.50

L L Reeder
Justice of the Peace

RECEIPT FROM J. P. CASE: $2.50 FOR "JUSTICE OF THE PEACE FEES"

"The way I look at it, the only ones we weren't to try were the ones who went to court," Hickman said. "If someone wants to set up a howl about it, why, we'll continue it till we get a ruling."

Hickman said he didn't see any reason why he shouldn't collect his fee of $2.50 per conviction. "It's the same no matter what the fine is," he said, "so I don't have any personal interest in settin' a big fine. And it's the only way we can get paid."

But Adams said he agreed with Judge Johnson that the whole fee system was unconstitutional. Why, then, was he still collecting fees?

"I don't know," Adams said. "It's a confusing situation. The legislature was supposed to pass a bill to pay us some other way. . .but they didn't."

Adams said he had talked to State Senator Ed Reynolds and one of the governor's legal advisors about the problem. "I assume we're doing right," he said. "We're obeying state law even though it's against federal law."

Adams was the only one of the three justices of the peace who suggested there might be a better way to handle traffic cases and minor crimes. "Eventually they'll have to set up an inferior (lower) court system in Alabama," he said. "Then they'll get rid of us altogether."

MADDOX WINS

ATLANTA, Ga.--Segregationist Lester Maddox upset former Governor Ellis Arnall in Wednesday's race for the Democratic nomination for governor. With nearly all votes counted, Maddox had 412,930 votes to 350,301 for Arnall.

Maddox, who closed his Atlanta restaurant in 1964 rather than serve Negroes, swept Georgia's rural counties with his platform of "God, country, states rights, and free enterprise."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Vol. II, No. 40 October 1-2, 1966

Editorial Opinion

What Went Wrong?

What happened in Hayneville? What happened to cause what Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers called "a breakdown in law and order"?

Flowers had said before the trial that the Negroes on the jury roll were mostly "Uncle Toms," hand-picked by the Lowndes County Jury Commission. But Judge T. Werth Thagard reprimanded Flowers for making this charge. He said the jury roll had been "made up from the complete list of qualified voters and the people subject to taxation in this county." This was done under federal supervision, he said, so "if any hand-picking was done, it was by federal people."

(Out of court, Thagard said the new jury system made things more difficult. "Half or three-quarters of these jurors, no one around the courthouse knows," he said. "The sheriff had no end of trouble locating them." The judge said the new jury list included a different class of white people, as well as more Negroes.)

Perhaps Flowers was closer to the truth when he said, "You have to live in this area to realize the pressures Negroes are under . . . . I don't believe they can do what they'd like to do, for fear of the white people."

The saddest result of the Eugene Thomas trial was that afterwards, the Negro jurors only seemed to want to put as much distance as possible between them and the courthouse. Their first taste of this aspect of democracy had not made them eager for more.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

"Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! 'I know not what course others may take, but as for me--give me liberty or give me death!" These are the soul-stirring words of Patrick Henry, a late American legislator. This declaration was made before the Virginia legislature in 1776, to persuade the colonies to fight the mother country for their political freedom. Thomas Paine urged the colonists to wake up and use their common sense and fight Great Britain in his pamphlets, "Common Sense" and "The Crisis." Men like these were influen-

Billingsley's Suggestion

Flowers for U.S. Attorney General

BY DON GREGG

BIRMINGHAM -- Attorney Orzell Billingsley made sure Alabama would have its say about who will be the next U.S. Attorney General.

As vice chairman of the Alabama unit of the Southern Democratic Conference, Billingsley sent President Johnson a letter endorsing Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers or U.S. Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall for the vacancy caused by Nicholas Katzenbach's transfer to the State Department.

"Mr. Flowers," the letter said, "has taken political and personal risks far exceeding those of other white Southern political officials. He should not be named attorney general of the United States as a reward for his action, but should be named because he is well qualified and has shown that he has the courage to enforce the law in the South and the nation. No other Southern politician has demonstrated this."

The letter also endorsed Marshall because of his record, and because the high position he now holds in the Justice Department "means that he is well qualified to serve as attorney general."

Shubuta After August Marches: Black-Out, Pressure, and Fear

BY GAIL FALK

SHUBUTA, Miss.--The real story of a demonstration is what happens when it's over. In Shubuta this week, many people were still feeling the effects of marches held here Aug. 6 and Aug. 20.

The marches were staged after Shubuta Negroes got no response to a list of demands presented to the mayor and board of aldermen. Speakers at the marches called for a black-out of white businesses in town.

The demands are still unanswered, and the black-out is still on.

One store--McCoy's Grocery--has a sign in the window announcing a close-out sale. There are rumors that other stores are going out of business.

Meanwhile, Shubuta officials are under attack in federal court. The Rev. J.C. Killingsworth and John Sumrall have filed suit on behalf of Shubuta Negroes, asking for protection in any future demonstrations.

In Hattiesburg Thursday, Federal Judge Dan Russell began hearings on whether to issue an order against the highway patrol and city and county officials. If he granted the order, these officials would be in contempt of court if they failed to provide protection.

After two days of hearings, more than half the witnesses still had not testified, but Russell had to go on to other cases. The hearing will be continued Oct. 18 in Meridian.

Shubuta whites have responded to the economic and legal pressure with a counter-attack. The most concentrated attack has been on Mrs. Allie Jones and the Shubuta CDGM (Head Start). The bank will not cash CDGM checks unless they are counter-signed by someone with an account in the bank.

The lead article of the Aug. 30 Meridian Star reported that Shubuta Mayor George S. Busby accused the CDGM group of supporting the boycott. Since then Meridian Star articles have reported that Busby is furnishing information about CDGM to Senator John Stennis.

To the charge that CDGM supported the boycott, Mrs. Jones, who was responsible for the center's accounts, said "There have not been one penny of CDGM's money spent for supporting the boycott."

Many of the Head Start teachers are now very cool towards anything that sounds like civil rights. They are afraid Busby's attacks will destroy any hopes for CDGM being re-funded.

"You're not going to do anything that's going to cut off your neck if you can help it," said one teacher.

THE FIRST WEEKS

BY GWENDOLYN CLARK

MERIDIAN, Miss.--On the first day of school (Monday, Sept. 12) at Meridian Senior High, everything was nice. We weren't called names or anything.

Tuesday and Wednesday we were called names, but we didn't pay any attention to them. There was no trouble when we rode the bus that picked up the white kids and took them to town.

On the fourth day--Thursday--I went to the library to work on an assignment. When I began, one of the white boys wrote "White Power-KKK" on a piece of paper, and put it on my table. I let it sit on the table until I'd finished my lesson. When I finished, I turned and laughed at him.

MISS GWENDOLYN CLARK

He got so mad, he began to call me "nigger" and other things. Another kid that was in the library was keeping up a lot of noise, and the teacher said, "Shut up, or out you go."

for three days, and the white boy, who started the fight, was sent home for five days.

... And the Kids Hold a Meeting

MERIDIAN, Miss.--A meeting was called last Sunday for the Negro kids who are going to integrated schools in Meridian. The students discussed several things that had happened out at Meridian Senior High School Sept. 22 and 23.

"We are not here to fuss," said Roscoe Jones, a student at Meridian Junior College. "We have fussed too long."

The students began to tell what had happened to them:

A white boy had thrown some Coca-Cola on a Negro student at the school. One of the white students had "white power" written on his shirt. Several white boys had eggs, and were bragging about what they were going to do to the "niggers." A white boy had pulled a knife out on a Negro girl, saying, "This is meant for you." Also, some white boys had burned some books that they thought were Negro kids' books (but they were wrong).

One student at the meeting said the high school principal, Charles Armstrong, always wants people to tell him the name of the white kids who do things. But, said the student, Armstrong must know it is impossible to learn all those white kids' names.

Said one girl: "He always wants you to go and get the guy who did this, when he knows good and well that you cannot go and get a 180-pound white boy and

Bus Routes to Change

Desegregation Ordered In Crenshaw, Barbour

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY -- Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. last week ordered Crenshaw County schools to desegregate grades one and seven through 12 this year. The remaining grades will have to be desegregated by 1967.

Earlier, the judge had ordered Crenshaw's white schools to accept 202 Negro students in all 12 grades. He said his new order will cut this in half. half.

Johnson's order, issued last Friday, was the result of a suit filed against the Crenshaw County board of education by parents of students who were rejected as applicants for the white school. There were three hearings in the case before Johnson made his ruling.

In the last hearing Sept. 22, Joe Rex Sport, principal of mostly-white Highland Home school, was asked by State Representative Alton Turner (lawyer

whites.

In another order last week, Johnson ordered the Barbour County Board of Education to admit 16 Negro students to the George C. Wallace High School in Clayton, on the same basis as other students. The order also said the county must provide bus transportation for three other Negro students attending schools in the Eufaula city system.

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Charges Dropped In Miss. Deaths

MERIDIAN, Miss.--The U.S. Justice

Perhaps Flowers was closer to the truth when he said, "You have to live in this area to realize the pressures Negroes are under....I don't believe they can do what they'd like to do, for fear of the white people."

The saddest result of the Eugene Thomas trial was that afterwards, the Negro jurors only seemed to want to put as much distance as possible between them and the courthouse. Their first taste of this aspect of democracy had not made them eager for more.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

"Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! 'I know not what course others may take, but as for me--give me liberty or give me death!" These are the soul-stirring words of Patrick Henry, a late American legislator. This declaration was made before the Virginia legislature in 1776, to persuade the colonies to fight the mother country for their political freedom. Thomas Paine urged the colonists to wake up and use their common sense and fight Great Britain in his pamphlets, "Common Sense" and "The Crisis." Men like these were influential figures in the fight for freedom.

Yes, the colonists chose to fight their mother country--the source from which their every-day lives, business operations, and religious customs were patterned. These men thought it better to die fighting for freedom than to rot away in the chains of slavery clanged over them by their mother country!

The die was cast! The battle was fought! The price was certainly high. But there was no retreat except in "submission and slavery," and thus with the spirit of freedom instilled in them, the victory was won. The United States of America was born!

Now, nearly 300 years later, the children of the men who declared that they would die before being slaves are trying to impose slavery upon the Negro--a man who came to America with Columbus, was brought back as a slave in 1619, was declared free in 1863, but is tortured and insulted even now.

The United States of America was born out of the struggle for freedom. The country's founders loved freedom and placed it above all earthly possessions. Then why, why is the Negro denied this freedom? Is not the blood that flows through his veins as red as that of his white brother? Is not the labor he spent in the building of our country equal to that of his white brother? Why is he placed on the sidelines? No longer will the Negro be given the part of a walk-on, a stage-hand. In this new play script, he must be cast in a leading role. For it is without a doubt that he, too, was and still is a hero in the making of our country's heritage and prestige.

MISS SANDRA COLVIN

For years it has been a question of what the Negro wants. He has never said that he wanted all of anything. He only wants an equal share of what is legally his, the rights granted him as a citizen by the Constitution of the United States, but denied him as a Negro. He wants the same equality in better housing, business accommodations, and better jobs that he has at the income tax window. He wants the same equality in public education that he has in many instances as being the first suspect for a committed crime. He wants the same equality in the voting booth that he has behind an enemy's bullet in Viet Nam!

In the past, the Negro was made to feel inferior, ashamed of the fact that his skin is black. Now that he has come to realize what America stands for, and that the rights granted him by the Constitution of the United States are his birth rights and not a gift, he will not resign from the fight for freedom!

America has been endangered. Her colors are stained, her principles well understood but her practices off-limit. However, today it has been declared by the Negro, as it was by the colonists: there must be total freedom or total oppression! Ninety-nine and one-half percent of freedom just won't do, there has got to be 100.

Miss Sandra Colvin
Montgomery

In Crenshaw, Barbour

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY -- Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. last week ordered Crenshaw County schools to desegregate grades one and seven through 12 this year. The remaining grades will have to be desegregated by 1967.

Earlier, the judge had ordered Crenshaw's white schools to accept 202 Negro students in all 12 grades. He said his new order will cut this in half. half.

Johnson's order, issued last Friday, was the result of a suit filed against the Crenshaw County board of education by parents of students who were rejected as applicants for the white school. There were three hearings in the case before Johnson made his ruling.

In the last hearing Sept. 22, Joe Rex Sport, principal of mostly-white Highland Home school, was asked by State Representative Alton Turner (lawyer for the school board) to present the problems that would come about if the Negro students were admitted. He said the main problem would be over-crowding. "The lunch-room facilities are limited," said Sport. "They need to be extended."

"Would restricting desegregation to certain grades instead of all grades give you some relief?" asked Johnson. Sport replied, "Yes."

Johnson's order then limited this year's desegregation to six grades. He said this was in "the best interest" of the schools and the children.

Some of the students who had asked to go to the all-white schools were attending all-Negro Helicon School. Helicon's new principal, Murray Foster, testified Sept. 22 that the school, which is not accredited, has about 42 students per teacher in the elementary division.

Fred D. Gray, the attorney for the Negro children, asked Sport if the school board had given him any instructions for orienting the new students who would be transferring. Sport answered, "No." "Did you instruct the bus drivers to change routes to accommodate Negro students?" asked Gray. Again Sport said, "No."

School Supt. C. W. Carpenter was asked if any major revisions had been made to do away with the segregated bus system. He said, "No, we have separate bus transportation. We have buses going in the areas of the schools."

In Judge Johnson's order, the board was given until June 30, 1967, to file a copy of a revised county-wide bus transportation system that will accommodate Negro students as well as whites.

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Charges Dropped In Miss. Deaths

MERIDIAN, Miss.--The U.S. Justice Department has asked Federal Judge Harold Cox to throw out the charges against 17 men accused of conspiracy in the 1964 killing of three civil rights workers. But that doesn't mean they are giving up the case.

Justice Department lawyers said they agreed with attorneys for the 17, who claimed the federal grand jury that indicted the men didn't include enough Negroes or women.

The men were scheduled to stand trial this Monday on federal charges of conspiring against the life and liberty of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman. But their lawyers got the trial postponed last week when they argued that the grand jury that indicted the men did not represent a cross-section of the community.

At the time, the Justice Department contended that the grand jury--which had included one Negro and two women --had been fairly chosen.

The department will now try to get a new indictment against the men, from a grand jury chosen from a new, and more representative, list.

8 Students Transfer, But One Is Refused

BY MARY WISSLER

BESSEMER--Johnny Lee Adams finished the tenth grade at all-Negro Carver High School last June. He wanted to transfer to formerly all-white Bessemer High School for his last two years.

Along with many other students at Carver, Adams filled out a freedom-of-choice transfer application last spring. All of his friends' applications were accepted, and eight students did transfer from Carver to Bessemer High this fall. But Adams' application was turned down by the board of education, and that made him angry.

Adams is 15 years old and small for his age, but he already knows where he is going. "My ambition is to be a minister," he says quietly. "God willing, I will go to college. I want to be as good a minister as I can get to be."

When the school board turned him down, Adams decided not to take no for an answer. The board told him that his principal, James I. Cobb, had not recommended him for a transfer. "Mr. Cobb came here and told me he had mistaken Johnny for some other little boy," said Adams' mother. "He said he was sorry."

But this week, Cobb said, "The young man had some F's. It was my opinion that he should not be transferred with failures on his record, since we would want him to make a good showing."

"About my grades," said Adams, "the reason I wanted to go to Bessemer in the first place was to improve myself. I got one F in the tenth grade, and I started in at summer school for a week. But then there wasn't enough money for me to go on."

When he couldn't get action from the board of education, Adams appealed to the NAACP at the beginning of September. But the NAACP did not want to file a suit against Cobb, who had been generally helpful in school desegregation.

Finally, Adams wrote to the U.S. Justice Department in Washington. "I still want to transfer to see if I can improve myself and especially my grades," he told them. "I had never been a bad boy or a disciplinary problem.... Please help me. I want to transfer now." But the Justice Department didn't answer, and when the first day of school came, Adams had to go back to Carver.

"If I was accepted now, well, I wouldn't go," Adams said this week. "There would be too much catching up. And I won't try again next year. I'm gettin' me some good grades up at Carver now, and for the last year I ought to stay."

Adams said he isn't bitter about what happened. "It was kind of hard when I got rejected, but I'm not against my school," he said. "In fact, I love Carver. It's only that Bessemer teaches classes on a higher level, and there's a chance for better jobs."

lesson. When I finished, I turned and laughed at him.

MISS GWENDOLYN CLARK

He got so mad, he began to call me "nigger" and other things. Another kid that was in the library was keeping up a lot of noise, and the teacher said, "Shut up, or out you go."

When the bell rang for us to change class, I picked up the piece of paper on the table and threw it on the floor and stumped it. The boy said, "You damn nigger," and walked out. I left, leaving the paper on the floor.

The same day, I went to the cafeteria, and the white kids were calling me and the other Negroes "nigger." So I got sick of it and turned around and told the white boy who was talking, "Shut up, nigger, you're talking about yourself," because "nigger" means anyone who is nasty.

I told him, "The last few days I've been at this school, the only thing I've seen are 'niggers.' So why don't you be quiet and stop letting these Negroes know what you are--a 'nigger.'"

After finishing my lunch, I was going into the main building when one of the white boys spat on me. I spat back on him, and that evening I told the principal about it.

On Friday, Randolph Hopkins, one of the Negro boys that goes out to the school, was in a fight with one of the white boys. Randolph was sent home

coe Jones, a student at Alabama State College. "We have fussed too long."

The students began to tell what had happened to them:

A white boy had thrown some Coca-Cola on a Negro student at the school. One of the white students had "white power" written on his shirt. Several white boys had eggs, and were bragging about what they were going to do to the "niggers." A white boy had pulled a knife out on a Negro girl, saying, "This is meant for you." Also, some white boys had burned some books that they thought were Negro kids' books (but they were wrong).

One student at the meeting said the high school principal, Charles Armstrong, always wants people to tell him the name of the white kids who do things. But, said the student, Armstrong must know it is impossible to learn all those white kids' names.

Said one girl: "He always wants you to go and get the guy who did this, when he knows good and well that you cannot go and get a 180-pound white boy and bring him to him."

"You are out at that school and you must stay, no matter what happens," Jones told the students.

"The community should get together and stand behind the students," someone said.

"We must stay together," replied Jones.

Montgomery

Mrs. Charlotte Haselrig, a district superintendent of the Buds of Promise in Georgia, was the speaker for Women's Day last Sunday at Mt. Zion AME Zion Church. "Are you involved?" she asked the congregation. "Or have you been running away from the business of the church?" She said all people can be "ambassadors for Christ" in their daily lives. "Will you accept the call?" she asked. "Inactivity is the same as flight. Become involved in active Christian service." Citations were given to Miss Dorothy Wright, Miss Lillian Payne, Miss Delois Boyd, Miss Willie Stone, Mrs. Clara Ivey, Mrs. Annie Thomas, and Mrs. Gwendolyn Ligon. The annual program raised $5,007 for foreign missionary work.

Decatur

Miss Gladys McDaniel was a contestant in the Miss Morgan County beauty competition earlier this month. She didn't win--in fact, she wasn't even chosen as one of the six girls in the final round. But nevertheless, her showing was remarkable, because she was a Negro girl in probably the first integrated beauty contest in Alabama history. Miss McDaniel, a 19-year-old senior at Lakeside High School in Decatur, said she entered the contest because "I'd never been in one before."

Montgomery

Sixteen new teachers, including ten with doctor's degrees, were on the faculty as Alabama State College opened its fall term this month. Levi Watkins, president of the college, said 29 teachers--one-third of the faculty--now have doctor's degrees. Enrollment for the fall term at ASC was 1,657 students.

THINK AND GRIN

Where are the kings of England usually crowned?

On the head.

Where is the best place to have a very painful boil?

On someone else.

STATEMENT OF MANAGEMENT, OWNERSHIP, AND CIRCULATION (Required by Act of Oct. 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of filing--Sept. 16, 1966.

2. Title of publication -- The Southern Courier.

3. Frequency of issue--Weekly.

4. Location of known office of publication--622 Frank Leu Building, 79 Commerce St., Montgomery, Montgomery County, Ala. 36104

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers--Same.

6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor --Publisher: Southern Educational Conference, Inc., 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala; Editor: Michael S. Lottman, 143 Wade St., Montgomery, Ala.; Managing Editor: Mary Ellen Gale, 1001 Washington, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

7. Owner--Southern Educational Conference, Inc., 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. (Georgia address--859 1/2 Hunter St. NW, Atlanta, Ga.). Names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1% or more of total amount of stock--Non-share corporation.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1% or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities--None.

9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of stockholders in a stockholding corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1% or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation.

10. Average number copies each issue during preceding 12 months: Total number copies printed, 20,000; Paid sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 17,500; Paid mail subscriptions, 1,400; Total paid circulation, 18,900; Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means, 400; Total distribution, 19,300; Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 700; Total, 20,000.

Single issue nearest to filing date: Total number copies printed, 24,750; Paid sales through dealers and carriers, 21,241; Paid mail subscriptions, 2,038; Total paid circulation, 23,279; Free distribution, 701; Total distribution, 23,980; Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 770; Total, 24,750.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Michael S. Lottman, Editor.

On Sunday, Sept. 4, thousands of Negroes marched into Cicero, Illinois, an all-white suburb of Chicago, to demand an end to segregated housing. The march was different from the non-violent demonstrations that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and SCLC had been leading all summer in the Chicago Freedom Movement. This time, the marchers were prepared to fight back, if attacked. Fewer whites, and fewer women and children, were marching. Marchers often shouted "Black power."

The Cicero march first had been planned by Dr. King. He called it off when Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley and the Chicago Real Estate Board promised to work toward ending the housing discrimination that has kept many Negroes living in ghettos. But some Negroes were not satisfied with this agreement, and CORE decided to hold the march anyway.

Cicero residents greeted the Negroes by waving swastika flags and shouting Nazi slogans.

Expecting trouble, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner had called out 2,500 National Guard troops. These troops, and hundreds of state, county, and city police, helped keep violence to a minimum.

But a few rocks, bottles, and cherry bombs were thrown, and there were a few scuffles. Whatever else it may have done, Dr. King's agreement had not greatly changed the mood of the white residents of Cicero.

Special Feature:

A DEMONSTRATION *in the* NORTH

in the NORTH

Photographs by John Phillips

Grinnell College 'Scarlet & Black'

SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASS AT CHARITY CHAPEL ASSEMBLY OF GOD, ONE OF MANY CAJUN CHURCHES

THE CAJUNS' LITTLE STORES DON'T MAKE MUCH MONEY

Cajuns in Washington County: 'They Stay to Themselves'

BY DON GREGG

McINTOSH--To most people, segregation means separation of Negroes and whites. In Washington County, it means a lot more. This southwest Alabama county has a third group of people segregated from both the Negro and the white communities.

The people are known as Cajuns. They are a mixture of Indian, white, and Negro. No one knows where they came from, and no one knows why they are called Cajuns. The name is usually applied to an all-white group of French descendants living in the bayou country of southern Louisiana, but the Washington County Cajuns have no trace of a French accent, and their speech lacks the sing-song whine that is the trademark of the Louisiana Cajun.

Washington County Probate Judge Tom W. Turner says that there are about 350 to 400 families of Cajuns in the southern section. All of them live west of Highway 43 in a 100-square-mile area from McIntosh and Calvert to Topton and Charity Chapel. A smaller group lives on the same network of back roads in the bordering part of Mobile County, from Citronelle to Mt. Vernon.

The Cajuns live in clusters of houses, as if banding together against poverty and isolation. In most yards there is an old car or a pickup truck, but it is parked in front of a shack. Occasionally you see a bright red or shiny black motorcycle, and even the smallest shacks can first be spotted by television antennas sticking up above the trees, but there are few middle-class houses.

The average Cajun home has two rooms. One is a small kitchen dominated by a black, wood-burning stove. The other room, set off by a thin partition, holds the beds and the TV for the five-member family. Vegetables grow in a small garden beside the 10-by-25-foot house, and one or two sleepy dogs lie in the yard.

The Cajuns' proudest buildings are their schools and churches, which are brick, concrete block, or neat frame structures. Like the Negroes and whites of Washington

and, like most Cajuns, he calls himself white. His brother married a Negro, so he calls himself Negro.

And when a Cajun girl married a Negro in Washington County, the Cajuns wouldn't let the child go to the Cajun schools. The couple sent their child to live with its grandparents and attend an all-Negro school.

Some Cajuns call themselves Indians, instead of white. They don't use the word Cajun, but, as a young waitress in Wagarville put it, "If you say 'Hey, Cajun!' they know who you're talking to.

"They live down there around McIntosh and they're part nigger and part white, but some of the girls are real pretty. Especially those that live up near the white folks," she said.

"They stay to themselves and don't nobody mess with 'em. If they like you, they like you; if they don't, they don't."

Judge Turner is one of the few people in Washington County that doesn't call them Cajuns. Instead, he calls them "friend," or he simply calls them by name. That's because he has known them all his life. Since he became probate judge in January of 1965, he has used his power to help them. One of his first official acts was to take his four man court of commissioners, the county governing body, to two of the area's big businesses: Gulf and Olin chemical companies.

'They Stay to Themselves'

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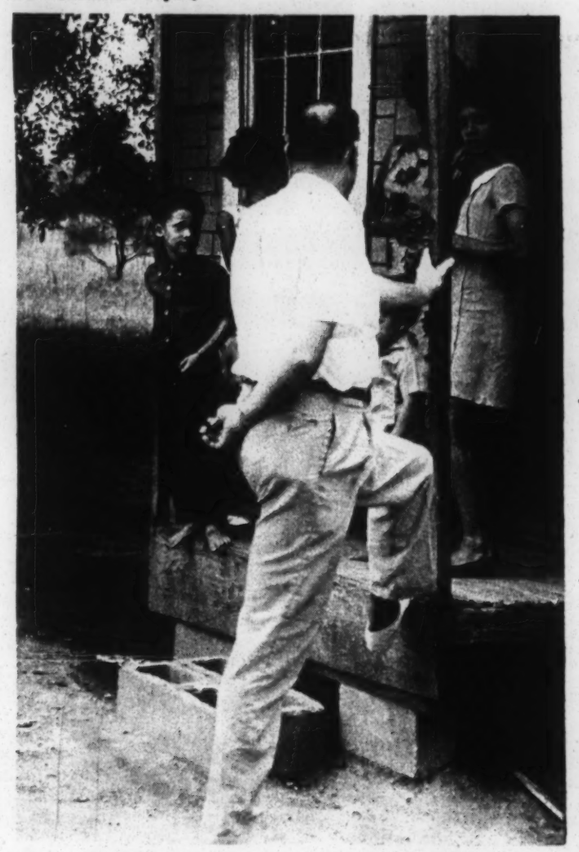

TURNER CALLS THE CAJUNS 'FRIEND'

Washington County Probate Judge Tom W. Turner says that there are about 350 to 400 families of Cajuns in the southern section. All of them live west of Highway 43 in a 100-square-mile area from McIntosh and Calvert to Topton and Charity Chapel. A smaller group lives on the same network of back roads in the bordering part of Mobile County, from Citronelle to Mt. Vernon.

The Cajuns live in clusters of houses, as if banding together against poverty and isolation. In most yards there is an old car or a pickup truck, but it is parked in front of a shack. Occasionally you see a bright red or shiny black motorcycle, and even the smallest shacks can first be spotted by television antennas sticking up above the trees, but there are few middle-class houses.

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The Cajuns' proudest buildings are their schools and churches, which are brick, concrete block, or neat frame structures. Like the Negroes and whites of Washington County, the Cajuns have their own schools, four of them in all. The churches, usually Baptist or Assembly of God, are so numerous that most Cajuns are within walking distance of them.

Most of the Cajuns make a living by hauling pulp wood for paper companies. "They live in family groups of about 25," said Judge Turner, "and in this group there might be one paper-wood truck. During the harvest season, some of them help farmers take in their crops; and some of them have little stores, but they don't make much money from them. Since jobs are scarce, some take off for Mobile to work on the docks."

The Hi-Way 43 Drive-in Theater is the only place that Cajuns go for entertainment. Otherwise, they pass the time by working, hunting, fishing, or just sitting around talking.

Like many poor people, the Cajuns marry young and have lots of children. Mrs. Louella Snow, 69, spoke proudly of her large number of grandchildren and great-grand children. But she said her 29-year-old daughter, with six children aged two to 11, is "kinda checked up now. She says she ain't raisin' no more."

Everywhere in this 100 square miles you hear the same names: Snow, Reed, Weaver, Orso, Chestang, Rivers. Asked about her name, Mrs. Snow said, "There's another Louella Snow, but she'll change her name pretty soon. She'll be getting married. She's 12 and, Lo-o-ord, she's a big old girl."

The small number of names indicates a problem of the Cajun way of life. According to a Justice Department official who has worked some with them, they often marry within their own family. This causes a high rate of mental problems, and physical defects like poor eyesight, crippled limbs, and misshapen heads.

Cajuns seldom marry outside their own group, but when they do it can cause a different kind of problem. In one family, Turner said, a man married a white girl from Oklahoma, and, like most Cajuns, he calls himself white. His brother married a Negro, so he calls himself Negro.

And when a Cajun girl married a Negro in Washington County, the Cajuns wouldn't let the child go to the Cajun schools. The couple sent their child to live with its grandparents and attend an all-Negro school.

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"Since that meeting," Turner said, "the companies have begun to hire them. Olin might have had one working there before, but the officials at Geigy said they just didn't know about them."

Finding jobs for them is important, but Judge Turner thinks of the Cajuns as people, not just as a problem. In 1962 he began taking Christmas presents to the poorest of them. "I still carry presents around to the old folks and the cripples," he said.

He also tries to help the Cajuns in other ways. When he visited George Snow and his family in the dead of winter, Turner said, the Snows' unsealed, one-room house was "freezing cold." Snow and the children were sick, so Turner explained to Mrs. Snow how she could buy old or rejected plywood and seal her home. "After she did it, she called me to come look at it. She said it made all the difference in the world."

But the biggest thing Turner has tried to do for them, and for all of the poor people of his county, has been a failure. Nearly two years ago he helped set up the Tombigbee Community Action Program. "That's as far as we've gotten," Turner said. The program has not yet qualified for the initial grant needed to get things under way.

According to Turner, the Tombigbee program (for Washington, Clarke, and Choctaw counties) has met the general requirements set out by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity. He said that whites, Negroes, and representatives of labor, education, the county governments, agriculture, and industry, are all on the planning committee.

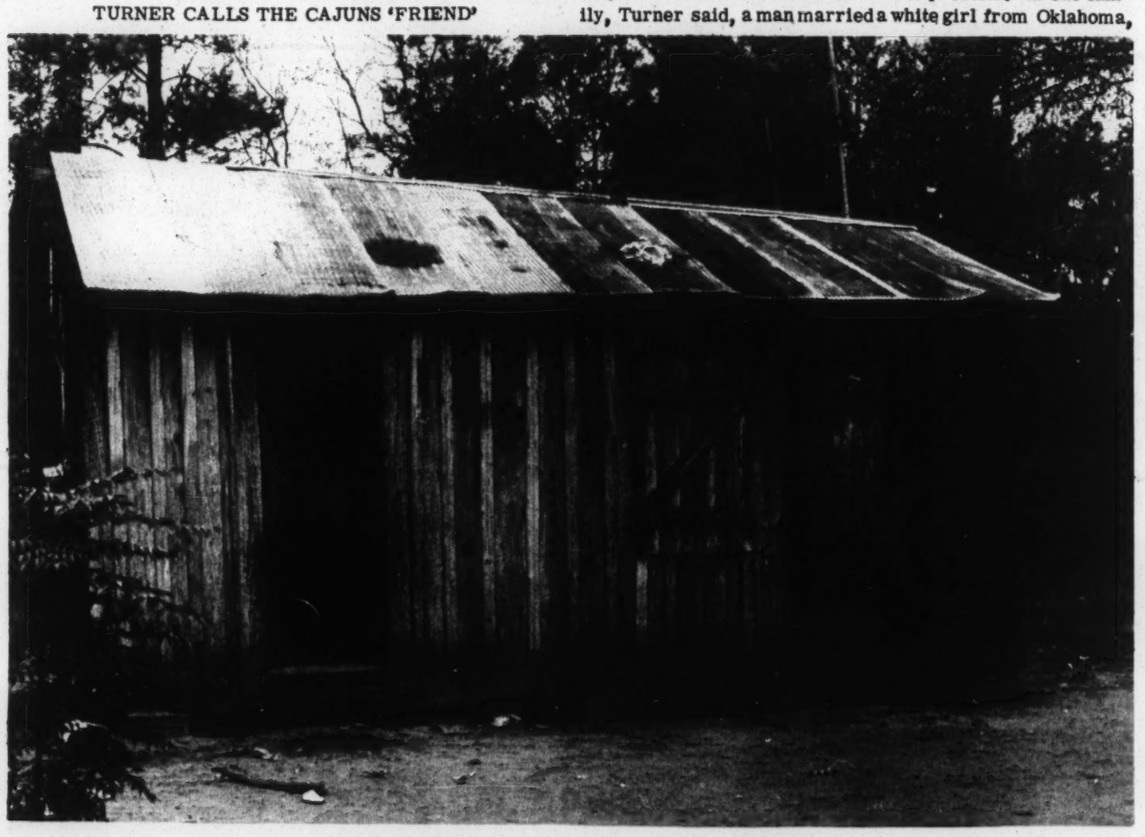
He blamed the long delay partly on federal officials. Three requests for funds have been submitted to OEO, but all of them have been rejected. Turner said the latest one was turned down two weeks ago because it needed to be updated.

He said the refusal was particularly frustrating because an OEO official had come from Atlanta to show him how to fill

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

JUDGE TURNER

MRS. LOUELLA SNOW



THE AVERAGE CAJUN HOUSE HAS TWO ROOMS

THE AVERAGE CAJUN FAMILY HAS MANY CHILDREN

In Greene County Case

U.S. Judge Blocks Grand Jury Action

BY ROBERTA REISIG

MONTGOMERY -- "In any county where we find Negroes are improperly kept off the juries, we can stop the court from functioning," a civil rights lawyer claimed last week.

The attorney, Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC), had done just that--temporarily, at least. Last Thursday, Federal Judge H. H. Grooms of Birmingham stopped the Greene County grand jury from hearing evidence against Jelinek's client, civil rights worker Paul M. Bokulich, until a three-judge panel could look into the county's entire jury system.

Jelinek had charged that there were not enough Negroes on the grand jury, and that the whole jury system was unconstitutional. He said his suit was unusual in many ways.

Jelinek said this is the first time a judge has kept a grand jury from hearing evidence because of its racial make-up. (In the past, convictions have been thrown out for racial reasons--but only after the defendant had been indicted, tried, and convicted.)

Furthermore, he said, his suit doesn't make the usual claims--that Negroes were completely excluded from jury service, or that only a few "token" Negroes were included. The suit admits that the Greene County jury list is 30% Negro.

And, said Jelinek, the suit is the first direct challenge to the constitutionality of Alabama's jury laws.

Bokulich, 28, from Detroit, Michigan, spent last winter and spring working on voter registration for SCLC in Greene County. In the May Democratic primary, one Negro--the Rev. Peter Kirksey--won nomination to county office. Then on June 20, Bokulich was arrested for grand larceny. Greene County Sheriff Bill Lee accused him of "flim-flamming" two local Negroes, Mrs. Julia Watson and Hank Belton, by posing as a government employee and stealing their welfare checks.

Normally, the case would have gone before a grand jury, which would decide whether or not Bokulich should stand trial. But Jelinek filed a federal suit claiming that the grand jury itself was illegally made up.

The suit said the grand jury was illegal in three ways. First, it said that Negroes were "systematically excluded from jury duty. About 85% of

PAUL M. BOKULICH AND FAMILY

many "fit" people, "permitting wholesale, purposeful discrimination at the whim and caprice" of the jury commission, the suit said.

Third, it said, the Greene County Jury Commission, which chooses jurors, is unconstitutionally made up. Appointed by Governor George C. Wallace (a defendant in Jelinek's suit), the jury commission has never included a Negro.

Before Judge Grooms' order can become permanent, Jelinek must prove his case to the three-judge panel.

Meanwhile, the lawyer celebrated the first-round victory by buying a dog. He named it "Bokulich."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

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Jesus is truly giving victory to many, many people's problems. SUCCESS CAN BE YOURS. See or write me today. I have a special message for every troubled soul. Last week

School Elections in Rural Miss.

BY PATRICIA JAMES

MERIDIAN, Miss.--Beat 5 in almost every county in Mississippi will have a board of education election Nov. 8.

Almost all county boards of education have five members--each one elected by the people living in his beat. This year's election concerns Beat 5 in every Mississippi county except Washington, Coahoma, and Leflore. In these three counties, the members are elected at large, which means that everybody in the whole county can vote. These counties will hold elections in 1967.

Two Negroes running in Beat 5 elections this fall are Mrs. Mary Inez Batts of Neshoba County and Otis C. Millsap of Jasper County.

"I am running because I think we can ask for what we want," said Mrs. Batts. "Speak out and let them know what we want. My people can tell me what they want, and when the board has its meetings, I can tell the board what my people and I want."

Now, said Millsap, "we have no voice in matters. We don't know anything about what's going on in our state. We want to know what's happening. We are human beings, just as the other race. This is why I am running--because I want my people to get what they want."

This election is for school boards in rural areas. Towns and cities usually have separate school boards.

Candidates for the board of education must be registered voters who have lived in their beats for one year. To get on this year's ballot, they must get 10% of the registered voters in Beat 5, or 50 people--whichever is less--to sign a petition nominating them for the school board. They must hand in the petitions before Oct. 9.

Board members are elected for six years. People elected to represent Beat 5 will be on the board until 1972.

What does a member do in six years?

The main job is to pay all bills. Among the responsibilities of the board of education are:

1. Paying teachers' salaries;
2. Running school buses and sometimes buying new ones;
3. Buying books for all schools in the county system;
4. Purchasing supplies and equipment;
5. Approving or disapproving of students transferring from one school to another;
6. Changing boundaries of school districts; and
7. Paying the salary and expenses of the county superintendent of education.

Thomas Cleared

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

guilty verdict. Then all 12 sat back in their seats in the jury box, laughing, eating sandwiches, and drinking Cokes. After that, they collected their pay for jury duty--$16 for two days--and hurried out of the courthouse.

One Negro juror said afterward that jury duty was "all right." At first, he said, the jurors "couldn't get together" on the verdict, but then they did. Would he want to serve again? "Well," he said doubtfully, "it's a pretty big job."

Another Negro juror said he didn't think Thomas was innocent and he didn't think he was guilty. "I couldn't understand. . . about the pistols and stuff," he said. He added that he wouldn't want to serve again, because "it's too hard."

As the last of the participants in the last of Lowndes County's civil rights trials drove off, County Solicitor Carlton Perdue stood out in the darkness, telling anyone who wanted to hear: "Our relationships with niggers are extremely good. Tonight, I'd do most anything for the nigger."

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"token" Negroes were included. The suit admits that the Greene County jury list is 30% Negro.

And, said Jelinek, the suit is the first direct challenge to the constitutionality of Alabama's jury laws.

Bokulich, 28, from Detroit, Michigan, spent last winter and spring working on voter registration for SCLC in Greene County. In the May Democratic primary, one Negro--the Rev. Peter Kirksey--won nomination to county office. Then on June 20, Bokulich was arrested for grand larceny. Greene County Sheriff Bill Lee accused him of "flim-flamming" two local Negroes, Mrs. Julia Watson and Hank Belton, by posing as a government employee and stealing their welfare checks.

Normally, the case would have gone before a grand jury, which would decide whether or not Bokulich should stand trial. But Jelinek filed a federal suit claiming that the grand jury itself was illegally made up.

The suit said the grand jury was illegal in three ways. First, it said that Negroes were "systematically excluded" from jury duty. About 65% of Greene County's eligible jurors are Negro, the suit said, but of the 65 names on the September jury list, only 19--or 30%--are Negro. This is "under-representation by as much as 35%," Jelinek charged.

Second, the suit said, two Alabama jury laws are "unconstitutional on their face." According to these laws, the jury commission in a county can reject anyone who is not of high moral character, or who appears "unfit." This is so vague that it can be used against

come permanent, Jelinek must prove his case to the three-judge panel.

Meanwhile, the lawyer celebrated the first-round victory by buying a dog. He named it "Bokulich."

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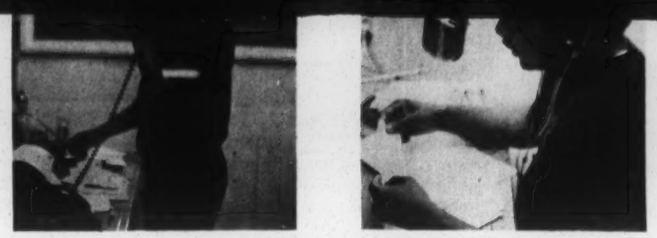

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In Chattanooga, Negroes and whites got rough with racial prejudice... instead of each other.

Communities with a real desire to settle racial problems are doing an effective job. They're bringing Negroes and whites together, around the conference table, where they can work jointly in resolving their differences.

In Chattanooga, they're working together thru the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Thru their efforts, factories have begun to hire Negroes, 100% of the restaurants agreed to serve Negroes, and whites and Negroes have formed a Community Action Committee. Now, people defend the character of Negroes they formerly thought troublesome.

It can work for you, too. Formal talk among members of all races in your community, thru a Human Relations Commission, can start solving the problems of education, delinquency and equal jobs.

To be most effective, a Commission should have official status, power to act, an adequate budget, skilled staff, and membership widely representative of the community.

If you want to know how to set up a Commission, or how an existing one can be more effective, write for the Community Relations Service booklet, "How To Turn Talk Into Action." Address: ACTION, Washington, D.C. 20537.

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SKY DIVERS--Four sport parachutes for sale, never been used, perfect condition. Various colors. Call 595-2343 in Birmingham, afternoons and evenings.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

TWIN COVERLETS WANTED -- Wanted, two hand-made quilted coverlets for a pair of twin beds, suitable for a girl's room. Write to Mrs. M. B. Olatunji, P. O. Box 358, Millerton, N. Y.

WE NEED tables, chairs, and books for the new Community Center on Ardmore Highway in Indian Creek. Help the Community Center by giving items which you don't need. Call Arthur Jacobs Jr., 752-4989, in Huntsville.

CLOTHES WANTED--The La Ritz Social & Savings Club is sponsoring a charity drive for the Boys Town. The club is soliciting clothing and linen. If you want to contribute to the drive, call Mrs. Nellie Hardy, at 263-0948 in Montgomery, or drop off your donation at her house, 628 Colony St.

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P. R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

MONTGOMERY NAACP -- Kick-off for the NAACP membership drive will be at 8 p.m. Tuesday, Oct. 4, in Bethel Baptist Church. The public is invited. J. E. Williams, assistant director of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, will be the keynote speaker. The goal of the membership drive is 3,000 members.

RECEPTIONIST -- Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 10025.

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WANTED -- One parakeet, yellow, with green breast and funny-looking tail, already named Francis if possible, for six little girls. Call 264-4078 in Montgomery.

WORK IN NEW YORK--Do you wish self-employment? Suitable couple, with or without family, wanted to re-locate in New York State, and take care of retarded children who are wards of the state. 13-room house available for rent. For more information, write to Mrs. M.B. Olatunji, P.O. Box 358, Millerton, N. Y.

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JUDGE HELPS CAJUNS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

out his request. She is no longer with OEO, Turner said.

"People keep disappearing," he said. "As soon as you find out what one person wants in Montgomery or Atlanta, he moves to another department and you have to start over with somebody else."

But Turner thinks the poverty money is desperately needed, and he is angry about the long wait. "A kid doesn't know anything about Montgomery," he said. "A kid doesn't know what OEO means. All he knows is he's cold as hell, and he's hungry."

Meanwhile, he will keep on working with the Cajuns, not because they are a "problem," but because they are his friends.

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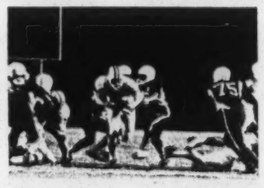


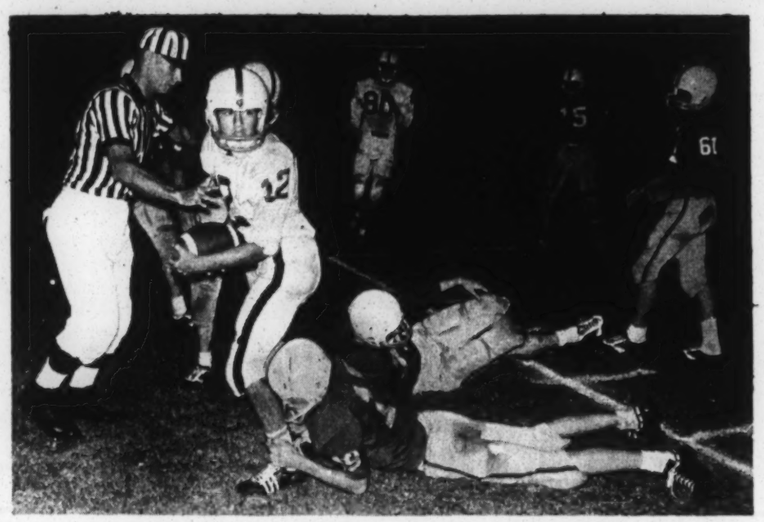
HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY

7:45 p.m. Friday, Oct. 7

Admission: Adults $1.00
Students .50

Games of the Week

Two Big Wins for Tuskegee Teams



NOTASULGA TACKLER HANGS ON TO QB COHN

BY J. A. ROSS

TUSKEGEE--The winless, fired-up, red-jerseyed Tigers of Tuskegee Institute High shellacked visiting Booker T. Washington of Montgomery last week, 20 to 0.

Both offenses see-sawed back and forth between the 20-yard markers for the entire first half, probing their opponents' defense. Neither team showed much punch.

But the Tigers came out at the opening of the second half and completely dominated the Yellow Jackets with a "razzle-dazzle" offense. Their first score came within two minutes.

Tuskegee Institute High received the second-half kick-off, and then picked up 15 yards on a penalty. On the next play, fleet-footed Tiger halfback Robert Thompson sprinted through the Yellow Jackets' left tackle for 55 yards and a touchdown. Vincent Hepbern passed to Wilbert Sutton for the extra point.

Another penalty set up the Tigers' second TD. After a 15-yard step-off put the ball on the BTW 21, Tiger quarterback Leon Moore threw a pass to Sutton, who shook off or side-stepped five attempted tackles and went in for the score.

In the final seconds of the game, Jonas Bowens of Tuskegee Institute picked up a Yellow Jacket fumble and ran 20 yards for the final TD.

The Tigers received only one penalty, five yards for offside, during the entire game.

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- The Tuskegee High School Indians scalped the Blue Devils of Notasulga last week to win their first football game in nearly four years. The score was a lopsided 26 to 6.

The Notasulga squad was big, tough, experienced, and all-white. Just about everybody thought it was going to whip Tuskegee's small, desegregated team in the Indians' second battle of their first football season since 1962.

But Indian quarterback Jimmy Cohn proved that it's more important to out-think your opponents than to out-number or out-weigh them. After a first quarter in which neither team could shake the ball loose, Cohn unveiled a passing attack that left the Blue Devils floundering around in mid-field.

Time after time, Cohn whipped the ball under, over, around, or through the Blue Devil defense to end Joe Peterson. But as Tuskegee came within one yard of a touchdown, Notasulga fought back by knocking Cohn out of the game.

With their quarterback missing, the Indians lost the ball and 60 yards in quick succession. They didn't recover until Cohn returned to the lineup. Then they took the ball back down the field and scored on a long pass to Peterson. He kicked the extra point with only seconds left in the half.

After half-time music from Tuskegee's two-week-old band, it was the Indians' game all the way. Peterson, Cohn, and halfback Dean Hornsby each scored once, and Hornsby ran another extra point. The best Notasulga could do was a lone tally by fullback Jimmy May near the end of the game.

Poor People Travel to Washington To Fight for Anti-Poverty Bill

BY LAURA GODOFSKY

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Poor people from Mississippi, California, Michigan, Kentucky, New York, Missouri, Ohio, and New Jersey came to Washington this week. They all came for the same reason -- they wanted the U. S. Congress to pass a strong anti-poverty bill, and to spend more money on the War on Poverty.

The poor people were Negro and white, Spanish-speaking and English-speaking. Money from churches, labor unions, friends, and their own pockets helped them get to Washington.

They arrived Monday on a chilly and rainy day. But before they left, they had received some warm and sunny welcomes. About 600 people marched to the Capitol building, where two senators and three representatives talked to them.

The 1996 anti-poverty bill came to the floor of the House Monday. It was expected to pass and go to the Senate soon. No one thought Congress would end the War on Poverty, but the marchers wanted the war to be expanded.

The march was coordinated by the Poverty Rights Action Center, a Washington group. The new center hopes to help civil rights and anti-poverty groups to work together.

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Trial Set For Rights Worker In Draft Case

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--Simuel B. Schutz Jr., a civil rights worker charged with draft-dodging, pleaded not guilty at a hearing this week in U. S. District Court.

A federal grand jury had indicted Schutz for failing to report to his local draft board in Tuskegee last May "to submit to induction into the Armed Forces."

After the pre-trial hearing was over, Schutz' attorney admitted that Schutz didn't show up on the date ordered by the Macon County draft board.

But the attorney, Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, said Schutz had a good reason. He said the all-white draft board had no right to draft Schutz, a Negro.

"Any act performed by a segregated body in this country is illegal," Jelinek said. "It cannot and should not be obeyed. As long as the draft board is discriminating, they do not act in the name of the U. S. government."

Jelinek said he would argue the question at Schutz' trial, scheduled for the week of Oct. 17.

Schutz, 19, faces a sentence of up to

Booker T. Washington High School

VS.

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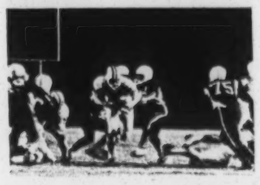

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Jelinek said he would argue the question at Schutz' trial, scheduled for the week of Oct. 17.

Schutz, 19, faces a sentence of up to five years in a federal prison and a fine of up to $10,000 if he is convicted.

A native of Tuskegee, he was formerly a student at Tuskegee Institute and a leader of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League.

Reward Offered

MONTGOMERY--A reward of $500--the highest amount the law allows--has been posted for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers of Jimmie Lee Smith Jr., whose body was found Sept. 4 in a ravine near the Alabama River. Governor George C. Wallace posted the reward Sept. 16 at the request of District Attorney Dave Crosland, one day after an eight-member committee from the Montgomery Improvement Association asked Crosland to act.

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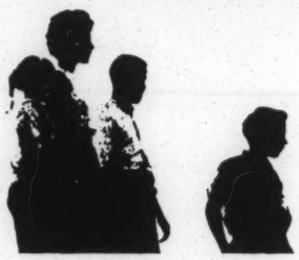

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No Negroes Elected to New ASCS County Committees

MONTGOMERY -- Negro candidates didn't do much better in the Alabama ASCS elections this year than they did last year.

According to the latest figures from the state office of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, no Negroes were elected to the powerful ASCS county committees.

Only 18 Negroes were elected to the community committees that chose the new county committeemen. Another 76 Negroes were selected as alternates. Last year, there were 11 Negro community committeemen and 85 alternates.

In Lowndes County, where past elections were thrown out and three new county committeemen chosen, Negroes put three white men into office. They did it by electing only three Negro community committeemen and four Negro alternates. The white community committeemen easily outvoted the Negroes.

It seemed like a discouraging end to weeks of work by civil rights groups, who had convinced a federal court to move the election back from mid-August to mid-September.

But Lewis Black, who coordinated the state-wide effort by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, SNCC, SCLC and the National Sharecro[illegible] said he wasn't disappointe[illegible]

"I didn't expect it to be [illegible] last year," he said. "Con[illegible] erything, I think we did we[illegible]

"The morale is differen[illegible] ment is leaving Alabama. It gave Negroes a lot of promises and didn't fulfill them. Negroes are losing hope and going back to the old ways."

"There didn't anybody work as hard this year," Black added. "There weren't as many CR folks in here to work anyway. Not as many young people joined in. There wasn't as much curiosity."

He said he thought the month-long delay did some good. "We wouldn't have had half as many people to win without it." But he also said that much more time was needed.

"The whole thing is education," he said. "So many Negroes went back and sold out, after talking like they were going to raise some sand. Or else they figured it wasn't worth it and threw the ballot in the trashcan."

But it wasn't all the Negroes' fault, Black said. "In Perry County, the whites got their wives to vote. They were listed there in the paper right along with their husbands. In Greene, one man was listed to vote in seven different beats."

"Another trick is that they can't vote in but one new county committee member a year," Black pointed out. (The special election in Lowndes County was held under a court order.) "You gotta have a lot of Negroes pulling together to get just one man in power.

"They got tricks they been using for 100 years. You can't beat 'em in one year. We gotta keep working on education."

Negroes were nominated for the ASCS community committees in two ways: by petition or by the white committee members already in office.

The Negro winners by county: Wilcox--7 regular (6 by petition), 7 alternate (5 by petition); Lowndes--3 regular, 4 alternate (all nominated by petition); Greene--1 regular and 1 alternate (both by petition); Marengo--16 alternates (2 by petition).

Monroe--3 regular, 12 alternate (none by petition); Clarke--4 regular, 5 alternate (none by petition); Russell --10 alternate (none by petition); Choctaw--7 alternate (none by petition); Washington--4 alternate; Montgomery --2 alternate.

One alternate position was won by a Negro in each of the following counties: Dallas, Bullock, Colbert, Houston, Jefferson, Limestone, Madison, Pickens, Talladega, and Tallapoosa.

No Negroes were elected to any position at all in Hale, Perry, and Sumter counties, despite concentrated work by the civil rights groups.

One More Chance

MONTGOMERY -- Negroes have [illegible]nce to elect an ASCS [illegible]teeman this year. The [illegible] election is being run [illegible]use of a rules violation [illegible]ime around.

[illegible] director B. L. Collins [illegible] ballots will be mailed [illegible] Monday. They must be sent back, postmarked no later than Oct. 21, or returned to the county office in Tuskegee on that date.

A civil rights worker who watched the first election ballots counted last month said he thinks Macon County has a good chance to elect more Negroes than whites to three of the county's five community committees.

"When we stopped counting," he said, "one Negro had won and five others were winning. We can do better this time. We're gonna take that county. If we don't do it in Macon, it can't be done."

The community committeemen elect one new member to the three-man county committee by majority vote at a county convention.

Collins said Oct. 25 is the final date for counting ballots in Macon. The county convention will be Oct. 28, and the winner will take office Nov. 1.

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Youth in Hospital Says White Man Beat Him, But Sheriff Denies It

BY ROBERTA REISIG

MONTGOMERY--Lawyer James Charley, 11, of Camden, is lying in St. Jude's Hospital here with a fractured skull. Hospital officials say he's lucky to be alive.

Charley entered Camden Memorial Hospital three weeks ago. But he doesn't remember it. He was in a coma from a beating he says two white men gave him.

On Saturday, Sept. 17, Charley said, [illegible] He charged of attacking him is walking around without criminal charges against him.

"There's nothing in the world to it," said Wilcox County Sheriff P. C. "Lummie" Jenkins. "We don't know how in the world he (Charley) was hurt, but no white people had anything to do with it. He got hurt, and his folks want to make it appear that some whites did it."

Jenkins said that some "nigger boys" had been playing where Charley was found. "Some of his own cronies could probably have done it."

The sheriff said that he had spoken about the incident to the man Charley

OEO Decides:

NO MONEY FOR CDGM

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--A storm which has been gathering over Mississippi all summer finally broke this week. OEO announced that it will not give any more money to the present Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM).

CDGM is the state-wide Head Start program run by Negroes from the top on down. Late last week, its leaders learned that a new, bi-racial board had been formed to run anti-poverty programs in Mississippi.

CDGM, which has reached more than 13,000 children through 121 centers since last March, came to the end of its grant in mid-September. The Head Start group applied for $20,300,000 to continue and expand its program during the next year.

In turning down this request Sunday, the federal Office of Economic Opportunity said, "The Director of OEO is under a legal as well as moral obligation not to finance any group which has failed to 'demonstrate that it is qualified to administer the funds and programs in the proposed grant.'"

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On Saturday, Sept. 17, Charley said, he and a friend, Clifford Blackmon, 12, were coming home from school "by the railroad tracks by the icehouse."

Two white men came along. Charley said he recognized one of the men, who said, "There's that nigger that comes to the filling station and buys drinks all the time."

Then, Charley said, the man attacked him.

When his friend ran away, they "shot at him," Charley said. "They shouted 'Look at the damn nigger go.'"

Then "they beat me up and I sorta walked off a bit an' I fell."

Charley remembers falling on the rocks and dirt. The next thing he remembers is "the floor of the ambulance." A passerby had seen him lying by the railroad tracks and called the police. He was taken at first to Camden Memorial Hospital.

Everyone thought he was going to die, his mother, Mrs. Carrie Charley said, "and I did, too. He was just layin' there. He couldn't talk or nothing. I wouldn't think he'd be living now."

The next Friday--almost a week after the beating--he regained consciousness. Because the doctors thought he needed brain surgery, he was brought to St. Jude's. Now the doctors think he may not have to have an operation after all. But he will be hospitalized for a long time.

Meanwhile, the man Charley accused of attacking him is walking around without criminal charges against him.

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Jenkins said that some "nigger boys" had been playing where Charley was found. "Some of his own cronies could probably have done it."

The sheriff said that he had spoken about the incident to the man Charley accused. Jenkins said the man has "friends" who say that he was at work all day.

The man said the same thing. He denied even seeing Charley on the day of the beating. "I don't know anything about it," he said.

Pak'n'Sak Sues In Miss. Boycott

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss. -- Civil rights leaders keep saying that if Negroes stay out of downtown stores long enough, Grenada will have to give in to demands for an "open city" to keep from going broke.

But last week one white store owner tried another way of saving his business. A. G. Corporation, owner of Pak 'n' Sak groceries in Grenada, sued SCLC, the Grenada County Freedom Movement, B & P Supermarket, Bell Flower Baptist Church, New Hope Missionary Baptist Church, St. Vincent Chapel and about 67 SCLC workers and Grenada citizens for $962,134.

Pak 'n' Sak got a court order last week from Mississippi Supreme Court Justice Neville Patterson. Until chancery court in Grenada takes up the case in December, Judge Patterson said, the defendants must not boycott or picket Pak 'n' Sak, except as permitted by a federal court order last summer.

But the Rev. S. P. Cunningham, pastor of Bell Flower Church and president of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

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In turning down this request Sunday, the federal Office of Economic Opportunity said, "The Director of OEO is under a legal as well as moral obligation not to finance any group which has failed to 'demonstrate that it is qualified to administer the funds and programs in the proposed grant.'"

With the statement was a letter from OEO lawyer Donald Baker. He charged that "in most centers CDGM amounts at best to custodial day-care by persons untrained and unskilled, under conditions of inadequate facilities." The letter also said CDGM officials "have shown themselves unable to benefit either from experience or assistance."

A nine-page list of irregularities found by OEO investigators was sent along, too. The list included charges that employees were paid for work they didn't do, that cars rented with government money were used for non-CDGM business, and that CDGM did not hire enough professional help.

CDGM officials said this week that there are good explanations for most of the charges. The OEO report says, for example, that a woman was paid for working in a Head Start center during eight weeks she was at a training school in Kansas.

Staff member David Emmons explained that although the woman was on a preliminary list for the Kansas program, she did not go at the last minute.

But the officials also said answering the charges one by one wouldn't make much difference. They said OEO's move to set up a new, bi-racial group called Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc., shows that OEO didn't want to re-fund CDGM.

"The Action for Progress in Mississippi group was formed in secrecy, without any consultation whatsoever with CDGM's democratically elected board of directors," said CDGM director John Mudd.

Although the new group was chartered by Governor Paul B. Johnson Sept. 13, there was no public knowledge of it until the story leaked to the press Sept. 30.

Eleven of the proposed 18 members of Mississippi Action for Progress have been selected. These members are still unwilling to give any information about how the group was started, although OEO officials admit they made the first contacts.

Temporary board chairman Owen Cooper explained that the group is not a public agency now. If the board receives money from the government, he said, then it will talk.

CDGM's Mudd charged that the membership of the new board shows OEO is willing to back away from its policy of giving the poor a real say in running anti-poverty programs.

The three men who signed the charter are all wealthy white men. Cooper is a Yazoo City industrialist. Leroy Percy is a landowner from an old Delta plantation family. Hodding Carter III is a Greenville newspaper publisher.

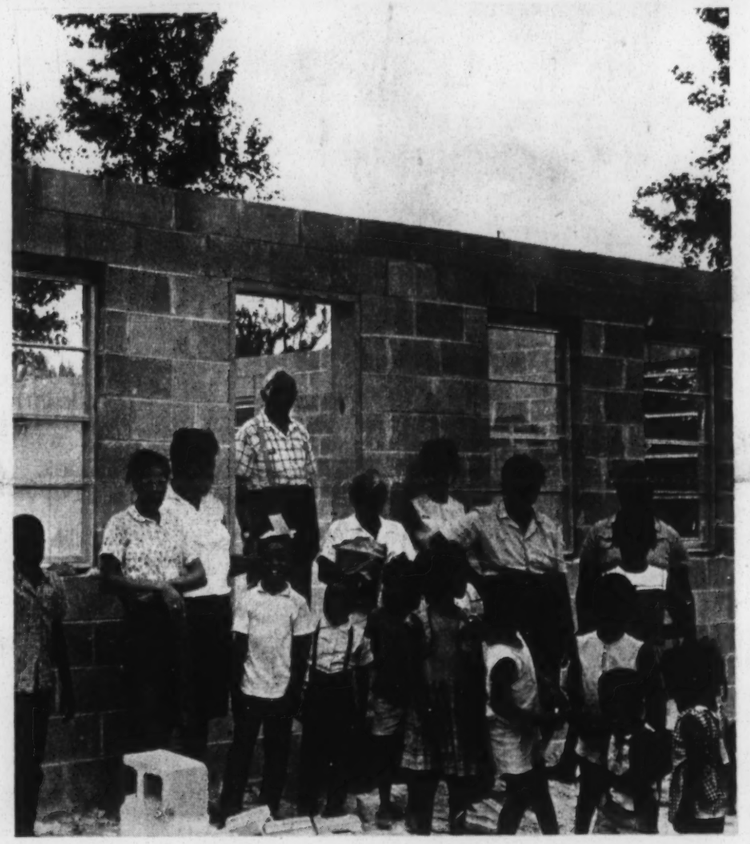
In its refusal of funds to CDGM, OEO said that the new board will include six poor people later on. The original charter gives the three signers the power to appoint all the other board members.

Most of the Negro board members of Mississippi Action for Progress have been heavily pressured to withdraw by supporters of CDGM, who say OEO would have to re-fund CDGM if there were no other bi-racial group willing to run a Head Start program in Mississippi.

Tougaloo College President George Owen, who was originally listed as a board member, said he would not serve. That leaves five Negroes on the board, including Aaron Henry, state NAACP president.

Henry said, in defense of his participation, that OEO officials told him CDGM could not be re-funded. "I realized that we were talking about a pro-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)



JESSE ALLEN (IN DOORWAY) BUILT THIS CDGM CENTER IN ST. MARY. NOW HE DOESN'T KNOW WHETHER IT WILL GET A PROGRAM OR NOT.

Samson Crum Withdraws From Dallas Sheriff Race

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

SELMA -- Freedom candidate Samson Crum is no longer in the race for sheriff of Dallas County.

Crum was chosen to run for sheriff by the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization (DCIFVO) at its county convention May 3. But this week he sent a letter to Probate Judge Bernard A. Reynolds, asking that his name be taken off the ballot.

The ex-candidate wouldn't talk about his reasons. He sent questioners to Clarence Williams Jr., chairman of the DCIFVO.

"On behalf of the Negro people of Dallas County, he withdrew," Williams said. "Crum felt that it was best to get out of the race because of his position with the post office. It would hinder him from having an active campaign."

Federal law forbids government employees from working openly on behalf of any specific political party. Williams didn't say so, but Crum might have lost his job if he had stayed in the race for sheriff.

"There were a lot of people who had high hopes of Crum being in the race," Williams said. "If he were running, we could win hands down. But this is his own decision."

The DCIFVO chairman said Crum is "seriously concerned about the people of Dallas County. His withdrawal will only mean a strong return in the future."

What did that mean? "Crum is planning on running for that same position in the next general election," said Williams. He also said the freedom organization will not support any candidate for sheriff since Crum is out of the race. "This independent organization does not endorse or support any candidate but their own," Williams explained. "We urge people to vote their own convictions."

In Dallas County, that means choosing between racial moderate Wilson Baker, the Democratic Party nominee, and segregationist Sheriff Jim Clark, running as a write-in candidate.

Williams said Crum feels that his withdrawal "will give more support to the other Negro candidates." They are: Mrs. Addie Lily, running for tax assessor; Horace Griffin Sr., for tax collector; A. D. Bush, Wilmer Walker, Mrs. Agatha Harville and Roosevelt McElroy, for district seats on the board of revenue; Mrs. Nona Day and George Sallie, board of education, and Nathan F. Payne, for coroner.

The DCIFVO candidates for 28th district state representative--Jimmie L. Stanley for place 1 and Mrs. Pearl Moorer for place 2--were ruled off the Nov. 8 ballot by Probate Judge Reynolds.

But the Negroes Had to Sit Upstairs in the Balcony

THE WALLACES GREETED FANS ON THE MAIN FLOOR OF THE AUDITORIUM

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM -- Mrs. George C. Wallace, Democratic candidate for governor, kicked off her campaign last week with a segregated rally in Municipal Auditorium.

The main floor of the auditorium was packed with more than 5,000 foot-stamping, flag-waving Wallace fans. But 50-Negro visitors, most of them from Miles College, were shuttled in through a side entrance and up to the empty balcony.

Most of the Negroes, and the 15 white Miles faculty members who accompanied them, arrived more than an hour before the Wallaces were to speak. While people wearing Wallace pins, hats, and armbands streamed through the lobby on the main floor, the Negroes were told those seats were "reserved." The bi-racial group was led upstairs.

They had the balcony to themselves until all the seats downstairs were filled. Then some white people tried to find seats in the balcony, and word

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Editorial Opinion

Where the Action Was

For the last six months, CDGM was where the action was in Mississippi. It was the single most valuable project that ever wheedled a few thousand dollars out of the Office of Economic Opportunity. CDGM was grass roots from the ground up. Its Head Start centers were organized and run by local Negroes who knew the problems and learned how to fight them.

Maybe that was why OEO decided not to re-fund the Child Development Group of Mississippi. It was too good. It scared the politicians, who prefer programs headed by big names and big committees that guarantee plenty of inaction.

In announcing its decision Sunday, OEO issued a list of reasons. Most of them are petty and some are inaccurate. Not that CDGM didn't make mistakes. Its employees, unfamiliar with bureaucracy and bookkeeping, were slow to learn how to please the paper-passers in Washington. But even OEO admits CDGM did a remarkable job, considering its inexperience.

Now, however, OEO says it's time to turn the program over to the professionals. The state's mysterious new bi-racial anti-poverty board, top-heavy with rich people (black and white), is apparently going to run things the way Washington likes them--without rocking the political boat. Mississippi's senators and congressmen will be happier, and stop trying to kill the whole poverty program.

Where that leaves the poor people of Mississippi is a question nobody in Washington has an answer for. But it is clear that, once again, poor people have been sacrificed to political expediency. If other "safe" poverty programs are any indication, the action in Mississippi will be moving out of the Head Start centers. The politicians will have to answer for where it goes.

Rights Leader Given Six-Month Sentence

BY ROBERTA REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--A civil rights leader sentenced to six months' hard labor for "disorderly conduct" has appealed to the circuit court here.

The man is Ross Bonner, 34. He was given the unusually stiff sentence--and fined $100--by Municipal Judge Joe G. Burns.

According to Bonner, Judge Burns said that he was "setting an example."

Bonner was arrested after a Tuscaloosa Citizens Action Committee march protesting slum conditions on Aug. 19. He said he was called in by the marchers after their leaders were arrested.

Bonner said he tried to restore order after a white policeman told the children, "Scatter, you little niggers." Bonner said the children were "afraid of the white policemen, and were running across a busy main street."

After he had dismissed the demonstrators, Bonner said, Willie Horton, a Negro policeman, took him aside and "cursed at me. I then asked if the officer was cursing a citizen in his capacity as a police officer.

"I turned to the group and asked, 'Do you hear this officer cursing me? What do you think we should do about it? Report it?' Turning again to the officer, I said, 'What is your badge number?'"

The officer then arrested him for "disorderly conduct." He was tried, convicted, and sentenced by Judge Burns on Sept. 22.

Judge Burns said Horton was a "good colored officer," and that Bonner was "really out of line. He took hold of one of the officer's badges and called him pimp. A communist got ahold of him or something. I think he's getting paid by the Russians. He just turned scallywag.

"If it'd been my brother," the judge claimed, "I'd have had to burn him up."

"They said I touched the officer, but I did not," Bonner countered. "I was

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

'It Was A Good Thing'

Two Churches Desegregate East Alabama Presbytery

REV. LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD

TUSKEGEE -- The East Alabama Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church quietly lowered its color bar last week.

Two mostly-Negro churches--Westminster Presbyterian of Tuskegee and Cleveland Avenue of Montgomery--were welcomed into the local church organization at its meeting in Enterprise.

"We were very warmly received," the Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian, said after the meeting. "There were no rejections. It was a very good thing."

Haygood said both Negro churches were visited before the meeting by a committee of white churchmen.

"The committee then recommended that the presbytery go along with the synod," Haygood explained. In 1965, he said, the Alabama Synod--state governing body of the Presbyterian Church--had agreed to go along with the national Presbyterian Church in doing away with separate Negro presbyteries and entering white presbyteries ac-

Georgia Election Causes Uproar

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga. -- Georgia politics were in a state of disorder this week after segregationist Lester Maddox upset moderate former Governor Ellis Arnall in the Democratic primary runoff.

Maddox's victory unleashed a storm of controversy and set the governor's race in a new light. Instead of facing a liberal opponent, Congressman Howard "Bo" Callaway, the Republican nominee, will have to fight it out with a man more conservative than he is.

While the state's old-line Democratic politicians rallied around Maddox, several younger Democrats, including Congressman Charles Weltner, found they could not support him.

This week Weltner withdrew from the fifth district Congressional race, saying, "I cannot compromise with hatred."

The first act of the new nominee, who identifies himself with Alabama Governor George Wallace, was to appoint Albany publisher James Gray, a segregationist opponent in the primary, as chairman of the state Democratic Party.

Maddox, who worked his way up from laborer to wealthy restaurant owner, has lost three mayor's races (all to moderates) in Atlanta, and also a race for lieutenant governor.

In 1964, protesting the Civil Rights Act, he closed his fried-chicken business after driving off a group of Negroes who tried to enter. (To make sure no one forgot, he erected a 35-foot-high monument on the restaurant property and laid under it the coffin of "Free Enterprise.")

This time around, casting himself in his old role as the common man's candidate, who "stands up for Georgia" and for "law and order," Maddox rallied the total support of rural and working-class whites.

With resentment high against school desegregation guidelines and Atlanta's recent racial troubles hammered away at by campaigners, the stage seemed set for a hugh backlash vote. The election results left many people convinced that liberal Arnall had walked right into it.

Before the run-off, though, there were rumors that "mad Democrats" who switched to the Republican party in 1964 were planning to vote for Maddox in the primary (Republicans can vote in the Democratic primary, since they have none of their own). Maddox would be easily defeated in the general election, the rumors went, because the cross-overs would all go back to the Republican Callaway.

Observers say that this cross-over vote actually took place, since in many instances the same voters who chose Maddox over Arnall elected George T. Smith, a moderate, over a militant segregationist, Peter Zack Geer, in the lieutenant governor's race.

If these voters had really been for Maddox, the theory goes, they would have also voted for Geer.

If the cross-over vote goes back to Callaway, as it was supposed to, Maddox's chances would be considerably less. Now that Maddox has emerged as the backlash champion, though, no one is sure the voters won't stick by him.

In fact, it's a good question now where Callaway, once regarded as almost unbeatable, will turn for votes. Maddox seems to have the 1964 "mad Democrats," including the white bloc vote, the small businessmen, and the John Birch conservatives, back in the Democratic Party.

CDGM Ends

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

gram involving 10,000 children, the majority of which are Negro, and some 2,000 employees, many of whom are Negro. I did not feel it was the responsible thing to permit this program to go by default."

Henry also questioned CDGM's policy of hiring poor people as Head Start teachers. He said he didn't think they could give children "the benefits of affluent society."

The controversial CDGM program, which has been under attack for months by Mississippi Senators James O. Eastland and John Stennis, has been a serious problem to OEO at a time when the whole anti-poverty program is fighting for its life.

"Once weaknesses started to appear (in CDGM)," said OEO spokesman Marshall Peck in Washington, "those were chinks in our armor."

Thousands of telegrams and letters

headed by big names and big ... plenty of inaction.

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East Alabama Presbytery

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"The committee then recommended that the presbytery go along with the synod," Haygood explained. In 1965, he said, the Alabama Synod--state governing body of the Presbyterian Church--had agreed to go along with the national Presbyterian Church in doing away with separate Negro presbyteries and ordering white presbyteries to accept Negro churches as members.

At the meeting in Enterprise, Haygood said, the all-white First Presbyterian Church of Tuskegee promised to end its policy of racial segregation.

"The church has gone on record in harmony with welcoming all persons regardless of race, color, or class," Haygood reported. First Presbyterian was one of three white churches in Tuskegee which refused to admit Negro worshippers this summer.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

I want to call attention to conditions as they now exist in Crenshaw County and especially Luverne Ala. Some of the White People think Colored People are Inhuman, Begots, Inferrier and Ignerant, this was proven by one of Crenshaw Countie's attorneys in a recently court hearing in Montgomery Alabama. They think whites should treat colored any way without regard to feeling. Yes, some of our Boys and Girls make mistakes like some in the white Race, but our Hearts are made to bleed for every little thoughtless act or Deed, they forgot that in Reconstruction Days when whites were sent to Class Rooms our People were sent to the Field for them.

Referring to a court case of a few days ago one of our Crenshaw County attorneys thought that some of our women were Immoral. He also stated one Negro Boy had ben commited to an Insane Institution. Yes the way Negro Boys and Girls are treated by white people here in Luverne and in the South, its enough to drive anyone nuts.

Yes we pay Light, Sewige and Garbage Bills, and hardly get anything for it. Our Street Lights are just a little above that of a Lighting Bug.

If we are so Inferrior to the White Race, why do you call on us to clean your houses, look after your children, and cook your food?

I remember well the 25 Day of December when my son was arrested by the Laws of Crenshaw County taken to jail, and in the meantime he taken sick on the job was brought back to his mother for medical attention, I taken him to the Doctor & he being a child only 17 years old, this seem to worrie him, so much so, until he can never get it off of his mine. The child thought that he was being mistreated by the Law, and I did too.

This was the first time he was admitted to a Mental Institution and I believe this was the sole cause of his condition. As the Lawyer referred to his two fine children, he should remember I love my son the same as he love's his. We all love our children.

In conclusion I say let us get the mote out of our own eye, then we can see clearly how to get the beam out of our neighbor's eye.

Mrs. Beulah Lowery
Luverne

* * * *

To the Editor:

Great strides have been made in recent years to encourage people to seek early treatment for mental or emotional disorders. We have come a long way in removing the stigma that used to be attached to mental illness.

As a Child Welfare Worker in Iowa I know of several students who needed and who profited by psychiatric help. Most of these students kept on with their school work. In no case were they discharged from school because of either in-patient or out-patient treatment at the Mental Health Institute. The schools usually cooperated in helping the children to make up any work that was missed because of trips to the hospital.

The whole emphasis on early treatment of mental or emotional disturbances will receive a severe set-back if treatment in a Mental Health Hospital labels one as unfit to attend school. Those who use this argument to deny one student the right to attend school may find that other students will hesitate to accept help for fear they also may be stigmatized. We have made much improvement in the field of mental health. It would be a shame if bigotry and prejudice should undo these gains.

Mrs. Ralph M. Galt
Fairfield

* * * *

To the Editor:

We have thoroughly enjoyed our year's subscription to (your) paper.

I share it with my parents, then we pass it along to a Negro lady who is working for the Mississippi Delta families, and she passes it on to someone else. Sometimes we share them with other friends or relatives who we feel will be interested.

The articles are heart-warming and written in such a calm, matter-of-fact way, which makes them even more appealing and impressive.

My son gave his summer a year ago to work with the SCLC, and it is due to that stimulus that we subscribed. We enjoy every issue. We thank you for sending up North this excellently reported news.

There is progress, I guess, but it is SO SLOW.

Keep up the good work.

Gene Chambers
Riverton, N.J.

* * * *

To the Editor:

America has more interest in education than in any of her vast industrial corporation. One of the important aims of education is to combine knowledge with an ability to use it. Education enables you to think for yourself. Education encourages self-reliance and initiative. Education give you the ability to do and think what you know should be done and thought.

The rightly educated person knows how to make himself a useful citizen. He knows how to fit himself to conditions which exist. He is able to judge what is best. He has the courage to let his better judgement decide the issues that confront him.

The main pillars of democracy are intelligence and strength of character. To enjoy Life, one must have some measure of success. There is no short cut to success, success depends on hard work, you cannot go through Life without paying your dues.

You cannot get something very often. It may demand great sacrifice. America Democracy is founded on education.

Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

One of the people's rights is to criticize their schools.

Most human beings learn by doing. Most American schools today, have some kind or some type of student government. Education is the development of those talents which an individual has and the gaining of new ones.

Miss Mary Lee Cobb
Midway

* * * *

To the Editor:

This is the best race paper I ever read. I would not be without it. Thank you for publishing it. It has brought the race to fight.

A. J. Florence
Dozier

Grenada Suit Filed

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

the Grenada County Freedom Movement, said the federal court order is so specific that the state court order "won't stop us from doing anything we are doing now."

In the suit, Pak 'n' Sak store manager Gilbert Allen says most of his business used to be Negro, but now only eight or ten Negroes come in per day.

Allen is asking to be paid back $66,318 for the business he has already lost, $100,000 for the good will he has lost, and $795,816 for income he expects to lose in the future.

A person cannot be sued for simply choosing not to buy at any particular store. But the suit claims Pak 'n' Sak has a right to get its money back because SCLC and the others engaged in "conspiracy, boycott, interference, and restraint of trade" to keep customers out of the store.

The court order has succeeded in stopping work on the Negro-owned B & P Supermarket, by halting withdrawals from B & P's bank account.

from laborer to wealthy restaurant owner, has lost three mayor's races

CDGM Ends

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

gram involving 10,000 children, the majority of which are Negro, and some 2,000 employees, many of whom are Negro. I did not feel it was the responsible thing to permit this program to go by default."

Henry also questioned CDGM's policy of hiring poor people as Head Start teachers. He said he didn't think they could give children "the benefits of affluent society."

The controversial CDGM program, which has been under attack for months by Mississippi Senators James O. Eastland and John Stennis, has been a serious problem to OEO at a time when the whole anti-poverty program is fighting for its life.

"Once weaknesses started to appear (in CDGM)," said OEO spokesman Marshall Peck in Washington, "those were chinks in our armor."

Thousands of telegrams and letters in favor of the program were written to OEO by CDGM parents, teachers, and other friends during the last month. But the program had few politically powerful supporters.

Last Monday a central staff member of CDGM, once a civil rights worker, sat in CDGM's downtown office wearing his businessman's tie and dark suit. "I guess I'll have to put on my old clothes again and start political organizing," he said.

election, the rumors went, because the cross-overs would all go back to the Republican Callaway.

Observers say that this cross-over vote actually took place, since in many instances the same voters who chose Maddox over Arnall elected George T. Smith, a moderate, over a militant segregationist, Peter Zack Geer, in the lieutenant governor's race.

If these voters had really been for Maddox, the theory goes, they would have also voted for Geer.

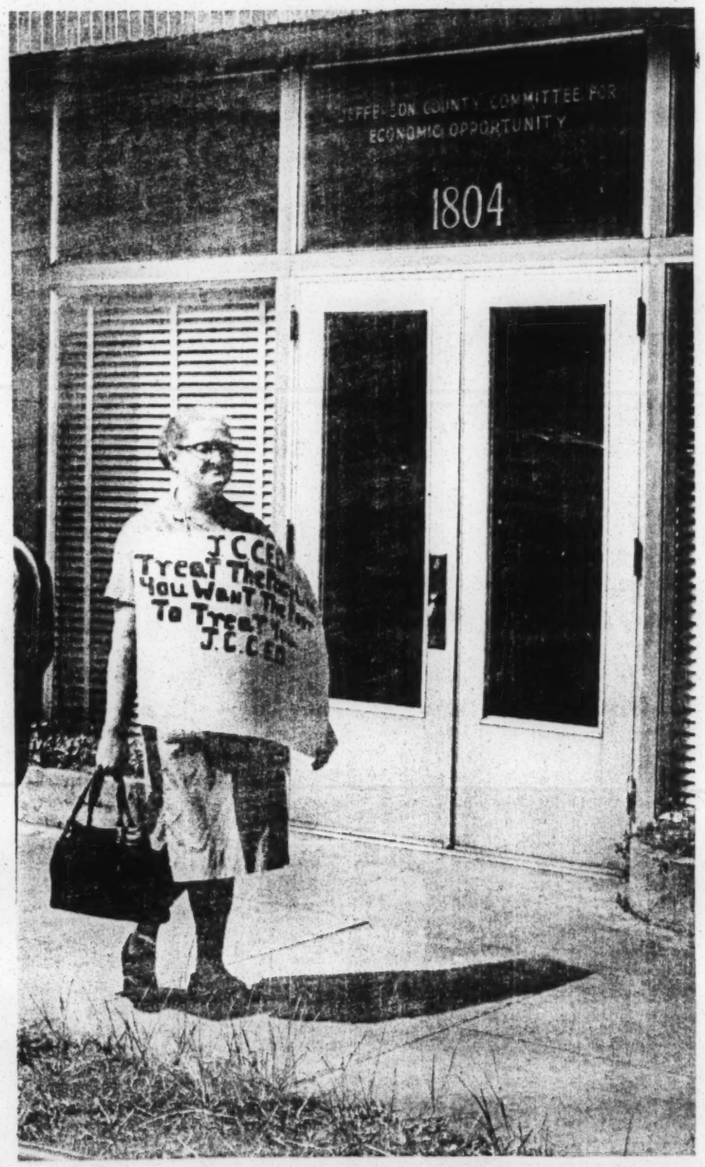
If the cross-over vote goes back to Callaway, as it was supposed to, Maddox's chances would be considerably less. Now that Maddox has emerged as the backlash champion, though, no one is sure the voters won't stick by him.

In fact, it's a good question now where Callaway, once regarded as almost unbeatable, will turn for votes. Maddox seems to have the 1964 "mad Democrats," including the white bloc vote, the small businessmen, and the John Birch conservatives, back in the Democratic Party.

Although Callaway could go out to the far right frontier and battle Maddox head on, his handsome, youthful image gives him the best chance with young couples and with many students (voting age in Georgia is 18).

To get the liberal vote, Callaway would have to make people forget his civil rights record in Congress, as well as reckon with the original liberal--Arnall himself, who has tentatively agreed to a write-in campaign.

Anti-Poverty Board Ignores the Poor, Says Group Picketing in Birmingham



PICKET IN FRONT OF JCCEO OFFICE (Photo by Chris McNair)

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM--One afternoon last week a car pulled up in front of a tidy one-story brick building downtown. Two Negro men and a white woman got out, picked up three red-lettered signs, and started walking slowly back and forth in front of the building's main door marked JCCEO.

JCCEO is the Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity. The three picketers were dissatisfied customers. Their proposal for a child day-care center had not been given any money by the JCCEO. They charged the anti-poverty board with discriminating against the poor.

The leader of the picketers was the Rev. Johnnie Burrell. Burrell is president of the Christian Community Corporation, which wanted to sponsor the day-care center, and of the Smithfield neighborhood advisory council, which reports the problems of that community to the anti-poverty board.

After Burrell's proposal was tabled, he complained to the board in a letter.

"We have no other alternative but to believe or to assume that the JCCEO has denied our request from a discriminatory point of view," he wrote. And then he started picketing.

"We'll be here every day until we get satisfaction," Burrell said. "If the board had $100,000,000 they wouldn't fund our program. I don't know of any poor people on that board and that's against the OEO guidelines. We want Washington to know what's going on here."

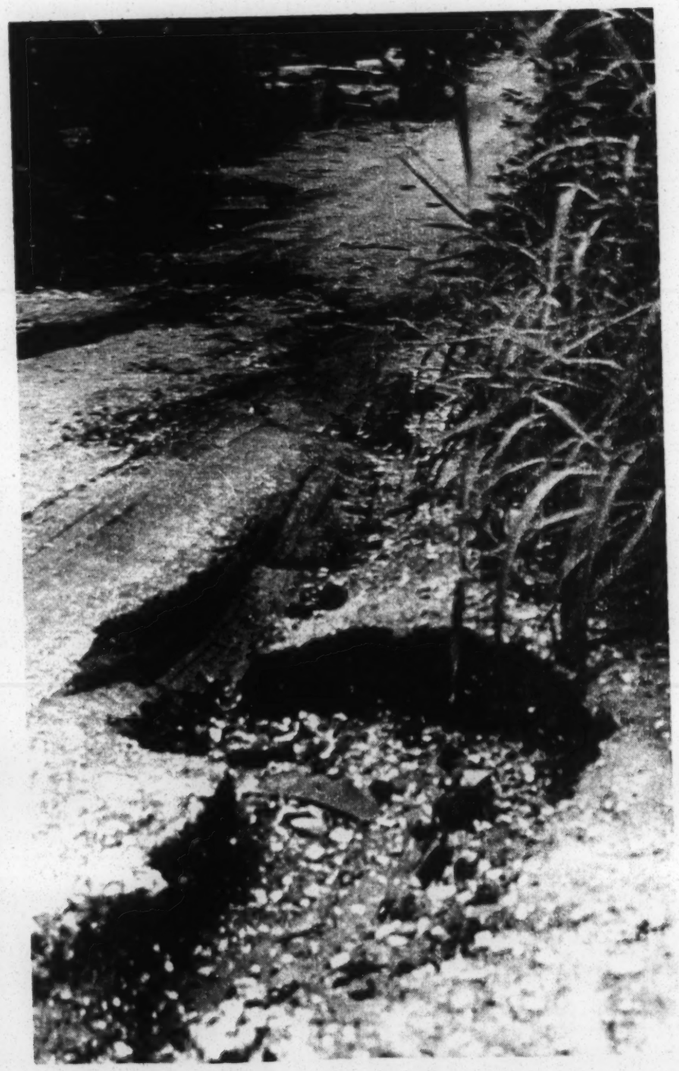
"It's not true that there are no poor people on the board," replied John H. Carr, director of JCCEO. "In any case, the guidelines do not require that the members be poor," he explained. "They require that members be poor or representatives of the poor."

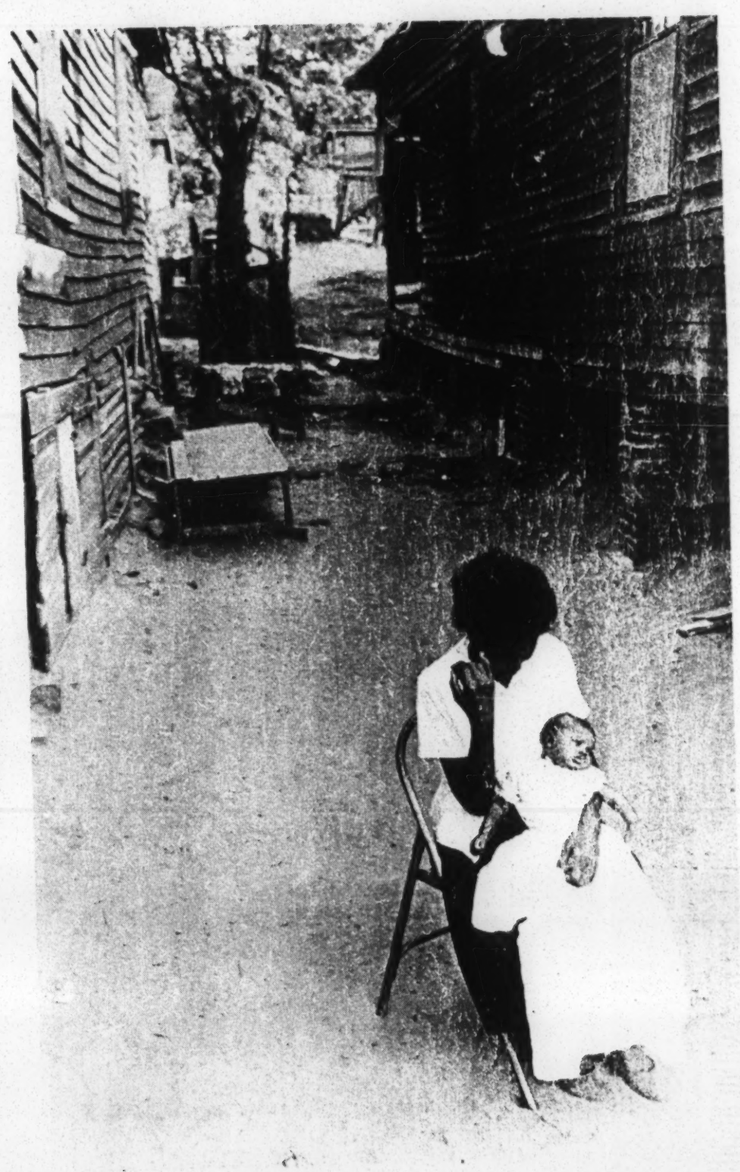
"We have $6,000,000 in proposals that aren't being considered at this time because federal funds are not available," Carr said. "Whenever there is money available, we will certainly consider Burrell's program."

CLAYTON ALLEY

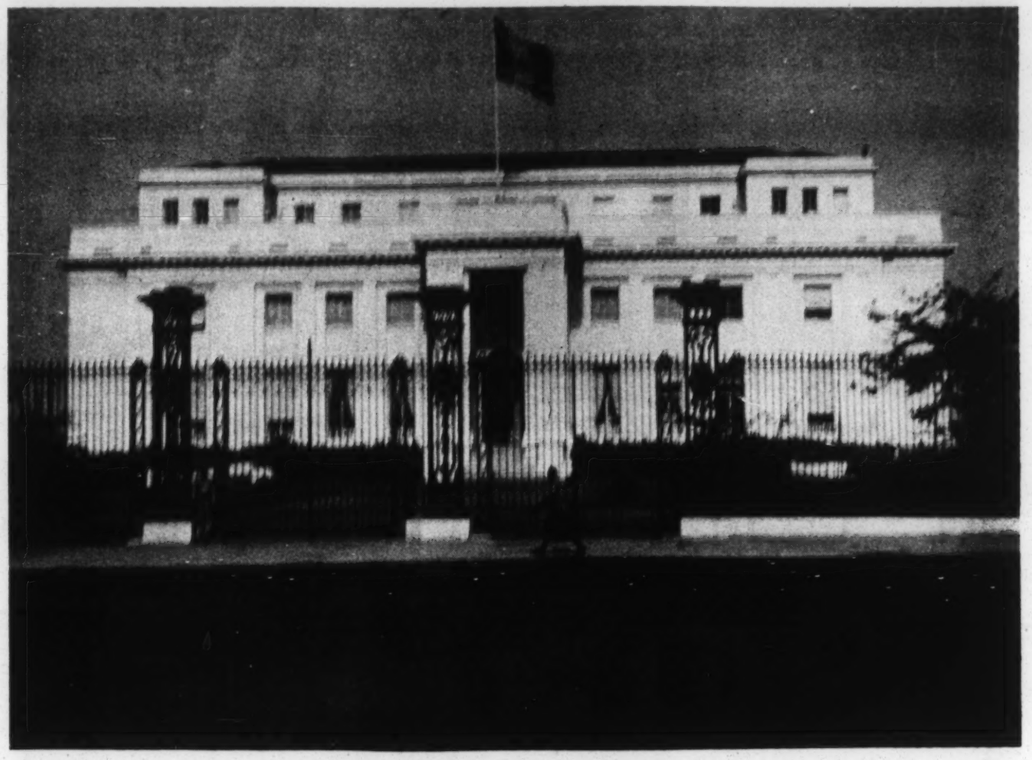
You know it's not 'white' because it's not paved

Photographs by Jim Peppler





MARKETPLACE IN NIGERIA

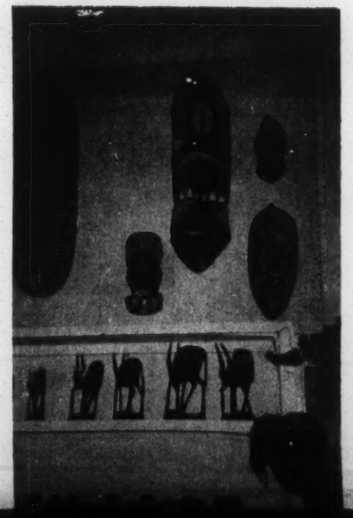


THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE IN SENEGAL

AFRICA

New Nations Struggle to Solve Tough Problems

TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAURA GODOFSKY



Africa is so big that all of the United States, with an extra Alabama thrown in, wouldn't even begin to fill it up. You could add the whole European continent, India, Japan, and New Zealand. Even then there would be some room left over.

Africa seems a long way away from Alabama, but life in some parts of Africa is very much like life in Alabama and the rest of the United States. Africa has large cities, skyscrapers, factories, and supermarkets. It has traffic jams, newspapers, slums, and rock-and-roll.

It also has small towns, farms, mines, and cotton fields. Among its people are millionaires and poor folks, teachers and preachers, farmers and truck drivers.

Arabs live in the northern part of Africa, in countries like Algeria, Egypt, and Morocco. But southern Africa is almost all black.

The Negroes of "Black Africa" face some of the same problems Negroes do in Alabama. But they also have special problems of their own.

Most of the nations in Black Africa are less than ten years old. Before they became independent nations, they were colonies of several different European countries. That means that although most of the people in southern Africa were black, most of the money and power belonged to a tiny white minority.

But Africa's history didn't begin with its white rulers. Long before Europeans moved into Africa, the people who lived there had developed their own way of life.

New Nations Struggle to Solve Tough Problems

TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAURA GODOFSKY

MASKS IN ZAMBIA STORE

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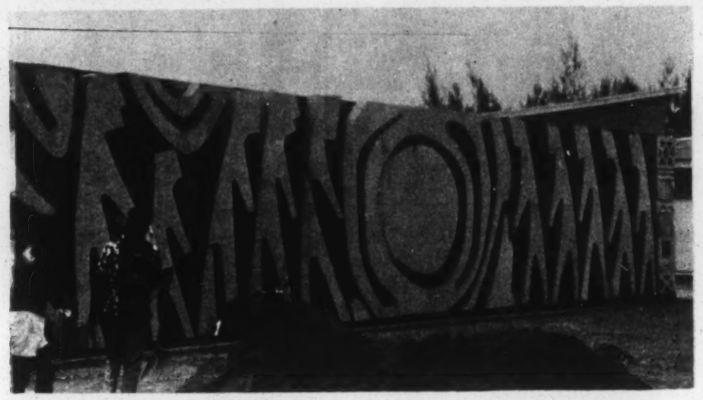
But Africa's history didn't begin with its white rulers. Long before Europeans moved into Africa, the people who lived there had developed their own way of life. They governed themselves and produced an art and culture of their own.

Now they are demanding the right to govern themselves again.

Ghana, which was ruled by the British for many years, was the first black African country to become independent after World War II. That happened in 1957. Since then, about 30 other new nations have been formed from the old colonies.



MODERN STONE SCULPTURE AT A RESEARCH CENTER IN NIGERIA

In some independent countries, just as in the old colonies, a small group of white people controls millions of black people. In South Africa, the white government has made racial separation the foundation of its power.

South Africa's policy of segregation, called "apartheid," is something like segregation in the American South before the civil rights laws were passed. But it is even more thorough. The white South African government tries to put black Africans into special schools and villages and even special sub-countries of their own.

NIGERIAN CHILDREN CARRY FIREWOOD HOME

South Africa's rich mines and growing industries are owned by white people. But they could not operate without black labor. So black Africans are allowed into the "white" part of the country to work. But they have to live in special areas. They have no privileges and few rights under the law. They cannot vote or participate in the government in any way.

There is a freedom movement in South Africa, just as there is in the United States. But it faces even greater opposition. Many hundreds of black Africans have been imprisoned, tortured, and killed by the government in its effort to hold on to its power.

The white government of Rhodesia wants to run things the way the South African government does. That was why Rhodesia declared its independence without waiting for Great Britain's approval. Rhodesia's independent black-ruled neighbors are trying to convince Great Britain to force Rhodesia into making plans to turn the government over to the country's black majority.

But politics isn't all of life in Africa any more than it is all of life in Alabama. Like most people around the world, Africans spend their lives trying to make a living and raise their families.

Most black Africans are farmers. They grow enough food or own enough cows, chickens, and goats to feed their families. When they have to go shopping, even in large cities, many of them go to outdoor markets where their neighbors or special traders sell things they have made or grown.

Some Africans dress just like people in Alabama do, but others wear traditional clothes. Women often wear long, brightly colored skirts or dresses and have colorful scarves on their heads.

Africans use their heads to carry things. They can carry heavy firewood, pots, bananas, boxes, or even pocketbooks on their heads and use their hands for other things. African women tie their babies to their backs and can easily carry their youngest children with them this way.

Even in large cities, many African homes do not have electricity or running water. At night, lanterns or candles give light. Cooking is done over open fires in large pots. Rice and potatoes are favorite foods. Water often comes from a nearby well.

Health is a serious problem in Africa. Many people have diseases that come from drinking impure water or from eating the wrong foods. There are not enough doctors, nurses, or hospitals to help them stay well.

Africa has too few schools, books, and teachers. Most of the children who go to school stay only three or four years. Those who want to go on to a high school or college have to pass very hard tests before they will be admitted.

Most of the new African nations think education is important, and are trying to build new schools and colleges and the old ones as fast as possible. Every year, thousands of new students--adults and children--are learning to read and write.

The U.S. Peace Corps is helping to bring education to more Africans. In Nigeria, one out of every three students is taught by Peace Corps volunteers.

Although education gives people new ideas, old ideas and leaders are not easily given up. One reason some of Africa's new nations have had trouble is because the people feel more loyalty to their family and their tribe than they do to the government.

The new governments are working to replace the old family and tribal leaders. They want the people to turn to the government for help, and to support and obey it. The governments also want to collect tax money that the people have paid to tribal leaders in the past.

At the same time they are building new nations, many of Africa's black leaders are trying to hold on to the special things that make Africa different from the rest of the world.

Africans are quick to point out that their art and music have already won respect outside their continent. And leaders of the new black African nations believe that the success of their special experiment in democracy and freedom is very important to the future of black and white people everywhere.

SCHOOLCHILDREN IN LIBERIA

NIGERIAN BOY

Peace Corps Worker Learns By Teaching In East Nigeria

BY PRINCELLA WADE

Bill Shurtleff taught many African children to read and write when he was in the Peace Corps.

He first became interested in learning about Africa while he was a student at Stanford University in California.

After he graduated, with a degree in physics, he decided to join the Peace Corps instead of getting a job.

The Peace Corps sent him to a small village in East Nigeria. There, he lived and worked with the Africans for nearly two years.

"I was very impressed with the attitude of the people," he said. "They were such a refreshing group of people to live among."

He explained that they took life as it came, never complaining. They concerned themselves with the basics of living--food and shelter.

The majority of the natives were staunch Catholics, Shurtleff said. However, as a tradition they had different gods to whom they prayed and asked for blessings.

When questioned about their attitude toward him, he only said, "They were overwhelmed with pride and joy to have a foreigner come among them to teach their children."

He pulled out an envelope of photographs taken in neighboring villages in East Nigeria. All the pictures were of art work. The photos revealed the highly refined African skills of carving and painting. There were pictures of elaborate vases, utensils, and festive masks.

"Everything they make, regardless of how exquisite or how beautiful it may be, is used daily," he said. "This is unlike Americans who stash their fineries away until Thanksgiving, Christmas, or Easter."

He said he brought many of these carvings back to the United States. He paid 75 cents or less for each of them in Africa. Here in America none of them have been sold for less than $50.

He used the profits from these sales to send three young African men to college. "This is one thing I feel is worthwhile," he said proudly. "After all, they will be the future leaders of their country, and every country needs its share of trained leaders."

This brought the discussion to the subject of education in the village. His first remark was this: "In the entire two years that I taught at this school, not once did I have to ask the students to be quiet, or to discipline them in any respect. It was a great pleasure to teach there."

He explained that the privilege of an education is not taken for granted. The average family makes $45 a year. School costs each student $150 a year.

The education is so expensive that only those who can afford it attend school. Therefore, unless the child is highly intelligent, the father can't risk sending the child.

The children go to high school for five years. At the end of this period, they must pass a very difficult examination.

When asked about sex and marriage in East Nigeria, Shurtleff said, "Just as the moral codes are changing in America, so it is there. The number of illegitimate births is increasing yearly."

Marriage, however, is much as it was in the old days. The young man has to buy his bride from the father. The more education she has, the more she costs. The young men aren't very concerned about finding an educated wife, Shurtleff said. Instead, the husband's primary concern is that his wife be fertile, stong and healthy of body, so that she can bear him many children.

Shurtleff said that children are so prized that if a woman has twins, two dolls are carved and put on a shelf as symbols. If one of the twins should die, one of the dolls is taken down from the shelf and bathed and treated just as the live twin is treated.

The man's status in the village is determined by the number of children he has. Polygamy (many wives) is still practiced on the continent. Shurtleff said that the principal of the local school had 200 children.

Macon Loses Two Politicians

LASLIE DIES

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Edward C. Laslie, an unwavering segregationist who was chairman of the Macon County Board of Revenue for the last 15 years, died last Saturday in a Montgomery hospital.

Laslie was re-appointed to the chairmanship several times after first accepting the job on March 12, 1951. He could have faced his first real struggle in years this January, when a second Negro will take a seat on the four-man board of revenue.

Instead, the present board--three whites, one Negro--probably will select a new chairman at its regular monthly meeting Monday. Among the possible choices are Probate Judge Preston Hornsby and City Councilman J. Allan Parker, president of the Alabama Exchange Bank. Both are considered moderates.

However, the board may choose almost any county resident, other than one of its own members, to be the chairman.

Either Parker or Hornsby would be a change from Laslie. As president of the City Bank of Tuskegee, Laslie was one of the strongest leaders in the fight to preserve white supremacy.

But his grip on the board of revenue had been loosening for a long time before his death at the age of 64. Illness had kept him away from board meetings for months, and in his absence the board slowly began providing services for Negro as well as white residents.

In the last year the board--pushed by Tuskegee's bi-racial city council--supported the county's anti-poverty program and the free surplus food program.

Laslie was a leader of the Tuskegee Methodist Church, which for two summers in a row has locked its doors rather than allow Negro worshippers to join the white congregation.

One Negro Councilman Resigns in Tuskegee, But Another Is Appointed to Take His Place

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- The city council lost one of its two Negro members last week and gained another to replace him in less than 24 hours. But there were some indications that the switch didn't make everybody happy.

The councilman who resigned was the Rev. K. L. Buford. He explained that he was leaving to become state field director for the NAACP.

"It was a difficult decision," Buford said. But it didn't surprise everyone quite as much as it would have before the Democratic primary elections last spring.

During the campaign Buford, a leader of Tuskegee's middle-class, conservative Negroes, spoke out against Lucius D. Amerson, a young Negro running for sheriff. Buford said that the present sheriff, Harvey Sadler, should be re-elected.

After Amerson won the Democratic Party nomination, some of Tuskegee's younger, more militant Negro leaders said that Buford ought to resign.

But some of those same people were unhappy last week with the way the city council moved to replace Buford.

The morning after Buford's resignation, the council appointed Dr. T. S. Williams, dean of Tuskegee Institute's school of veterinary medicine, to serve for the two years left in Buford's term. Williams will take office at the council's next regular meeting Tuesday night.

Several months ago, the council appointed Williams to the city housing authority. He described himself this week as "one of those who feel Buford has made a good councilman.

"I'll be hard-pressed to equal his record," Williams added. "I hope to do as well for the good of the total community as he has."

T. S. WILLIAMS

At a meeting of Tuskegee's newest community action group late last week, several people suggested that the community good would have been better served by a public election to fill Buford's council seat.

"Why did the city council appoint instead of elect their new member?" Otis Pinkard asked Tuskegee's other Negro city councilman, Stanley H. Smith, before 75 members of Macon County Community Committee #1.

"That's the way it's usually done," Smith replied. "We would be reluctant to hold an election in terms of the planning and cost. . . . We didn't want a big time span."

"How did you feel personally?" Pinkard shot back.

"I felt a little queasy about it," Smith said. "We were trying to make a judgment. . . . We weren't sure how people would react."

When Pinkard said he thought an election would have been "more desirable," Smith replied: "There's no question about it."

But the councilman reacted differently when another questioner called the city council's action "arbitrary."

"It wasn't arbitrary," Smith said sharply. "They took the power that belonged to them."

Williams said this week that he hadn't heard about the questions raised at the civic meeting. But he promised to try to represent the people the same way an elected councilman would represent them.

"I go in there with no preconceived notions," he said. "I expect to learn about this business as I go along."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held Monday, Oct. 10, at the First Ebenezer Baptist Church, 420 Graymount Ave. North, the Rev. J. F. Hardy, pastor.

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. DON'T OPEN THE DOOR-- B. B. King (ABC)
2. WHAT BECOMES OF A BROKEN HEART--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
3. I WORSHIP THE GROUND-- Jimmy Hughes (Fame)
4. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (S. S.)
8. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
9. REACH OUT, I'LL BE THERE-- Four Tops (Motown)
10. BEAUTY IS ONLY SKIN DEEP-- Tempataions (Gordy)
11. FA FA FA FA FA-- Otis Redding (Volt)

"You Can't Beat God Giving No Matter How You Try"

is to be the theme of

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth Appreciation Week Oct. 17-20

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17th, 7:00 P.M.

Sardis Baptist Church
1240 North 4th Street

GUEST SPEAKER:
REV. C. T. VIVIAN

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18th, 7:00 P.M.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19th, 7:00 P.M.

Municipal Auditorium

GUEST SPEAKER:
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20th, 7:00 P.M.

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- inadequate schools

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER's New Address

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5. BUT IT'S ALRIGHT-- J. J. Jackson (Calla)
6. YOU CAN'T HURRY LOVE-- Supremes (Motown)
7. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
8. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
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10. BEAUTY IS ONLY SKIN DEEP-- Tempataions (Gordy)
11. FA FA FA FA FA-- Otis Redding (Volt)
12. I'VE TO GO DO BETTER-- Joe Tex (Dial)
13. HOW SWEET IT IS-- Jr. Walker (Soul)
14. YOU CAN'T BLAME ME-- Jimmy Norman (Samera)

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Municipal Auditorium

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THURSDAY,
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St. James Baptist Church
1100 6th Avenue North

GUEST SPEAKER:
REV. WYATT TEE WALKER

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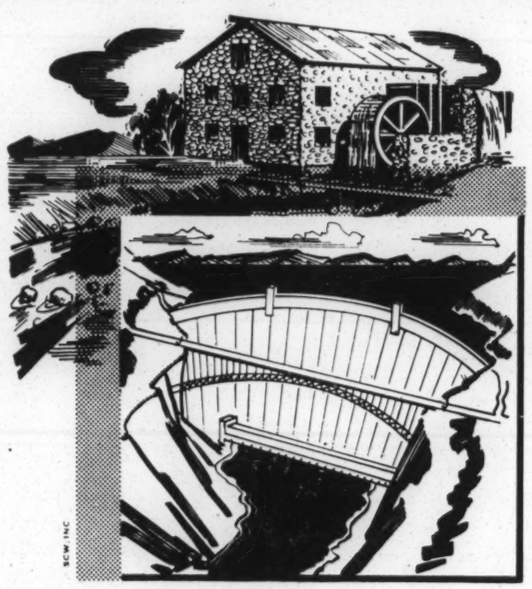

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WANT ADS

ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, INC.--ADCI is holding its semi-annual meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery this weekend. Robert Vance, new chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, will speak at a public session at 3 p.m. Sunday. E. T. Kehrer, southern director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, will speak at a banquet Saturday night at 8 p.m. Political workshops are scheduled for Saturday afternoon.

WANTED--Experiencer typest for temporary position. Call The Southern Courier, 262-3572.

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WE NEED tables, chairs, and books for the new Community Center on Ardmore Highway in Indian Creek. Help the Community Center by giving items which you don't need. Call Arthur Jacobs Jr., 752-4989, in Huntsville.

CLOTHES WANTED--The La Ritz Social & Savings Club is sponsoring a charity drive for the Boys Town. The club is soliciting clothing and linen. If you want to contribute to the drive, call Mrs. Nellie Hardy, at 263-0948 in Montgomery, or drop off your donation at her house, 628 Colony St.

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P. R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

MOBILE -- Distribution managers and newsboys needed. Good pay for short hours, chance to increase earnings. Call Andrew Curtis, 457-7004 in Mobile.

RECEPTIONIST -- Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 10025.

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WORK IN NEW YORK--Do you wish self-employment? Suitable couple, with or without family, wanted to relocate in New York State, and take care of retarded children who are wards of the state. 13-room house available for rent. For more information, write to Mrs. M.B. Olatunji, P.O. Box 358, Millerton, N. Y.

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CR Worker Appeals Sentence Of Six Months at Hard Labor

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)
just standing there smiling at him."

The day before Bonner's arrest the Justice Department had sent a representative to Tuscaloosa to investigate a complaint by the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. The complaint, co-signed by Bonner as acting council president, concerned segregation in Judge Burns' court and on the police force, and reports of police brutality.

Bonner said he was appealing his conviction "to show the people in Tuscaloosa that they can get justice."

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"During the years of its existence the American Civil Liberties Union has played a significant role in defending our basic American freedoms. Your voice has always been raised clearly and sharply when our liberties have been threatened. America is a stronger nation for your uncompromising efforts." --John F. Kennedy, June 22, 1962

For further information, clip out and send to:
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P. O. Box 3393, Birmingham, Ala. 35205

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Game of the Week

BTW Edges South Girard

BY J. A. ROSS

MONTGOMERY--A quick, smartly drilled Booker T. Washington High football team, revamped by Coach Arthur "Buddy" Davis since bowing to Tuskegee Institute High last week, sneaked by the Bulldogs of Phenix City's South Girard High School, 24 to 19, Saturday night in Municipal Stadium.

With two minutes remaining in the first quarter, the Washington Yellow Jackets received a forced kick from the Bulldogs and advanced on first down to the 40-yard marker. On the next play, Quarterback Clinton Drake hit right end Edward Wimberly with a 35-yard pass. Wimberly scampered the remaining 60 yards for the TD.

The Yellow Jackets' hard charging forward wall set up another touchdown when they blocked a forced kick and pounced on the oval in the end zone.

South Girard received the kick-off and kicked on fourth down. After the Jackets fumbled the ball, the Bulldogs recovered on the 11-yard line. On the first play from scrimmage, Bulldog half-back Theodore Rogers wormed his way around his right end for the TD.

The Jackets received the kick-off on the 29-striper, then fumbled on the first down play. The Bulldogs recovered on the 34-yard line. Quarterback Gregory Alexander passed to the seventh into the waiting arms of half-back Charlie Rogers, who made the touchdown.

With 24 seconds to go in the second quarter, Drake again spotted Wimberly with a heave that netted 53 yards for the Jackets' third touchdown.

On the second down late in the third quarter, South Girard's Alexander passed to end Roosevelt Richardson, who was stopped on the Jackets' 13-yard line. Then Quarterback Winston Smith completed a perfect pass to right end Clifford Austin for the Bulldogs' third TD. The pass-try for the extra point was good.

In desperation, with less than a minute and a half remaining in the game, the Jackets' quarterback Drake again hit his target, Wimberly, for a 35-yard touchdown pass.

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Carver vs. Tuskegee Institute High
HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY
Friday, October 14 7:30 p.m.
ADM.: Students 75¢, Adults $1.25

Wallaces Open Campaign With Rally in Birmingham

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)
passed down the stairs that there were "coloreds up there."

Some people tried to get back downstairs, but the stair walls were jammed. Several Wallace supporters finally joined the Negro students in the balcony.

Back on the main floor, the rally warmed up with hymns and hillbilly music. A young man began walking up and down the aisles with a big red-lettered sign: "Missouri wants Wallace for president." The crowd cheered.

The Wallaces arrived with a countdown from the stage, and the rally went on state-wide television. Mr. Wallace pledged to work for better schools, better roads, more job opportunities, and higher wages.

"There has been progress without compromise, accomplishment without surrender," she said. "We are responsive to only one thing, the will of the people." Then she stepped back.

The pink and blue Wallace flags bobbed, a four-year-old boy clapped so hard he fell off the step he was standing on, the band played Dixie, and Governor Wallace took the microphone.

Shadowed by a huge Confederate flag, the governor attacked the national Democrats, the national Republicans, the national bureaucrats, and the national press.

First he welcomed the newsmen and said he was glad to see that some of them had gotten their hair cut since the primary. Then he hit at the liberals. "We'll send the liberal, socialist element in this country a clear, resounding message in November."

"I stand for the people of Alabama, for the free enterprise system, and for private property," Wallace told the crowd.

"The national Democrats did all they could to stop this movement in its tracks," he shouted. "But we disposed of the national Democrats. We want to hurt both the national Democrats and the national Republicans because neither of these parties have cared a bit about the people of Alabama. But they care now."

As for the "national bureaucrats," Wallace said, "they are after controlling the minds, thoughts, and hearts of all the people in this country. Even the 1964 Civil Rights Law didn't go that far."

"We shall continue," he said, "until the fresh air of our state in the prevailing wind of the country, until the Communist debris is swept away from our shores, for the sake of the Constitution and our children."

During the speeches, the integrated group in the balcony sat quietly, many of them taking notes.

(Originally, Neil Friedman, head of the freshman social science course at Miles, had planned to require that all his students attend the rally to hear what Wallace had to say.

(But Dr. Lucius Pitts, president of Miles, called a meeting of the student body on the day of the rally to veto that plan. "All of you live at home," he said, "and I can't control what you do independently, but officially this thing is cancelled.")

A white woman watched one of the Negro girls taking notes on Wallace. "You write that down," she called over. "You get it right. He really means it."

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In Chattanooga, they're working together thru the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Thru their efforts, factories have begun to hire Negroes, 100% of the restaurants agreed to serve Negroes, and whites and Negroes have formed a Community Action Committee. Now, people defend the character of Negroes they formerly thought troublesome.

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If you want to know how to set up a Commission, or how an existing one can be more effective, write for the Community Relations Service booklet, "How To Turn Talk Into Action." Address: ACTION, Washington, D.C. 20537.

Face the problem, face to face. Talk, plan, act.

SOUTHERN COURIER

What They're Saying in the Governor's Race -- See Below

ADCI Doesn't Mention You-Know-Who

BY ROBERTA REISIG

MONTGOMERY -- From the sound of things at the semi-annual convention the Alabama Democratic Confere Inc. (ADCI), you might never have ed that George C. Wallace is ru wife for governor.

During the Negro politic day meeting here in the Hotel, no speaker men or his wife, Lurleen.

Instead, the Negro n ated to the dozens of Negro s ho public office in Alabama, and heard friendly messages from two white politicians.

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ADCI HEAD TABLE: ROBERT VANCE AT LEFT, PETER HALL AT RIGHT

Delegates to the convention received a warm greeting from L.B. Sullivan, Montgomery's commissioner of public safety and one-time enemy of civil rights groups. Sullivan hailed the group as "fellow Democrats."

On Sunday afternoon, Robert Vance of Birmingham became the first chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee ever to speak to a Negro audience. The head of the state Democratic party told the ADCI members:

"The time is past when you take one message to one group of people, and another message to another group."

Vance took the Negro Democrats a message of the state party's accomplishments in education, highways, industrial expansion, and tourist business. He said the Democrats had an "umbrella" party that excluded no one.

Some listeners thought Vance's praise of "our present Democratic administration in Alabama" was a quiet way of asking the ADCI to support Mrs. Wallace in November. But the name Wallace never passed the chairman's lips.

Saturday night's guest speaker, E. T. Kehrer of Atlanta, Ga., Southern director of the AFL-CIO's civil rights department, didn't talk about Wallace, either. But he said Lester Maddox, the Democratic candidate for governor in his state, "has one foot in a strait-jacket."

Kehrer noted that the choice in Georgia is between Maddox and U.S. Representative Howard "Bo" Callaway, a conservative Republican. "Between whom do you choose?" he asked. "A Kluxer in a bedsheet or a Kluxer in a tuxedo?"

Kehrer claimed that the "so-called riots" in Atlanta last month "were stimulated by agent provocateurs to influence the election." The resulting "white backlash" gave Maddox the Democratic nomination, Kehrer said.

But the ADCI delegates seemed not to be bitter about the nominations of Mrs. Wallace and Maddox. Many speakers re-affirmed their belief in working within the Alabama Democratic party structure.

"We're moving," said Peter Hall of Birmingham. "It may be at a snail's pace, but that turtle, he got there faster than the hare."

It was announced that more than five dozen Negro Democrats hold elective and appointive city and county offices in Macon, Mobile and Jefferson counties.

"To those who would start a third party, I say 'Farewell.' History's overloaded with failures of this sort," said Joe L. Reed of Montgomery. "If you don't like what's going on in the Democratic party, the only way to change it is to work within the framework of it."

"We're Democrats. We've got to support the Democratic party and the Democratic candidates," said Hall. That was as close to an outright election endorsement as the convention ever came.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO 42 | WEEKEND EDITION: OCTOBER 15-16, 1966 | TEN CENTS

Stokely Carmichael Challenges Students

People Protest Death of CDGM, But New Board Gets Poverty Money

BY GAIL FALK
AND PATRICIA JAMES

JACKSON, Miss. -- Nearly 3,000 Mississippians--most of them poor and nearly all of them Negro--came to the College Park Auditorium here last Saturday to say they didn't want CDGM to stop.

But the people they were talking to weren't there to listen. Federal officials and the 11 members of the new anti-poverty board, Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), turned down an invitation to the public meeting called by the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

And this week, the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) announced Head Start grants to MAP and two other groups in Mississippi--but not to CDGM.

OEO Director Sargent Shriver said CDGM workers could be hired for the new Head Start program. "In those counties where prior Head Start programs have operated," he said, "MAP

South Alabama State Fair

'$100 If They Aren't Alive'

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Stokely Carmichael Challenges Students

SNCC CHAIRMAN ANSWERS QUESTION

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Stokely Carmichael came to Tuskegee Institute Tuesday night and told 2,000 people that they are part of the black power movement whether they like it or not.

"You are black," he said. "You are discriminated against, not because you are dumb, lazy, eat more, and have good rhythm, but because you are black.

"We can never be equal under a system that forgets our blackness. We must accept our blackness and make white people respect us."

For Negro college students, he said, that meant "you can no longer afford the luxury of being individual. You must see yourselves as a people."

"You are no different from the winos in the ghettoes," the chairman of SNCC told his well-dressed, middle-class listeners. "Can't you stay in the ghettoes and help the people who need you? Or must you run to the suburbs and make idle chatter about integration?"

"What good is your education if you won't help the rural people of Macon County?. . . You are black, brothers and sisters, and you'd better come on home."

The audience laughed and clapped while Carmichael attacked them, the college, conservative Negro leaders, the U. S. government, and Western civilization. When he was through, people showered him with questions.

"In the past 21 years I've been brainwashed into thinking that I should put my country first, my race second," said one student. "Shouldn't we be in Viet Nam? Aren't we there to stop the communist threat from eventually taking over the United States? Aren't we American citizens?"

"I tried that in Cicero (Chicago) when I applied for an apartment," Carmichael answered. "I said, 'I'm an American citizen,' and the lady said, 'Uh uh, you're a nigger.'"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

People Protest Death of CDGM, But New Board Gets Poverty Money

BY GAIL FALK
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OEO Director Sargent Shriver said CDGM workers could be hired for the new Head Start program. "In those counties where prior Head Start programs have operated," he said, "MAP will hire persons having previous experience with the program, so far as is practical and consistent with acceptable qualifications and work records."

Shriver made it clear that OEO does not want any one group to have control of the Head Start program in the state. So far, 13 Mississippi agencies have received Head Start funds.

MAP's grant was the largest one announced Tuesday--$3,000,000 to run a full-year program for 1,500 children. The other grants were $1,200,000 to Rust College (for a one-year program for 600 children in Marshall and Lafayette counties), and $731,000 to South West Mississippi Opportunity, Inc. (for an eight-month program in Pike, Amite, and Washington counties).

Shriver said the SWMO Head Start program will actually be run by a former CDGM area council. This 22-member, all-Negro council will be expanded to include poor whites, according to Shriver.

On Wednesday, MAP chairman Owen Cooper said he didn't know where the group's Head Start centers would be.

Cooper said MAP's proposal, submitted two or three weeks ago, asked

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

South Alabama State Fair

'$100 If They Aren't Alive'

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY -- "Step right up, folks, and get your tickets before the show begins. . . . See the little people from Jamaica. . . the smallest woman in the world and the only midget brothers in the world. . . Hurry, hurry, $100 if they aren't alive and $500 if anyone can find others like them. . ."

People who went to the South Alabama State Fair this week (Monday through Saturday) heard and saw things that they wouldn't have believed if somebody had told them. One thing was Billy Joe, the baby with two heads and one body. Billy Joe lived for ten days after his birth, and now he is preserved in formaldehyde.

Another attraction was the Lobster Family, said to be the strangest family alive. The members of the family are human, but their legs are curved and their hands are like lobster claws.

From left to right, from morning to night, there was entertainment, whether it was the tent with the grave robbers, the half-woman-half-animal being, the long line of men that led to the go-go girls show, 16-inch-tall Tiny Pete, or a ride on the ferris wheel or roller coaster.

Another one of the main attractions was the conservation exhibition. You could see bee-hives and jars of honey and various forms of wild-life, such as diamond-back snakes, raccoons and deer. And there was a model of a burned-down forest, with exhibits showing how long it takes for such a forest to grow back.

And that wasn't all. You could play games, too, providing you had enough

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 4)

3 WEEKS LEFT--CANDIDATES STUMP HARDER

Martin

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM--"You can't have any weight on the national scene until there is a Republican party in Alabama," James D. Martin warned housewives and students last Monday as he stumped the outskirts of Birmingham.

"Every state with a one-party system has a low per-capita income and low educational standards," Martin said. "The Republicans will clean up the courthouse, we'll clean up the state house, and then we'll clean up the White House."

Martin avoided any direct reference to Governor George C. Wallace. He didn't mention any of his fellow Republicans either. And he didn't say a word about Negroes.

"Those who think we can beat LBJ with a third-party effort are wrong," Martin told 100 well-dressed housewives at the Vestavia shopping center parking lot. (Governor Wallace has talked about running for President on a third-party slate in 1968.)

"He will only be beaten by a Republican," Martin declared.

"I know there are strong feelings running through the state about the federal guidelines," Martin observed.

"But the administration in Montgomery has played right into the hands of the federal government. By passing an anti-guidelines bill that no one will use, they have laid us open to a suit that may federalize our schools."

A few minutes later, the Martin bus drove around the Samford University campus as classes broke for lunch. "I didn't get to finish college," Martin told 70 students who stopped to listen to him in front of the cafeteria. "When I graduated from high school in 1936, times were hard. In 1941, I volunteered for the Army. And when I got out five years later, I went right back to work."

Martin made some special promises to the students. "Last year, Alabama lagged behind every other state in the Southeast in acquiring industrial jobs," he said. "I promise you 100,000 new jobs in the next four years. That is a minimum."

"Four years from now Alabama will not be 47th in its educational standards," he added. "We will be moving up towards the top."

But the students showed real enthusiasm only twice--once when Martin said "I don't want to see Bobby Kennedy president, either," and again when he promised "to change the law so 18-year-olds can vote."

Robinson

DR. CARL ROBINSON

BIRMINGHAM--The floor of the Industrial Arts building was littered with hundreds of political leaflets. Dr. Carl Robinson, independent candidate for governor, stood in front of his booth at the Birmingham State Fair one night last week, sizing up the campaign.

"I got into this race when it became clear that the people of Alabama would have no real choice in the election. I thought the voters ought to have a chance to vote for a third man who is different," he explained.

Robinson counted off Alabama's problems on the fingers of his left hand. "With Wallace as governor we are losing federal money, we got less new industrial jobs in 1964 than any other state in the Southeast, and our taxes have increased more than under any other two governors."

"I'm not keeping quiet on the issue of the guidelines. Wallace is trying to deceive the people into thinking that our schools can get along without federal money. No matter how you figure it, it's not possible," Robinson said.

Robinson would not say whether he was trying to get Negroes to vote for him. But he did say that "Negroes are wise enough to know who will treat them

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

Wallace

BY MARY WISSLER

SYLACAUGA -- Someone hearing Governor George C. Wallace for the first time as he spoke in this prosperous mill town would have thought a President was being elected and the voters were all white.

"If Richard Nixon is for everything (Lyndon) Johnson is for, what have you accomplished by electing him President?" Wallace asked 200 Sylacaugans who stopped to listen to him on their lunch hour.

"If we have to make that kind of choice in 1968," Wallace shouted from his platform on a downtown side street, "we'd just as soon stay at home." The governor often has mentioned himself as an alternative to "that kind of choice."

Even "if we're not successful in selecting a President," he said, "we will have a lot of influence on whoever is elected."

"You elect my wife," said the governor, pointing at Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, "and we'll carry on this movement. We've got millions of people with us now."

"The (school) guidelines," Wallace said, passing on to his second favorite topic, "were drawn up for the purpose of destroying the neighborhood school in the South. We passed a law in Alabama saying that they were illegal. We didn't take over the local school board. We just relieved them of all the HEW rules."

On the edge of the crowd, two Negroes listened all the way through Wallace's speech. Mrs. Annie Bell Cook fanned herself with Wallace's campaign newspaper, the Wallace Record. "I'm going to vote for him," she said, nodding her head. "I voted for him in the primary. I think he's done a fine job with the schools. My children go to the Negro school, but they could go to the white schools if they wanted to."

Mrs. Cook said she was confused about the guidelines. "I don't understand everything, because I didn't have much school," she said. "But I understand a lot, and I want Wallace to be governor."

John Andrews, who was standing on the other side of the crowd, said he felt the same way. "I think he's the best governor this state ever had," Andrews said firmly. "I stay out in the country and I don't hear much about the elections, but I'm gonna vote for Wallace. I couldn't say much about what he's done, but I know he's done a lot."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Editorial Opinion

When No One Cares

Once again, a citizen of Philadelphia, Miss., has been the victim of alleged police brutality (See Page Six). The victim this time--cafe owner Theodore Slaughter--was also a victim last June. Willie "Tripp" Windham, a Negro policeman, figured in both incidents.

No American should have to suffer the kind of brutality alleged by Slaughter and by many other Philadelphia citizens. But Philadelphians ARE suffering at the hands of their police. The question is what to do about it.

The job of restraining and disciplining officers should lie with the men in charge of the police force. But the Philadelphia officials who control the hiring and firing of policemen have made it clear they are not going to do anything. And Windham still has his job.

If local officials will not protect their citizens, it is up to the federal government to force a change. The U. S. Justice Department made a gesture in this direction when it took over a federal suit against several Philadelphia and Neshoba County officials, including Windham. But the suit has never been heard. Justice Department officials--with their usual too-busy-to-be-bothered, are-you-sure-it's-one-of-our-cases attitude--don't have any guesses about when the suit might come up.

And so the responsibility comes down to those who are most directly concerned--the people themselves. It is apparent that no one else cares. When Philadelphia Negroes must live with the daily fear of police violence, it is too late for shaking heads and waiting for someone else to act.

BULLOCK JUSTICE

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Lady Lawyer Chides Crowd

BY ROBERTA REISIG

MONTGOMERY--"We, the Negro middle class, have deserted the poor far too often," said civil rights attorney Miss Marian E. Wright.

She spoke here last Sunday to an audience of well-dressed men and women observing Women's Leadership Day at the Dexter Ave. Baptist Church.

"Some of us forgot where we came from and who we really are," said Miss Wright. Negroes may not trust white people, she said, but "we don't really have faith in the black people either."

"We hear the Governor Wallaces and Stokely Carmichaels, and everyone (in between) sits back and keeps quiet," she said.

The SNCC chairman is speaking "wrong and loud," she said, "and whether or not we agree, Stokely Carmichael's going to determine the way this country's going to go."

Miss Wright, 26, is a graduate of Spelman College and Yale Law School. She has been an exchange student in France, Switzerland, Russia, and Africa, and is now the only Negro woman lawyer in Mississippi.

She said Negro moderates must act now, "because while in a sense we've had a little taste of freedom, we stand to lose it all." With the failure of the 1966 civil rights bill, she said, the federal government has "gone wild."

The 1964 Civil Rights Act really just helped the few Negroes who could afford to eat in desegregated restaurants, said Miss Wright. But these Negroes with money shouldn't turn their backs on the civil rights struggle, she said, because "money can't buy decency."

Picketers in Montgomery Ask Fair Treatment, Jobs

BY ROBERTA REISIG

MONTGOMERY -- For the first time in many months, the city that started it all is the scene of civil rights demonstrations.

Members of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and a few SCLC workers have been picketing outside the S.H. Kress & Co. department store on Dexter Avenue here in a protest that began last Saturday. They were protesting what they called the store's "discrimination" in hiring and "brutality" against Negro customers.

Two incidents during the previous week had spurred the picketers to action. On Oct. 3, according to the picketers, a white woman employed by Kress kicked a Negro woman shopping there. "They claim she had stolen something, but she didn't have anything," said Miss Mildred Smith, 20, one of the demonstrators.

Two days earlier, Miss Lois Thresher, a Negro girl shopping in the store, was accused of shop-lifting--until Kress employees found sales slips for the "stolen" items in her purse.

When the girl returned with her mother to complain, said the mother and a fellow worker, Kress assistant manager L.F. Ishee told them he "didn't care whether or not Negroes shopped in Kress again."

Ishee refused to comment on the incident, but store manager J.C. Spikes said Ishee "wouldn't say something like that." He called the complaints "just a plain bunch of foolishness."

"We're not picketing because of what we've heard," said Miss Smith. "We're picketing because of the way they treat us. Negroes are 75% of their business, they throw your money in your hand as if they don't even want to touch you. You can't walk in a store down here without them accusing you of stealing something, and we're sick and tired of it."

The marchers said jobs were an issue, too. "I want equal employment regardless of race," said Miss Lula Williams, 20, "and the only way you can get it is to let the man know you're not satisfied. Talking does no good at all."

Spikes said he "guessed" he employed about "18 to 20" Negroes, but picketer Roosevelt Barnett's estimate was seven.

STREET SCENE IN MONTGOMERY

Miss Williams accused Ishee of throwing a cigarette at her while she was picketing. "It rolled near my feet so I felt the heat from it," she said Monday in Municipal Court.

Pointing out that Miss Williams had no witnesses supporting her story in court and telling her that "by your own admission the cigarette didn't touch you," Judge D. Eugene Loe dismissed the disorderly conduct charges against Ishee.

At an MIA meeting Monday night, Mrs. Johnnie R. Carr told an audience of 40, "Some of us are being used." She called for the kind of "togetherness" and organization in picketing Kress that was present during the bus boycott of 1955. "The white man recognized our dollar," she said.

As the picketing increased before the near-empty store Tuesday, a white woman muttered, "They ought to be glad they can shop anywhere."

Will Head Start Help 'The Little People'?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

EUFAULA--"The way they're going to run it, it won't get the little people," said Mrs. Lillien Phillips, folding her arms and looking angry. "It'll get the people who already got."

Mrs. Phillips is one of several Barbour County parents who don't like the way the Barbour-Henry-Dale County Community Action Program (CAP) has decided to run Head Start.

This week, they went to a meeting at the county courthouse in Clayton, and

under it, it's usually some people who didn't get a job."

Weston said he would apply for funds and set up "eight or ten" Head Start centers as fast as he could. "We have to plan for the entire district, not just Eufaula," he said. "It takes time."

Cossey also charged that Weston had organized a "segregated survey" of Head Start-age children. "He told Negroes to bypass white homes," Cossey said.

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and firing of policemen have made it clear they are not going to do anything. And Windham still has his job.

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BULLOCK JUSTICE

MONTGOMERY -- George Thomas wanted to buy a car. So when he was in Union Springs, he tried to buy one from a white man there.

Thomas said the man wanted to sell the car for $135. When Thomas said he didn't have that much money, the man suggested that he write a check. Then, Thomas said, he told the man he didn't have any money in the bank, either.

Nevertheless, Thomas said, the man wrote out a check. The man told him to sign it, and said it would serve as an I. O. U. With this understanding, Thomas said, he signed the check.

Some time later, Thomas said, the Montgomery sheriff's office called him and told him he was wanted for writing a bad check in Bullock County. Thomas said the officer told him he was not going to come to Thomas' house, because he wanted to "keep down the embarrassment."

When Thomas went to court in Union Springs, he pleaded guilty to writing the check.

But, he said, this happened without a trial, presiding judge, or witnesses. He called it a "kangaroo court." Thomas said the white man was there: "He didn't testify against me or for me. He just wanted his money, and I was glad to pay him because I owed him."

He said a judge did come out of a room and say that he and somebody else had gotten together and fined Thomas $1. (County records show the case was handled by Bullock County Probate Judge Fred D. Main.)

That was all Thomas thought he had to pay, but when the clerk finished writing out the fine, the total was $34.75.

"I just didn't understand what the other charges were for," said Thomas. Bullock County Circuit Clerk L. W.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 6)

Negro Farmers in Miss. Work on ASCS Elections

BY CAROLYN STEVENS

JACKSON, Miss.--Once again, Negro farmers in Mississippi are trying to get Negroes elected to the ASCS county committees.

Farmers are working toward next Thursday's deadline for getting their candidates on the ballot for ASCS (Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service) community committees. For many years, Negro names did not appear on the ballot. In the last two years, the U. S. Agriculture Department has required the local ASCS offices to put in some Negroes' names.

So the county offices have often flooded the ballots with lots of Negroes in order to split the Negro vote. And few Negroes have been elected.

This year, Negro farmers are once more holding mass meetings to select their candidates, and circulating petitions for each candidate they elect. They will also hold mass meetings to mark the ballot, to make sure there is no split in the Negro vote.

In Clay County, local farmers are really working. They have five candidates for each of the ASCS community committees. Workers are canvassing in an effort to find all eligible voters.

(All farm-owners, part owners, tenants, and share-croppers over 21 years old can vote in ASCS elections. A farmer does not have to be a registered voter in order to vote for ASCS candidates. A woman can also vote in ASCS elections if her name appears on the deed of ownership, if her name appears on the tenant's or share-cropper's contract as a joint operator with her husband, or if she owns a farm herself.)

The Clay County farmers have gotten a list of eligible voters from the county ASCS office. They are taking all the eligible voters they find whose names do not appear on the list down to get their names on the county list.

People who are elected to the ASCS county committees help make important decisions as to what programs will operate in the county, how much cotton a farmer can grow, who will get extra cotton acreage, who will be a measurer, and who will be office managers.

By next Thursday, nominating petitions must be in to the ASCS county offices. The petition for each candidate must have the names of at least five eligible ASCS voters. (Most candidates try to get at least ten names, in case some are disqualified.)

On Nov. 4, the county offices will send out the community committee ballots. They must be returned by Nov. 14. Winners of the community elections will meet at county conventions before Dec. 12 to elect county committeemen.

MFDP Names Ruled Out

JACKSON, Miss.--The Mississippi Election Commission has refused to put three Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) candidates on the Nov. 8 ballot.

The Rev. Clifton Whitley had submitted a nominating petition to run as an independent against U. S. Senator James O. Eastland, and Dock Drummond and Mrs. Emma Sanders had presented petitions for the U. S. House of Representatives. But on Tuesday, the election Commission said that these candidates would not be placed on the ballot because there were not enough signatures on their petitions.

A new Mississippi law says that an independent needs 10,000 signatures to run for the Senate, and 2,000 to run for the House. The commission said that Whitley's petition had only 2,055 names of properly certified electors, while Drummond's had only 449, and Mrs Sanders' only 218.

The commission also said Whitley and Drummond were ineligible anyway, because they ran in the Democratic primary last June for the same positions.

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Mrs. Phillips is one of several Barbour County parents who don't like the way the Barbour-Henry-Dale County Community Action Program (CAP) has decided to run Head Start.

This week, they went to a meeting at the county courthouse in Clayton, and told Charles L. Weston, the CAP director, how they feel.

"We didn't get nowhere," said Mrs. Phillips. "He just keep telling us it had to come through the CAP.

"We ran our own program in Eufaula last summer. We thought it was going to continue. Now they tell us we can't run it any more. We have to wait till they set up a Head Start program for all three counties next year."

The Rev. G. H. Cossey, who operated last summer's program as head of the local Negro Baptist churches, said this means that 50 or 60 people "thought they had a job but don't."

Those people, the summer Head Start teachers, probably won't get their old jobs back if the CAP runs Head Start, Cossey said.

"They told us they wanted people with B. S. degrees or master's degrees. Where is a poor person going to get a college degree? Wouldn't it be better to take a person who needs money to finish college, and train and pay him all at once?" Cossey asked.

The delay also means that more than 100 children, whose parents signed them up for Head Start this fall, will have to get along without it.

But Cossey, one of 16 Negroes on the CAP's 36-man board of directors for the tri-county program, said he didn't have any luck trying to persuade the board to see things his way.

Tuesday night the board voted 11 to 4 not to allow local groups--like the Negro Baptist churches--to run their own Head Start programs while waiting for the CAP to set up centers in all three counties.

Cossey blamed the action on "ill-will and prejudice. It wouldn't cost them anything to approve it and let us run it," he said.

But Weston, the CAP director, said that wasn't the reason. "What is the purpose of the Head Start program?" he asked. "To help the socially and economically deprived children. Not to make jobs."

"Sometimes people forget the purpose and want to wrangle. If you look under it, it's usually some people who didn't get a job."

Weston said he would apply for funds and set up "eight or ten" Head Start centers as fast as he could. "We have to plan for the entire district, not just Eufaula," he said. "It takes time."

Cossey also charged that Weston had organized a "segregated survey" of Head Start-age children. "He told Negroes to bypass white homes," Cossey said.

"One group's making one survey; one group's making another," Weston admitted. "What difference does it make? We want to have peace and harmony. Why should we do anything to cause a problem?"

But Mrs. Phillips said the separate surveys prove there's a problem already.

"Head Start is supposed to be integrated," she said. "Mr. Weston said he wanted it integrated. Then why ain't it?"

Robinson

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

fairly. And if I don't get their vote, they will still have my respect."

At his home in Bessemer later that evening, Robinson brought out a map of the state with counties marked to show how they had voted in the primary. "I'm concentrating my campaign here in the borderline counties," he said, pointing to areas around Birmingham, Montgomery, and Mobile, with a swath through the Black Belt. "These are the counties that Wallace lost or almost lost in the primary."

"I'll have a lot of support with organized labor," he predicted, "and an awful lot of people are dissatisfied with Wallace." Robinson left the next day to attend the state-wide AFL-CIO convention in Mobile.

"I'm not going to get into any of the dirt," Robinson said. "If people want me for governor, if they're dissatisfied, they'll vote for me. If not, then at least they've been offered a choice."

MACON BOARD

TUSKEGEE -- The Macon County Board of Revenue this week chose a Tuskegee lawyer with a segregationist background to be its chairman from now until next Oct. 1.

The board's one Negro and three white members named attorney Harry D. Raymon to replace banker Edward C. Laslie, the segregationist chairman who died two weeks ago.

The new chairman is also head of the Macon County Democratic Executive Committee, and was formerly a county inferior court judge.

Raymon was also the board's attorney. It was his legal ruling that allowed the board members to shut the press and public out of their election meetings.

The first meeting Monday afternoon ended in disagreement. After another private session Wednesday, the board members emerged in tight-lipped unanimity.

The Rev. V. A. Edwards, the board's Negro member, said only that "everyone mentioned was considered. We passed them all in review."

Was Raymon his personal choice? Edwards replied, "It was unanimous."

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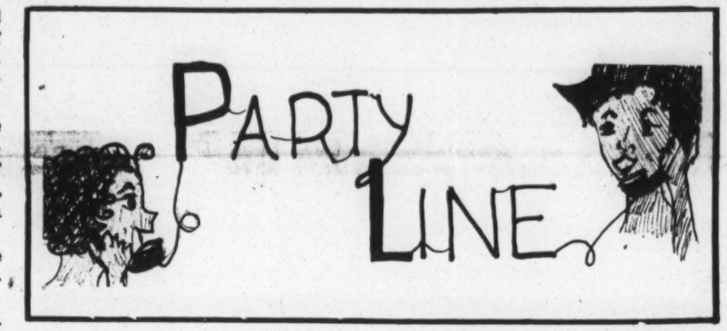


Bessemer

About 60 Negroes are going to school here with white children. Here is what two of them thought of the experience: Spurgeon Seals Jr. (eighth grade, Bessemer Junior High)--"All of the white children acted as if they were crazy, when they saw you coming down the hall. . . . Two of the boys got together and tried to kick us, but neither of us got kicked, and other than that it was all right. And best of all, the teachers treated us the way they treated the other children." Miss Paula Matthew (tenth grade, Bessemer High)--"When I was passing in the hall, a boy told me, 'You'd better watch out, nigger.' The way he said it was so funny that I had to laugh. The (first) day seemed like it would never end, but it did, finally."

Greenville

The old Greenville Training School had made some changes since the demonstrations there last year. This year, the school's name no longer sounds like it belongs on an animal-training school. GTS is now called Southside High School. There were no white faculty members last year, but now in the fields of auto mechanics, brick masonry, and carpentry, the instructors are all white men. In addition, there are courses in cosmetology, advanced biology, physical science, and office preparatory that were never offered before. "I think the facilities are great," said one student. "But I think we was given all this to try and keep as many of us as possible away from the white school." Another student, Jimmy Lee Purifoy, said, "I think it's great, magnificent." (From Henry Clay Moorer)

New Orleans, La.

The Free Southern Theater has ended its 1966 season after running out of money. Between June and September, the theater put on free shows for Negro audiences in New Orleans and in other towns in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The size of the audiences varied from a few dozen in some places to more than a thousand each night in Laurel, Miss. Now the Free Southern Theater is trying to raise money for its 1967 season.

Montgomery

Last month, a local radio station presented its Fall Spectacular rock 'n' roll show. Stars included the Rockin' Gibraltars, Montgomery's own soul band; The Happenings, who made number one on the charts with their big hit, "See You in September"; The Count Five;

THE ROCKIN' GIBRALTARS

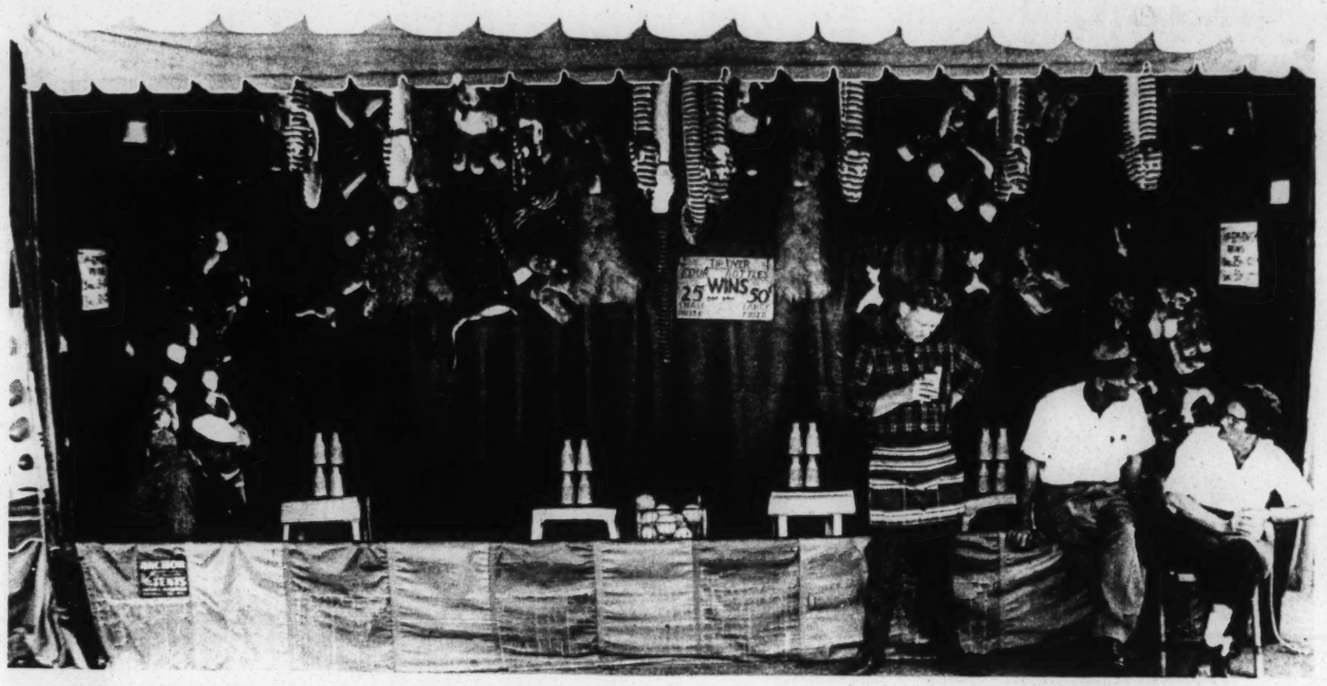
and from England, The Hollies, Ian Whitcomb, and Peter and Gordon. Lou Christie, who made it big with "Rhapsody in the Rain," drew a spontaneous reaction. Last on the program were the stars of the night, The Beach Boys. The night ended with overwhelming applause from the audience. (From Leigh Tallent, Miriam Nunnelee, and Vickie Cain)

New York City

The NAACP this week said U. S. Representative Charles Weltner's refusal to run on the same ballot with Georgia segregationist Lester Maddox was "an act of political courage with few parallels in our history." The civil rights group predicted that Weltner "will return in triumph to political life, and that he will soon resume his fine service to the nation."

Jackson, Miss.

Farish Street lost one civil rights office and gained another last week. The Medical Committee for Human Rights--which has worked to improve health services for poor people and to end discrimination by doctors and hospitals--closed its office here for lack of staff and money. The National Urban League announced the opening of its first Mississippi office at 119 N. Farish St. Melvin R. Jennings, executive director of the new office, said the Urban League would work on job and housing opportunities for Negroes in the greater Jackson area. When the program gets going, he said, people who need a job can come to the Urban League. He said the office will keep its own job listing, for "better skilled positions."



Black and White at the BIRMINGHAM FAIR

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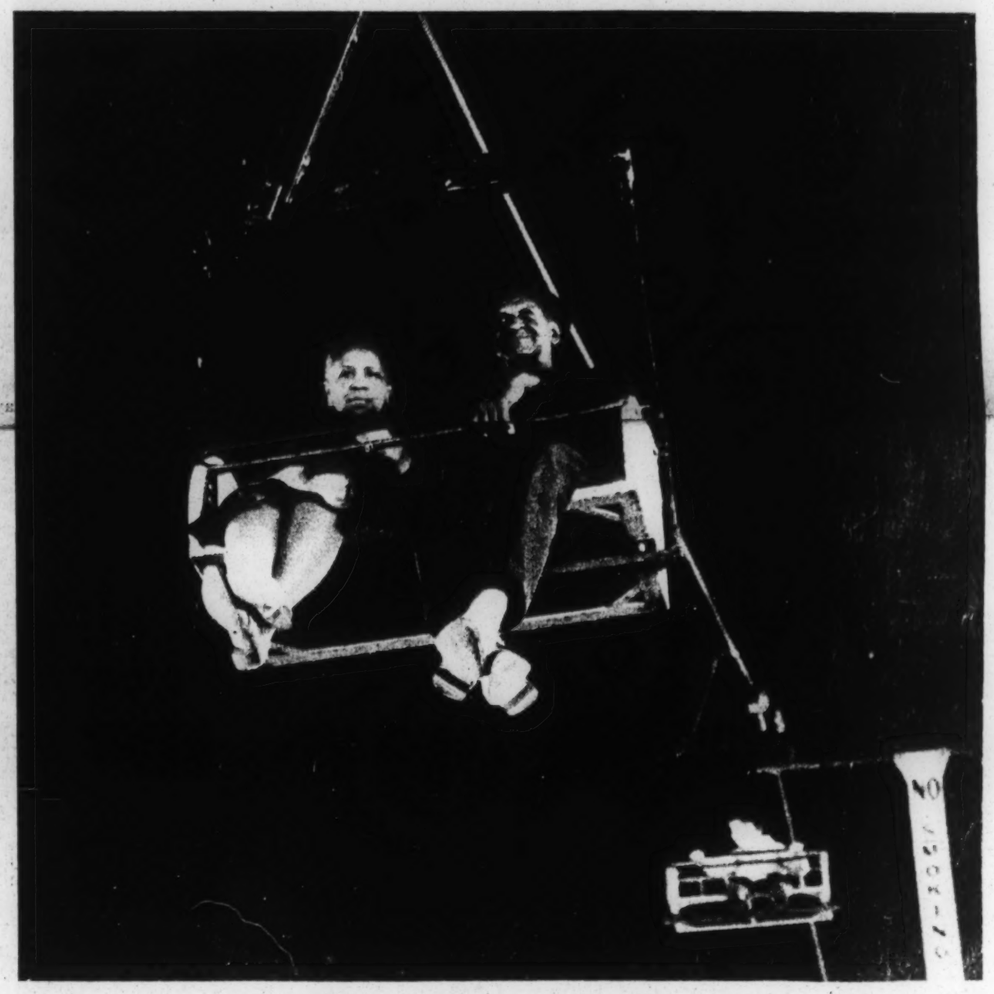


Photographs by Jim Peppler

Freedom School Students Learn to Ask Questions

Conversation in an Arkansas Classroom

TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM PEPPLER

MARVELL, Ark.--The Branch Baptist Church at Jones Ridge is hard to find. You have to travel along a network of back roads just to locate Jones Ridge, a small community 20 miles or so from Marvell.

But here, in the country not many miles north of the Mississippi state line, an experiment in education is going on.

Marvell School District #22 (Phillips and Monroe counties) never sent freedom-of-choice forms to its 1,800 Negro students. When the time came for school to open this fall, the children and their parents decided that the Negroes should not have to go back to their old, run-down schools. On the first day of classes, about 1,300 Negro students stayed home.

The people also began a campaign to get John Hamilton, a Negro, elected to the Marvell school board.

Now, about 300 more Negroes have returned to their old classrooms. But 1,000 are still not going to the public schools at all.

Instead, they're going to freedom schools like the one in the Branch Baptist Church at Jones Ridge.

Three days a week, for three to four hours a day, some 35 or 40 children show up at the church. There they study all kinds of subjects they might get in regular school. But they are learning something different, too.

Miss Myrtle Glasgow, a SNCC field worker who teaches at Jones Ridge, encourages the children to participate actively in every lesson. She gives them facts, but she encourages them to have ideas about those facts. She tells them questions are more important than answers.

"To ask more questions means to make more challenges," she said at the beginning of a discussion of American history one day. Then she turned to a book about the contributions Negroes have made to America.

"America was a colony of England," she read. Then she looked up at her students. "Does anyone know what a colony is?"

This is the way the discussion went after that.

STUDENT: "A colony is where you own some other country."

MISS GLASGOW: "A colony is where you own some other country? Then if America was a colony of England, does that mean that England owned America?"

When it looked as if she weren't going to get an answer, Miss Glasgow didn't go back to reading from the book. Instead, she asked another question.

MISS GLASGOW: "Does anyone know of any other colonies in the world?... I want you young folks to talk, too. Don't let the older kids do all the talking."

STUDENT: "I don't know if it's a colony or not, but America owns part of Germany....I think Russia owns the other part."

ANOTHER STUDENT: "I don't think we own Germany."

THIRD STUDENT: "Do we own Viet Nam?"

MISS GLASGOW: "Let's start with finding out if America owns part of Germany."

FIRST STUDENT: "We won Germany in World War II and Russia was our ally. We got part of Germany and Russia got the other part."

MISS GLASGOW: "But does that make us own Germany?"

ANOTHER STUDENT: "We got bases in Germany."

THE STUDENTS ARE BOYCOTTING THE NEGRO SCHOOLS IN MARVELL

MISS MYRTLE GLASGOW TEACHES THE FREEDOM SCHOOL IN JONES RIDGE

MISS GLASGOW: "We are allies to countries. We have agreements that we will help some countries if they ask us, and we keep bases in some of these countries."

STUDENT: "Like Viet Nam?"

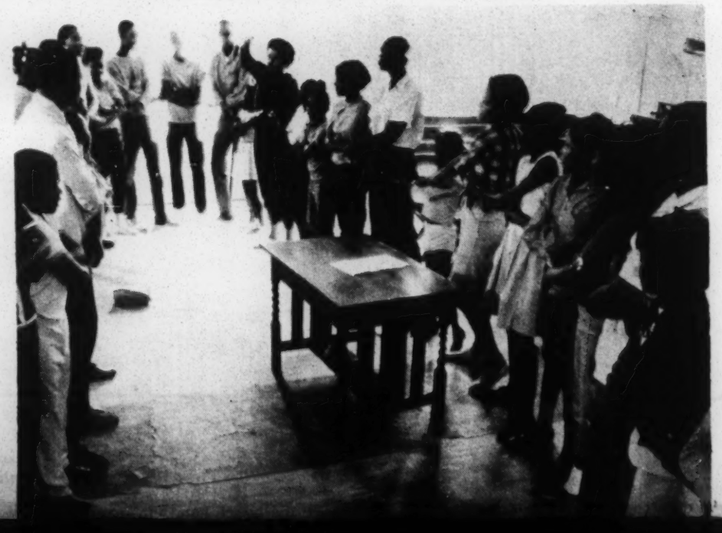
ANOTHER STUDENT: "I don't know if Viet Nam asked us for our help."

THIRD STUDENT: "There was a document drawn up during World War II in--I don't know. So we will help them when communism gets too close to us. It's a little too close to us in Viet Nam."

MISS GLASGOW: "Does anyone know where Viet Nam is?"

One of the girls brought out a map and the students looked it over until they found Viet Nam.

MISS GLASGOW: "Viet Nam is below China and across the ocean. So it's not very close. There must be something else that's important to us to be fighting there."



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STUDENT: "The Viet Cong came from South Viet Nam to North Viet Nam. We have bases and other things there to make money. We are protecting our rights."

MISS GLASGOW: "So we have interests in Viet Nam and are protecting our rights?"

STUDENT: "It looks like the North Vietnamese might get what we have in Viet Nam. . . . and also, we're keeping the communists out of Viet Nam so communism doesn't get too large. Or it will take over the United States."

MISS GLASGOW: "Just what is communism?"

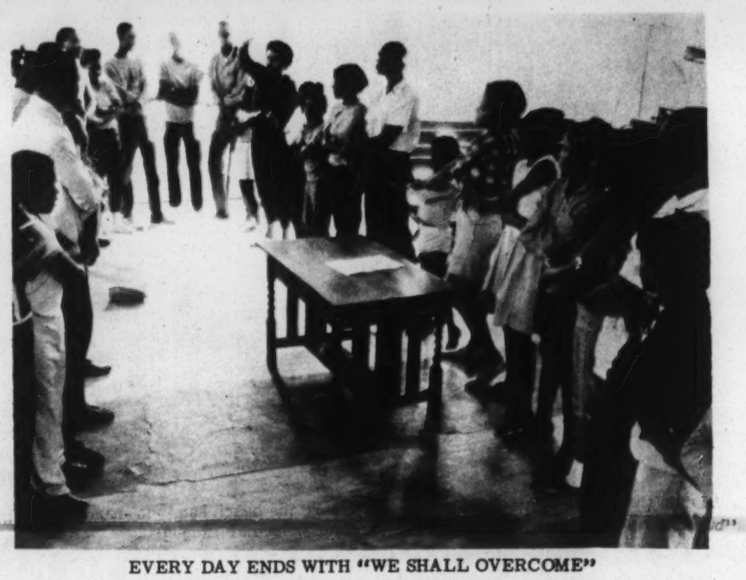
STUDENT: "Communism is no government. No real president."

ANOTHER STUDENT: "You don't own anything. If you have a store, the government owns it."

MISS GLASGOW: "Where did you learn that?"

STUDENT: "In history class."

ANOTHER STUDENT: "The government is not run by the people like us. It's run by a dictator. They don't elect officers. Executives are appointed, not elected."



EVERY DAY ENDS WITH "WE SHALL OVERCOME"

MISS GLASGOW: "People don't run the government--like we do? Do we run our government?"

Everyone in the room sat still for a moment and thought about that.

STUDENT: "We vote for them."

MISS GLASGOW: "In Marvell we're trying to get a school board member elected. What problems are we having?"

STUDENT: "People can't mark ballots. They don't know how."

ANOTHER STUDENT: "A lot of ballots get thrown out."

MISS GLASGOW: "Could you say that it's dictators that throw out ballots to keep people from getting elected?"

None of the students had an answer to that. So Miss Glasgow picked up a loose thread from earlier in the discussion. She and the children talked about the relationship between American bases in Germany, the war in Viet Nam, and the trouble in Marvell, Ark.

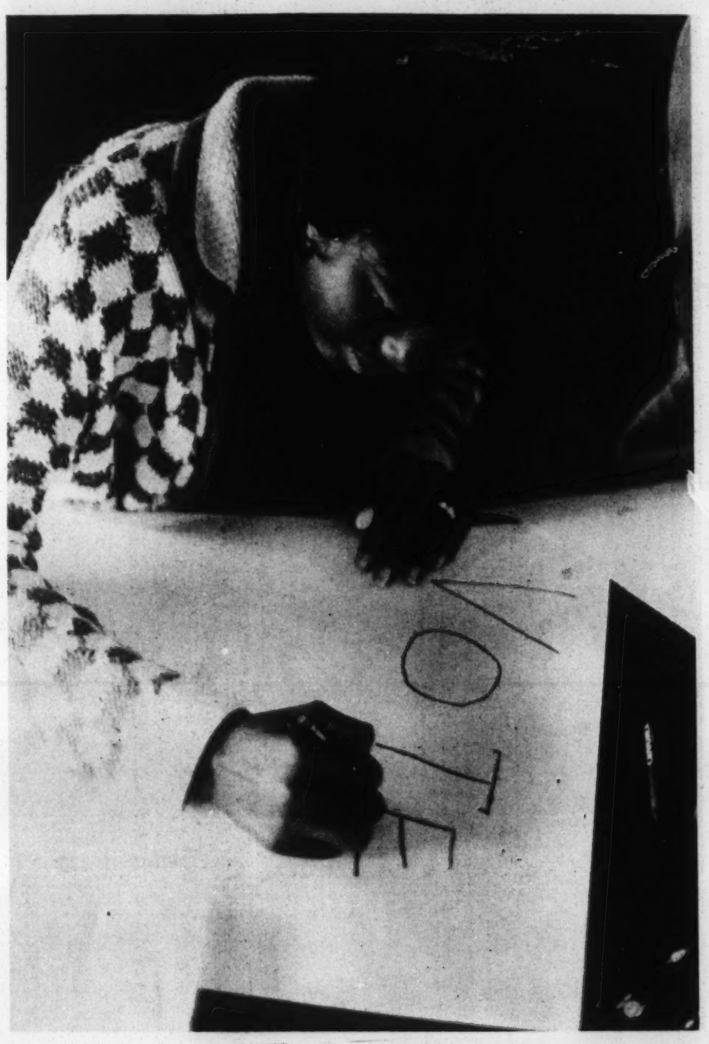
STUDENT: "What we want to protect in Germany are our interests."

MISS GLASGOW: "After World War II we helped put Germany back on its feet. Now a lot of our money is tied up in Germany."

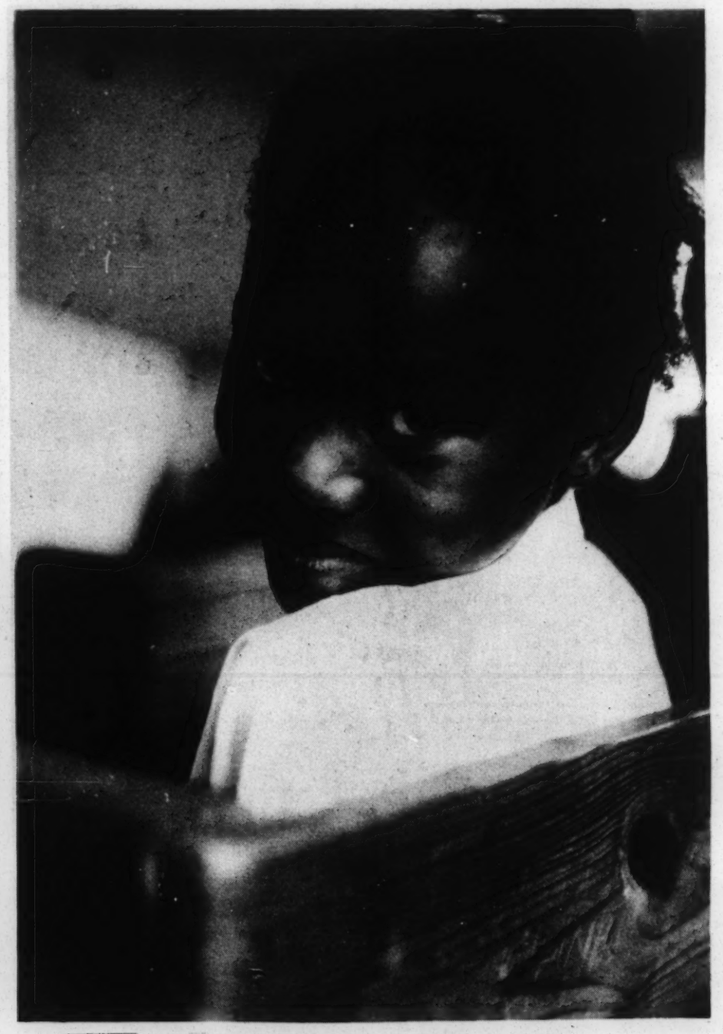
STUDENT: "It's the same in Viet Nam. We have a lot of money tied up in Viet Nam."

ANOTHER STUDENT: "The reason we aren't in school is money. They won't fix up our schools and they won't let us go to their schools."

That was the end of the history class.



MAKING POLITICAL POSTERS FOR A NEGRO SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATE



MOST STUDENTS LIKE THE FREEDOM SCHOOL.

For Reserve Duty

Opelika Hires 4 Negro Policemen

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--Theodore K. Thomas is a chemist for the Ampex Corporation. William Parker teaches athletics at Jeter and Carver elementary schools. John Pruitt manages stock for the local Woolworth's store. Zack Strickland Jr. works the night shift at the Pepperell textile plant.

But last Friday all four of them took an another, part-time job. They became the first four Negro policemen on the Opelika reserve force.

They wore complete uniforms and badges, and carried night sticks and guns. "This is not a half-cloak thing," explained Police Chief William J. Trussell. "They will go wherever we need men, just like the other reserves."

Their first assignment was patrolling the football game at Opelika's all-Negro J.W. Darden High School. Each of them worked with a white policeman.

Five weeks ago, a riot broke out during a Darden football game. The free-for-all began when a white policeman arrested a Negro spectator.

After the riot was over, the city's Negro leaders suggested that Opelika add some Negroes to its police force. They pointed out that although the city is half Negro, its 20 regular and 12 reserve policemen were all white.

Mayor T. D. Davis Jr. and Police Chief Trussell didn't say yes. But they didn't say no, either. So the Negro leaders recommended several men for the job.

And when the police reserves held their first fall meeting last week, there were four new members--Thomas, Parker, Pruitt, and Strickland.

"It had nothing to do with the incident," Mayor Davis said this week. "We've planned all along to hire some colored when we found some qualified. And we did."

Chief Trussell said pretty much the same thing. "That's a world-wide affair now; it's the tone of the whole world situation. We would have hired them anyway."

But the Rev. A. L. Wilson, head of the Lee County Voters League, a Negro group, wasn't so sure. "I guess they would have done it," he said, "but I don't know about when."

"We're proud of the fact we have four on the reserve," Wilson added. "But that doesn't suffice us at all. We want men promoted or drafted by some means to the regular force.

"The problem is to find people. They say they want college graduates without police records. Well, there aren't too many Negroes like that in Opelika."

But Trussell said there was another problem, too. "The Negro reserves wouldn't want to be patrolmen," he said. "They make better money at the jobs they have."

The four new policemen said Trussell was right, at least for now. "I was interested in it as part-time," said Pruitt, "but full-time? I don't think so."

"I don't know right now," said Strickland. "I'd have to get the offer first, and then think it over."

The chances are that the offer will be made to someone before too long. Mayor Davis said he'd heard "no complaints, nothing but favorable reaction" to the four new policemen.

"More than likely we will hire a colored officer full-time when there's an opening," Davis said. "I think it's a good idea."

And a Negro Officer Talks About His Job

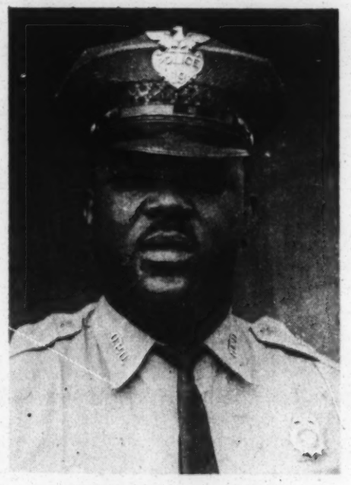
BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--"This goes along with some of the other responsibilities of being a full-fledged citizen," said Theodore K. Thomas, buckling his gun-belt around the waist of his uniform.

Thomas, 30, a big man who looks like a professional football player, is one of the four Negroes who desegregated Opelika's police force. But he didn't really want the job.

"Then I thought it over," he said. "I figured--rather me than somebody who would take advantage of it. It would ruin relations to have the wrong guy."

If that sounds like Thomas is pretty sure of himself, he has reason to be. He was the first Negro to get--and keep--a white-collar job at the Ampex Corporation here. As a chemical technician, he brings home a good salary to his wife and children.



THEODORE K. THOMAS

"It's public relations," he said about his new job. "It's a first step in getting a permanent Negro policeman. It's getting people's minds adjusted to it."

Thomas said he wasn't just talking about white people. "Some of my neighbors don't like it," he said, standing on his porch and looking around at the neat small houses nearby. "They been calling me a 'white nigger.'

"The ones who make whiskey, they're afraid I'm going to tell on them. That isn't part of my work now. But if it came up one night and I had to raid that house over there, I'd go on and do it.

"The only way to do this job right is to treat everybody alike without thinking about race."

Thomas paused. "I don't say this is always true, but sometimes we don't prepare enough," he said. "We should think about where we're going." He thought for a minute about where he was going.

"I didn't want this job," he repeated,

THINK AND GRIN

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

HAPPINESS IS. . .seeing the local head of the Ku Klux Klan light a burning cross and catch his sheet on fire.

HAPPINESS IS. . .seeing the smart-aleck next door--who quit smoking and bragged that a cigarette would never harm him--get run over by a Chesterfield truck.

HAPPINESS IS . . . seeing the taxi driver who passed you by in the rain skid into a police car.

HAPPINESS IS. . . seeing the muscular lifeguard all the girls were admiring leave the beach hand-in-hand with

Carmichael at Tuskegee

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Another student had a similar idea. "The Negro's lost," he said. "I live in America. It's my country, the only home I know--and don't say I'm an Uncle Tom, but I love America. I wouldn't be happy in Europe, Asia, or Africa.

"What is a Negro to do? He has to become a part of his country . . . . or it's like being cast in an ocean and you can't swim."

Carmichael agreed that black people are part of the United States. "But do white people set the criteria, or do you?" he asked. "You have to become a man on your own terms."

Most of the discussion was peaceful enough to confuse some people. "Why haven't you explained yourself like this on a nation-wide basis?" one woman wanted to know.

"The momentum of this movement is coming from black people, not from the white press," answered Carmichael.

But he replied angrily to some questions. Asked about the "white backlash" be withstood. We have to tear down that racism if we're going to live."

When someone criticized SNCC's opposition to the draft, Carmichael was even more blunt. "Nobody has a right to make a man a hired killer," he said. "He decides that for himself.

"Then he decides who he wants to kill," Carmichael added, grinning in the direction of a note-taking reporter for a national news-magazine. "My battleground is not in Viet Nam. It's here."

AT THE FAIR

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

money. There were rings to toss, nickels to throw, targets to hit with guns, and bingo to play--all done for prizes, providing you won.

If you got hungry, you could always buy a hot dog, a corn dog, a stick of cotton candy, and a good old candied apple (with or without nuts) at one of the many concession stands.

The adults could go and see the Facts of Life

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Mrs. Isaac Dickson

of the First C ME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my

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"The momentum of this movement is coming from black people, not from the white press," answered Carmichael.

But he replied angrily to some questions. Asked about the "white backlash," he said, "There is no such animal. This country is racist. The harder black people push, the more they will be withstood. We have to tear down that racism if we're going to live."

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The adults could go and see the Facts of Life House, the kiddies could always ride the merry-go-round, and the monster-lovers could visit the House of Horror or the House of Mirrors.

'Miss. Tricked Aaron Henry'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

for funds to run centers in 28 counties, half of them counties that had had CDGM centers. But he said the OEO grant was less than MAP had requested, and he didn't know what had been cut out of the program.

At Saturday's meeting in Jackson, the Rev. James McRee, chairman of the board of directors of CDGM, told the audience, "We want OEO to know we people in Mississippi are not divided. Also that we are not going to be divided. We are going to fight, fight, fight, fight, fight until CDGM is re-funded."

"Every day," said the Rev. Ed King, chaplain at Tougaloo College, "I have talked with my good friend, my still-loved Aaron Henry. Every night I call him and tell him what I have said about him. I'm not going to do anything behind his back. But I've been terribly hurt about what he's done behind our backs." Henry was one of the 11 members named to the new MAP board.

"Mississippi killed Medgar Evers," said King, "and now it has tricked Aaron Henry."

At this time, about four blocks from the auditorium, people were picketing the Rev. R. L. T. Smith's store. Smith, a Negro minister and a prosperous businessman, is another member of the MAP board.

People from many different counties spoke up at the meeting. Mrs. Rosie Leflore of Lauderdale County said, "We have one of those representatives from the MAP board in our county. We're gonna picket him."

"I don't approve of the MAP board, because I don't know anything about it," said Cecil Hale of Heidelberg. "I do approve of the CDGM board, because I know something about it."

The people resolved to boycott the MAP board and all other boards "not responsive to the poor."

An entirely different meeting was held Oct. 6 in Mt. Ary Baptist Church in Stallo. The Rev. A. L. Johnson, NAACP project director for Mississippi, told the Neshoba County NAACP branch meeting that "Mudd (CDGM director John Mudd) is mud."

CDGM, Johnson said, was run by "carpetbaggers," Northerners who are taking advantage of Mississippi poor people to earn high salaries. "At least," he said of the new MAP board, "they are all Mississippians."

YAAC

(Young Adult Action Committee), affiliate of SCLC, is recruiting young adults in Jefferson County for community action to help end

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BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon

TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw

SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett

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WANT ADS

BEAUTY PAGEANT--The Uniontown Civic & Business League will sponsor its first beauty pageant, at the Robert C. Hatch High School gymnasium Nov. 25 at 7:30 p.m. The pageant is open to all girls between the age of 16-21. All contestants must be residents of Uniontown. All contestants must submit applications on or before Oct. 25. Contestants may be sponsored by any club, organization, church or social group. Application blanks can be obtained at Moore's Grocery, Robert C. Hatch High School, or from any member of the civic league. The purpose of the pageant is to establish a scholarship fund for some deserving student who has the potentials of making a good college student.

RECEPTIONIST--Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10025.

WE NEED tables, chairs, and books for the new Community Center on Ardmore Highway in Indian Creek. Help the Community Center by giving items which you don't need. Call Arthur Jacobs Jr., 752-4989, in Huntsville.

CLOTHES WANTED--The La Ritz Social & Savings Club is sponsoring a charity drive for the Boys Town. The club is soliciting clothing and linen. If you want to contribute to the drive, call Mrs. Nellie Hardy, at 263-0948 in Montgomery, or drop off your donation at her house, 628 Colony St.

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P.R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

TWIN COVERLETS WANTED -- Wanted, two hand-made quilted coverlets for a pair of twin beds, suitable for a girl's room. Write to Mrs. M. B. Olatunji, P. O. Box 358, Millerton, N.Y.

MOBILE -- Distribution managers and newsboys needed. Good pay for short hours, chance to increase earnings. Call Andrew Curtis, 457-7004 in Mobile.

WANTED -- One parakeet, yellow, with green breast and funny-looking tail, already named Francis if possible, for six little girls. Call 264-4078 in Montgomery.

WORK IN NEW YORK--Do you wish self-employment? Suitable couple, with or without family, wanted to re-locate in New York State, and take care of retarded children who are wards of the state. 13-room house available for rent. For more information, write to Mrs. M.B. Olatunji, P.O. Box 358, Millerton, N.Y.

FOR SALE--Nine-room house, completely furnished. Three bedrooms, two kitchens, two living rooms, one back porch, two front porches, gas heat. A splendid buy for middle-aged couple who would like to rent out small apartment or keep roomers. Old house in good repair, covered with brick siding about ten years ago. Good roofing, good street. $6,000 cash and house is yours --or $5,000 and assume mortgage of $1,220. College town, no discrimination, two factories that hire Negro men, two air bases. If interested, contact the Rev. Phil Walker, 220 N. High St., Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Man Arrested, Beaten, Jailed After Trying to Stop a Fight

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. -- Theodore Slaughter had just begun his nap last Friday evening when he was called to come settle a fight that had broken out in his one-room cafe in Philadelphia's Negro neighborhood.

Slaughter never did find out what the argument was all about. He was arrested as soon as he walked into the cafe.

Slaughter said later that he came in the back door and told the men fighting up front "to go on outside and argue." The next thing he knew, he said, he was being taken to the police truck by Negro police officers Willie "Tripp" Windham and Charles "Steve" Huddleston.

Mrs. Versie Lee Tisdale, who was minding the cafe at the time, said the officers "snatched him and pulled him and slung him out the door."

On the way to the police station, Slaughter said, he was struck in the face with a black-jack. After that, the police truck detoured to a hospital, where Slaughter received several stitches in his cheek for the wound caused by the black-jack.

The same doctor that stitched up Slaughter Friday night treated him for head wounds a little more than three months ago, after another arrest by Windham.

Windham made that arrest--for public drunkenness--while Slaughter was working in his own cafe last June. Slaughter charged in a federal court suit that he was beaten that time on the way to the police station.

In June, Slaughter said, Windham beat him more every time he asked why he was being arrested. This time, said Slaughter, "I didn't say a thing."

Slaughter said he can't explain his troubles with Windham, since "I never did nothin' to hurt him."

Slaughter spent last Friday night in the Philadelphia jail. He was released Saturday on bond, and found guilty first thing Monday morning of drunkenness, resisting arrest, and not having a driver's license. Slaughter did not attend the trial, but he said he will appeal the conviction. His appeal on the convictions after the June arrest has not yet been heard.

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Game of the Week

Mobile County T.S. Romps

BY GEORGE A. STIELL

MOBILE--The Mobile County Training School Whippets defeated the South Girard Bulldogs by a score of 38 to 0 last week. The Whippets--still undefeated--are making a serious bid for city and state championships.

Mobile County began scoring early in the first quarter last Friday, when Edward Allen threw a 35-yard touchdown pass to Gabe Coleman. Later, Larry Shears scored from the eight-yard line.

In the second period, Jackie Miller skirted left end for a 19-yard touchdown run. Late in the third quarter, halfback A.C. Mosley on a pass-run option threw to Carlos Priester for a 38-yard touchdown.

The Whippets added three more TD's in the final period. Elbert Campbell bulled his way over from the one-yard line for a score. The Whippets struck again when McCarl Bennett intercepted a Bulldog pass and took it 43 yards for a touchdown. Chubby Wilson's kick was good.

Anderson Flynn scored the last touchdown on a quarterback sneak from the one. Wilson added the point.

Saturday night, the Mattie T. Blount Leopards defeated the Toulminville Rattlers by a score of 25 to 14 in a very exciting game.

The Rattlers, making their football debut this year, put up a tremendous fight in their attempt to defeat the Leopards. In fact, many spectators thought that Toulminville outplayed Blount, and that only the Rattlers' inexperience kept them from coming out on top.

Matthew Hudson and Early Duncan starred for Blount. Hudson scored twice on TD runs of 16 and three yards. Duncan returned a Rattler punt 54 yards for one touchdown, and set up another by intercepting a Toulminville pass.

Abrams Tops Carver

BY JAMES CRAIG

BIRMINGHAM -- Two undefeated teams, Carver High School of Birmingham and Abrams High School of Bessemer, met last Monday night at Fair Park, with Carver the slight favorite. But thanks to a surprise fake-punt play, Abrams ran away with the game, upsetting Carver by a score of 18 to 7.

Abrams didn't waste any time in getting started. After winning the toss, Abrams received and returned the ball for 17 yards. The Bessemer eleven got a good drive going, and carried the ball to the Carver 20. From there, quarterback Michael Dawson hit end Clarence Wilson for Abrams' first six points.

In the second period, Abrams again got possession of the ball, and put on a drive into scoring range. A five-yard penalty for delaying the game didn't affect Abrams any, as Dawson went over on a 20-yard roll-out.

As the second half opened, Carver came to life. After quarterback Oscar Martin was smothered on a running play, he came back with a 30-yard pass to end Ulysses Jackson that put Carver on the board for the first time.

That set things up for the big play. In the final quarter, an Abrams drive stalled near mid-field. With fourth down and five yards to go, Sammy Shade dropped back in punt formation. But instead of kicking, he hit Wilson with a pass that gave Abrams the first down.

Shortly afterward, Dawson passed to Wilson for 15 yards and the TD that made it 18 to 7.

The fake punt was "a surprise play," said Carver coach Carlton C. Wells after the game. "When they scored their third touchdown, it killed us, more or less. We didn't show much come-back after that."

$1 and Costs

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

Jinks Sr. explained:

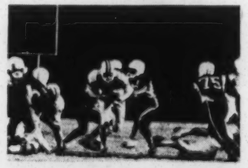
Thomas had to pay $5 for trial tax; $8.50 for the clerk's fee ($7.50 for writing up the case and $1 for a continuance); $8.50 for the sheriff ($5 for the arrest, $2 for bond approval, and $1.50 for subpoenas); 75¢ for the justice of the peace (for issuing a warrant); $10 for the solicitor's fee (paid even if the defendant pleads guilty); and $1 for fair trial tax (different from plain trial tax), in addition to the $1 fine.

FOOTBALL

Booker T. Washington High School

VS.

Spencer High School



HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY

7:45 p.m. Friday, Oct. 21

Admission: Adults $1.00
Students .50

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

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1. WHAT BECOMES OF A BROKEN HEART--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
2. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
3. BUT IT'S ALRIGHT-- J. J. Jackson (Calla)
4. I WORSHIP THE GROUND-- Jimmy Hughes (Fame)
5. I WANNA BE WITH YOU-- D. D. Warwick (Mercury)
6. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
7. REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE-- Four Tops (Motown)
8. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
9. BEAUTY IS ONLY SKIN DEEP-- The Temptations (Gordy)
10. HYMN #5-- The Mighty Hannibal (Surfine)
11. I GOT TO DO A LITTLE BIT BETTER--Joe Tex (Dial)
12. YOU CAN'T HURRY LOVE-- Supremes (Motown)
13. FA FA FA FA FA-- Otis Redding (Volt)
14. HOW SWEET IT IS-- Jr. Walker (Soul)

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"You Can't Beat God Giving No Matter How You Try"

is to be the theme of

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Appreciation Week

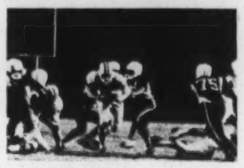
Oct. 17-20

FOOTBALL

Booker T. Washington High School

VS.

Spencer High School



HORNET STADIUM--MONTGOMERY

7:45 p.m. Friday, Oct. 21

Admission: Adults $1.00
Students .50

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. DON'T OPEN THE DOOR-- B. B. King (ABC)
1. WHAT BECOMES OF A BROKEN HEART--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
2. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
3. BUT IT'S ALRIGHT-- J. J. Jackson (Calla)
4. I WORSHIP THE GROUND-- Jimmy Hughes (Fame)
5. I WANNA BE WITH YOU-- D. D. Warwick (Mercury)
6. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
7. REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE-- Four Tops (Motown)
8. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
9. BEAUTY IS ONLY SKIN DEEP-- The Temptations (Gordy)
10. HYMN #5-- The Mighty Hannibal (Surfine)
11. I GOT TO DO A LITTLE BIT BETTER--Joe Tex (Dial)
12. YOU CAN'T HURRY LOVE-- Supremes (Motown)
13. FA FA FA FA FA-- Otis Redding (Volt)
14. HOW SWEET IT IS-- Jr. Walker (Soul)

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Birmingham, Alabama

GUARANTEED DELIVERY

for one touchdown, and set up another by intercepting a Toulminville pass.

Abrams Tops Carver

BY JAMES CRAIG

BIRMINGHAM -- Two undefeated teams, Carver High School of Birmingham and Abrams High School of Bessemer, met last Monday night at Fair Park, with Carver the slight favorite. But thanks to a surprise fake-punt play, Abrams ran away with the game, upsetting Carver by a score of 18 to 7.

Abrams didn't waste any time in getting started. After winning the toss,

$1 and Costs

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

Jinks Sr. explained:

Thomas had to pay $5 for trial tax; $8.50 for the clerk's fee ($7.50 for writing up the case and $1 for a continuance); $8.50 for the sheriff ($5 for the arrest, $2 for bond approval, and $1.50 for subpoenas); 75¢ for the justice of the peace (for issuing a warrant); $10 for the solicitor's fee (paid even if the defendant pleads guilty); and $1 for fair trial tax (different from plain trial tax), in addition to the $1 fine.

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Appreciation Week

Oct. 17-20

MONDAY,
OCTOBER 17th, 7:00 P.M.
Sardis Baptist Church
1240 North 4th Street
GUEST SPEAKER:
REV. C. T. VIVIAN

TUESDAY,
OCTOBER 18th, 7:00 P.M.
Metropolitan A.M.E. Zion
1538 4th Avenue North
GUEST SPEAKER:
REV. C. K. STEELE

WEDNESDAY,
OCTOBER 19th, 7:00 P.M.
Municipal Auditorium
GUEST SPEAKER:
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 20th, 7:00 P.M.
St. James Baptist Church
1100 6th Avenue North
GUEST SPEAKER:
REV. WYATT TEE WALKER

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Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights

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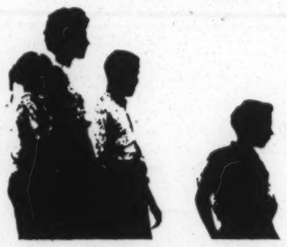

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 44 | WEEKEND EDITION: OCTOBER 29-30, 1966 | TEN CENTS

POLITICS ALABAMA STYLE

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ATLANTA, GA. 30303

What Th[illegible] In 16th [illegible]ace

TOM RADNEY (FAR LEFT) WITH THE WALLACES IN DADEVILLE

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

ALEXANDER CITY--Tom Radney and J.B. Ruffin are both graduates of Auburn University, lay speakers in the Methodist church, and candidates for the State Senate from the 16th District (Macon, Elmore, and Tallapoosa counties). But there the similarity ends.

Radney, a 32-year-old lawyer from Alexander City, is a Democrat. Ruffin, a 60-year-old farmer from Deatsville in Elmore County, is a Republican. But it isn't the party label that makes the difference.

"I'm a conservative and he's a typical liberal Democrat--one of these almost ultra-liberal Democrats," Ruffin said this week from his [illegible]

He quoted a Jefferson Davis speech urging Southerners during Reconstruction "to lay aside all rancor, all bitter sectional feeling."

"It is only with a feeling of love of the South that we build on its traditions," Radney said.

When "national leaders with little regard for their people make decisions based on no law and no system of right," Radney said, "we must criticize these individuals and not tear down the government itself."

About one-third of the 16th District's 25,000 voters are Negroes. Neither Radney nor Ruffin appealed directly for Negro support, but neither of them ruled [illegible]

[illegible]ep. Edwards, [illegible]inch Stress Personalities

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--"It's kind of a tough fight to have to wage when you don't know what your opponent stands for," said Jack Edwards, the Republican U.S. Congressman from the First District who is campaigning hard for a second term.

When Edwards' Democratic opponent, Judge Warren Finch, is pressed for an opinion, he likes to observe, "You can't say how you feel about something unless you study it."

So both men are selling themselves, rather than platforms or positions. To this purpose, Edwards abandoned Washington two weeks ago. After spending a week at the Greater Gulf State Fair, he is starting to travel in ever-widening circles around and outside of Mobile County. "The only way I know how (to campaign) is to work," said Edwards, "to take the election to the people."

He wants to be remembered as Jack Edwards on election day, by jurors in Grove Hill, plant workers around Mobile, and barbecue-goers in the western part of the district. When he gives a speech, it is short, and it usually emphasizes the increasing "control of the Great Society."

Edwards will say, however, that "ed-

Goldwater Rides Again, Thrills B'ham Audience

BY ROBERTA REISIG

BIRMINGHAM--As sound trucks blared "Join the Republican rebellion," a man in a top hat covered with political stickers took out one more button and pinned it to his coat. It said, "Barry Goldwater in '64."

Goldwater's visit here Tuesday, to campaign for '66 Alabama Republican candidates, was a gala--and nostalgic--occasion. From the steps of City Hall, he brought some 2,500 listeners the same message that won him Alabama, and not much else, in 1964--conservatism and criticism of the federal government.

The Democratic candidate who got the worst of Goldwater's attack was U.S. Senator John Sparkman, running for re-election against Republican John Grenier.

Goldwater accused Sparkman of not really being conservative.

"The issue is," Goldwater shouted, "are we going all the way with LBJ?"

"No," thundered his audience.

"If I go to hell," Goldwater added, "I want to wait till I die."

He criticized rising prices, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and the federal government's "dishonesty." People no longer trust Washington, Goldwater said.

His final words were, "I was advised to stay in Arizona and worry about the civil rights of Indians. I don't have to worry. They can vote any time they please."

270 KIDS SUSPENDED IN GRENADA MARCHES

Segrest's Attorneys Ask Switch

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Attorneys for Marvin L. Segrest, the white man charged with second-degree murder in the killing of a Negro civil rights worker here last January, have asked that the trial be moved out of Macon County.

The lawyers made their motion Wednesday afternoon at a pre-trial hearing before Circuit Judge L.J. Tyner. When Segrest was called before the court to plead guilty or not guilty, his attorneys instead requested a change of venue (county).

Their motion says that the killing of Samuel L. Younge Jr., 21, a Tuskegee Institute student, "created intense excitement and resentment . . ." in the community.

It points out that students and civil rights workers held protest demonstrations daily for several weeks after the murder. It says that many local people publicly said they believed Segrest was guilty.

For these reasons, the motion says, Segrest cannot get a fair trial in Macon County.

There is more to the motion than this. But the rest of it has not been made public. Judge Tyner first said that "the motion is a matter of public record." But he changed his mind after a protest from District Attorney Tom Young.

Young, who is prosecuting the case for the state, shouted, "I don't give a damn if anyone knows what's going on in this court."

Judge Tyner originally set an immediate hearing on the motion to move the trial to another county (probably Tallapoosa). But after talking with Segrest's attorneys, William M. Russell Jr. and Harry D. Raymon, the judge put off the hearing indefinitely.

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"I'm a conservative and he's a typical liberal Democrat--one of these almost ultra-liberal Democrats," Ruffin said this week from his farmhouse near Wetumpka.

But Radney, at his law office in Alex City, said he didn't think "liberal" was the right word for his political beliefs. He quoted from a speech he gave under the title "Stand Up for America."

"As I talk to youngsters in high school, I am shocked that they are taught to dislike their government, to fear politicians, and to distrust our leaders," he said. "I think it is time that we be all-Americans."

Ruffin talked about unifying the South to fight for conservative principles. "It was the wrong angle for the legislature to pass that anti-guidelines bill," Ruffin said of Governor George C. Wallace's law against the federal school desegregation rules.

"We should have taken them (the guidelines) to court along with South Carolina, joined in that suit, and put up a united front with our sister states. United we stand, divided we fall," said Ruffin.

He mentioned a friend who recently moved from Florida to Alabama. "There's supposed to be more integration there than here," Ruffin said. "But there were no colored children in school with this man's children in Florida. Now that he lives in Montgomery, his children go to a desegregated school."

Radney talked about unifying the country to face and fight its problems. He quoted a Jefferson Davis speech urging Southerners during Reconstruction "to lay aside all rancor, all bitter sectional feeling."

"It is only with a feeling of love of the South that we build on its traditions," Radney said.

When "national leaders with little regard for their people make decisions based on no law and no system of right," Radney said, "we must criticize these individuals and not tear down the government itself."

About one-third of the 16th District's 25,000 voters are Negroes. Neither Radney nor Ruffin appealed directly for Negro support, but neither of them ruled it out. Both said they wanted--and expected to get--the votes of thinking people in all three counties.

"If there is any bloc vote, I don't want it," said Ruffin, "but I would certainly appreciate any independent man's vote. A lot of colored people--Negroes," he said, pronouncing the word carefully--"they're just as conservative as I am.

"I'm not a dyed-in-the-wool party man, but I don't think any sensible person would put his money in a bank where it was never audited. We need a two-party system to end the waste of the taxpayer's money."

Radney praised Macon County's Negro and white leadership for showing the way toward racial co-operation. "I refuse to accept the principle that our problems are so great that we are seeing the end to civilization as we know it," he said. "We can solve them."

If he is elected, Ruffin said, "I'm going down there to represent all the people. I don't know how much one man can do, but I will be one conservative voice trying to get a little more for our tax dollar."

Radney challenged the voters to "join with me in searching and believing in America; in refusing to go along with the prophets of doom and gloom; in refusing to be led astray by the far right or the far left, but in steadfastly standing and working together."

widening circles around and outside of Mobile County. "The only way I know how (to campaign) is to work," said Edwards, "to take the election to the people."

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JACK EDWARDS

ucation is a critical thing," although he doesn't see how federal officials "can sit up there in Washington and run 26,000 schools." And he has his own tax-based plans to help the schools.

Finch, on the other hand, said he is "just campaigning Warren Finch." "Way I feel," he remarked, "is I've done a good job on the bench. I campaign one way--only way I know--hand to hand."

Finch hands out some 2,000 labelled match-boxes a day, many in the Mobile County Courthouse where he sits.

One of the founders of the John Birch Society's American Opinion Bookstore in Mobile, Finch is relying less on the press than Edwards, preferring "to go out and meet the people."

But neither candidate is meeting openly with any members of the Negro community. Edwards said, "I have heard tell there are a dozen or so Negroes who, if you can reach them, you can get the Negro vote, although I'm not sure I know who these people are."

Thrills B'ham Audience

BY ROBERTA REISIG

BIRMINGHAM--As sound trucks blared "Join the Republican rebellion," a man in a top hat covered with political stickers took out one more button and pinned it to his coat. It said, "Barry Goldwater in '64."

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270 KIDS SUSPENDED IN GRENADA MARCHES

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss.--Civil rights demonstrators were back in jail here after Negroes began demonstrations to protest "harassment" and "brutality" in the schools.

The newest series of demonstrations in this town--which has had almost daily marches since last July--began last Friday, when 270 Negroes walked out of classes at four Grenada schools.

According to SCLC project director J. T. Johnson, they were protesting treatment of Negroes at newly-integrated Lizzie Horne and John Rundle schools. At Lizzie Horne, he said, school officials have committed physical violence against Negro children. But Grenada Schools Superintendent Gayle Wilborne said he hadn't heard of any warrants being served on school personnel, and city police refused to comment.

The complaints of students at John Rundle, said Johnson, were "kind of petty--the principal giving demerits, teachers calling names. But they kept the students all upset so they couldn't get organized to study."

Last Monday morning, more than 200 Negro students marched on Horne and Rundle schools. Police and highway patrolmen stopped them before they reached the school. When the marchers refused to turn around, they were arrested for blocking the sidewalk and refusing to obey an officer. About 30 more students were arrested after they tried to march to the school Tuesday.

Miss Laura Engle, who visited the children in the county jail Monday night, said they told her they'd been given nothing to eat except "donuts with cockroaches in them" and water.

Wilborne said he couldn't see why the students were protesting. "We've had order, we've had discipline," he said, ever since the start of school.

The superintendent said the 270 students who walked out of classes would be suspended until next Tuesday.

community.

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Judge Tyner originally set an immediate hearing on the motion to move the trial to another county (probably Tallapoosa). But after talking with Segrest's attorneys, William M. Russell Jr. and Harry D. Raymon, the judge put off the hearing indefinitely.

He explained that Macon County Sheriff Harvey Sadler, "one of the witnesses for the defendant, is not present this afternoon because he is in bed with the flu and a high fever." Judge Tyner continued the hearing until "a later date." He said it would be held whenever Sadler is well enough to come to court.

The pre-trial hearing began at 1 p.m. Wednesday afternoon. Charles G. Stokes, who was teaching people how to use the voting machine in the county courthouse all day Wednesday, said he saw Sadler there at 9 a.m. SNCC worker Jimmy Rogers said he spoke with

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

MFDP on Ballot

BILOXI, Miss.--Three Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party members became candidates for the U.S. Congress last Wednesday, less than two weeks before the Nov. 8 election. A panel of three federal judges ordered Mississippi officials to place the Negro candidates' names on the ballot.

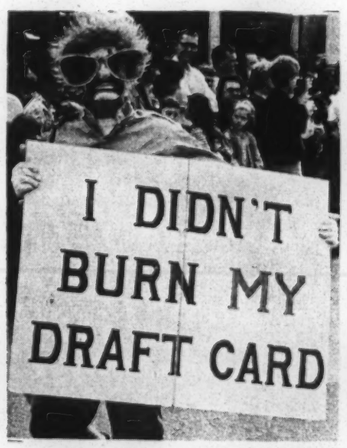
The Rev. Clifton Whitley of Holly Springs, Dock Drummond of Kosciusko, and Mrs. Emma Sanders of Jackson had been told they couldn't run in the November election because they didn't have as many signatures on their nominating petitions as a new Mississippi law requires.

But the judges said the law couldn't keep the Negro candidates off the ballot this year. And so Whitley will be able to run for senator against Democrat James O. Eastland and Republican Prentiss Walker. Drummond and Mrs. Sanders will be candidates for U.S. representative.

And the Negroes who were arguing this week about whether they would be better off voting for segregationist Eastland or conservative Walker, now have a third choice.

Annual Peanut Festival

Gigantic Parade Winds Up Big Week in Dothan



DOTHAN--From the Calf Scramble and Greasy Pig Contest to the George C. Wallace Day parade, the 23rd ("and greatest") National Peanut Festival was what was happening in the Wiregrass last week. As usual, last Saturday's parade topped everything. F.L. Warren and Mrs. E.M. Tyson were named Man and Woman of the Year.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Vol. II, No. 44 October 29-30, 1966

Editorial Opinion

A Stand for Freedom

Miss Billie Blair, the 21-year-old editor of the University of Alabama's Crimson-White newspaper, may be in hot water, just because her paper endorsed Democrat John Sparkman for U.S. senator and Republican Don Collins for state attorney general. The school administration feels the endorsement may have broken both a state law and a university rule.

Miss Blair said the endorsements had the "healthy" effect of encouraging political debate among the students, and no doubt she is correct. But recent state administrations have not been anxious to encourage debate on campus--Governor George C. Wallace, for instance, has threatened to expel any student who protests U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam war. The state's goal, it seems, is to produce a herd of sheep-like creatures, who will grow up to vote for Governor Wallace and otherwise do as instructed.

The stand Miss Blair has taken is a stand for freedom.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

WHO SPEAKS FOR WHOM? In a recent issue of your paper which had to do with the transfer students of Bessemer, Alabama, there was one statement which we have not been able to check out. It was concerning one Johnny Adams who was not permitted to transfer.

Let the record show that we are not happy about this and have no intentions of dropping the case where it is. In your paper you say, as I understand, that the NAACP does not wish to carry the case further because of some help or co-operation received in the past from a principal. I, Branch President, have not given you any statement. The executive board had not had a report on the matter at the time the first

this information? I think a retraction is in order. WILL YOU PRINT THIS?

William Thomas
Branch President, NAACP
Bessemer

(The Southern Courier's story didn't say the NAACP "does not wish to carry the case further." It said exactly this: "But the NAACP did not want to FILE A SUIT AGAINST Cobb (the principal), who had been generally helpful in school desegregation."

(This information came from a man who had every reason to know about the NAACP's legal plans. And so far--just as he said--no suit has been filed.

(It is unnecessary to ask whether The

MAP Goes On With Head Start While Shriver Meets With CDGM

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--The controversy kindled when the federal government cut off funds to the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) three weeks ago was still blazing in Washington this week.

But in Mississippi, most people concerned with Head Start had turned to rebuilding the program. Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), a statewide community action agency with OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) approval to run Head Start programs, set up shop in CDGM's old Milner Building offices here. In some areas, community organizers were already collecting applications for new Head Start centers.

And in Atlanta, OEO Director Sargent Shriver met with CDGM's board to discuss partial re-funding.

MAP board chairman Owen Cooper announced the hiring of Walter D. Smith as director for the statewide program and of Matthew Thomas Jr. as business manager. Smith, publisher of four Holmes County newspapers, is well known for his wife's liberalism. Thomas had been business manager for CDGM.

Hunter Morey of CDGM's central staff said he thought it was "surprising" that MAP hired CDGM's business manager and its accounting firm (Ernst and Ernst), since OEO had said financial arrangements were the main reason for cutting off CDGM funds.

Cooper said MAP would use its first grant of $3,000,000 to operate centers for 1,500 children in 12 counties (Adams County, 120 children; Jefferson 90; Claiborne, 90; Warren, 120; Wayne, 75; Humphreys, 105; Leflore, 150; Yalobusha, 75; Neshoba, 105; Lauderdale, 315; Clarke, 105; Greene, 75; and George, 75).

This is about one-eighth the number of children served by CDGM. MAP says it is working on a request for funds for 1,500 more children.

At centers where too many children apply, the MAP board said it would give preference to children closest to school age. That means in most areas only five- and six-year-olds will be accepted.

Each county will have to set up an advisory board, to recommend to the central MAP office which centers to fund and which teachers to employ. Final decisions on hiring and firing, however, will be made by teams from the central office until MAP sets up regional offices.

MAP officers made efforts to correct what they called untrue rumors about MAP hiring policy.

"MAP is not anti-CDGM; it has no reason to be anti-CDGM," said board member Charles Young. He said MAP is willing to hire people who worked with CDGM, and pointed to Thomas as proof.

Many CDGM employes have said they will not work with MAP, but Thomas said his new job offered a "better opportunity" and a "more stable position."

OEO representative Tom Noon, who will supervise hiring, said it wasn't true you need a college degree to be a MAP teacher. "Love of children, ability to get along with children," are more important qualifications, he said.

MAP allotted Lauderdale County, one of the state's most prosperous counties, funds for more than twice as many children as any other county. Applications for hundreds of children in the county have already been collected, and Young, of Meridian, says he hopes centers will be going there in a few weeks.

Meanwhile, a meeting between Shriver and the CDGM board at the OEO regional office in Atlanta kept alive hopes that CDGM might be re-funded after all.

Shriver said OEO would consider giving CDGM more money if it met certain conditions, such as adding more whites to the board, hiring more professionals on the central staff, trying to integrate centers, and agreeing not to fight local anti-poverty boards.

In return, CDGM asked OEO to guarantee that it would refund the program--for a long time--if the conditions were met.

Shriver said he wouldn't give any group the kind of guarantee CDGM demanded. Neverthless, OEO agreed to further meetings soon with CDGM.

The day-long meeting had a surprise visitor. One CDGM staff member who attended the meeting said Shriver looked "shaken" when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a strong defender of CDGM, walked in. Shriver decided at that point that no outsiders--including Dr. King--should be permitted in the meeting. But, said the CDGM worker, Shriver assured Dr. King he meant nothing personal, and allowed

CR Worker Sentenced To 3 Yrs. in Prison

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--Simuel B. Schutz Jr. isn't going into the Army. But nobody knows yet whether he's going to jail.

Schutz, 20, a civil rights worker from Tuskegee, was sentenced to three years in federal prison last Friday for refusing to exchange his SNCC overalls for an Army uniform. He was released under $2,000 bond while he appeals the case to the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

"I refused to be inducted to the service on the grounds I have been personally discriminated against. . .and there are no Negroes on my Selective Service board in Macon County," Schutz told U.S. District Judge Virgil Pittman at the trial.

Schutz' attorney, Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, explained Schutz' stand further outside the federal courtroom in the Post Office building here.

"We take the position that he was drafted because he is a Negro, a civil rights Negro, and most of all a member of SNCC," Jelinek said.

He charged that Macon County's all-white draft board discriminated against Schutz by selecting him ahead of eligible whites. The lawyer also said the draft board had no legal authority to draft Schutz because "the board is segregated, and segregation is illegal in this country."

But Jelinek never got a chance to prove his argument inside the courtroom. This first time he tried to present evidence of discrimination by the Macon County draft board, Judge Pittman ruled him out of order.

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George C. Wallace, for instance, has threatened to expel any student who protests U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam war. The state's goal, it seems, is to produce a herd of sheep-like creatures, who will grow up to vote for Governor Wallace and otherwise do as instructed.

The stand Miss Blair has taken is a stand for freedom.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

WHO SPEAKS FOR WHOM? In a recent issue of your paper which had to do with the transfer students of Bessemer, Alabama, there was one statement which we have not been able to check out. It was concerning one Johnny Adams who was not permitted to transfer.

Let the record show that we are not happy about this and have no intentions of dropping the case where it is. In your paper you say, as I understand, that the NAACP does not wish to carry the case further because of some help or co-operation received in the past from a principal. I, Branch President, have not given you any statement. The executive board had not had a report on the matter at the time, therefore gave no statement. This is not the position of the Bessemer Branch, our lawyers know that it is not. Will you tell us, through your paper, who gave this information? I think a retraction is in order. WILL YOU PRINT THIS?

William Thomas
Branch President, NAACP
Bessemer

(The Southern Courier's story didn't say the NAACP "does not wish to carry the case further." It said exactly this: "But the NAACP did not want to FILE A SUIT AGAINST Cobb (the principal), who had been generally helpful in school desegregation."

(This information came from a man who had every reason to know about the NAACP's legal plans. And so far--just as he said--no suit has been filed.

(It is unnecessary to ask whether The Southern Courier will print letters such as this one. The Courier prints every letter it receives, whether the letter contains praise or criticism.--THE EDITOR)

SEGREST CASE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Sadler in the courthouse at 11 a.m.

If the trial is moved to Tallapoosa County--a strong possibility--there almost certainly will be few or no Negroes on the jury. The county has one of the smallest percentages of Negro population in southern Alabama.

Two-thirds of the jurymen called for service in Macon County this fall were Negroes. A grand jury of 12 Negroes and six whites last week indicted Segrest for second-degree murder.

Proceedings before a grand jury are secret. But one member said this week that the vote to indict Segrest "was practically unanimous."

Segrest, 67, a service station attendant, faces a jail sentence of not less than ten years if convicted on the charge that he ". . . unlawfully and with malice aforethought, killed Samuel Younge Jr. by shooting him with a gun or pistol, but without premeditation or deliberation."

Younge, a leader of many civil rights demonstrations in downtown Tuskegee, was shot to death shortly before midnight last Jan. 3, near the downtown service station where Segrest worked. Segrest was arrested the next day. He was charged with murder in a warrant signed by Younge's father, Samuel L. Younge Sr., and was later freed on $20,000 bond.

Hard to Win ASCS, Farmers Tell Lawyer

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

SELMA--Some 35 Black Belt farmers got together here last Saturday to talk about the difficulties in electing Negro ASCS candidates.

The meeting was called by Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee. He is handling a federal court suit that asks for changes in the way Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections are run and for a new 1966 election. He wanted the farmers to tell what they needed.

A great need, said W.E. Townes, an unsuccessful ASCS candidate in Dallas County, is for ASCS committeemen who care about Negro farmers.

"I've been on my farm all my life, and I've never known a committeeman," said Townes. "They've never been to my house, they never asked me nothing --and one committeeman don't live further from me than 700 yards."

DONALD A. JELINEK

The ASCS county committeemen have great power in determining cotton crop allotments, and in administering federal programs. County committeemen are elected by community committeemen, who are elected by the farmers. In last month's balloting, no Negro was elected to a county committee anywhere in Alabama.

One reason for this, the farmers told Jelinek, was fear of the white man. "Everybody says they're scared to sign the ballot," said Townes.

Mrs. Pearl Moorer of Tyler said a Negro farmer told her it was no use voting, because "white folks do what they want to do, anyway."

Negroes who are tenants on a white man's land are afraid of losing their farms if they vote for Negro candidates, said Mrs. Moorer.

Albert Turner of Marion said tenant farmers in Perry County formed unions and did things together, so that landowners "have to put off all the people in order to get at one or two."

In some cases, the farmers said, the county committee put so many Negro names on the ballot that no Negro candidate could win. "I know they had Negroes on there who hadn't ever been consulted," said Mrs. Moorer.

And, said Turner, when some Negroes voted for white men as well as Negroes, they forgot that the white farmers were voting only for whites.

n't going into the Army. But nobody knows yet whether he's going to jail.

Schutz, 20, a civil rights worker from Tuskegee, was sentenced to three years in federal prison last Friday for refusing to exchange his SNCC overalls for an Army uniform. He was released under $2,000 bond while he appeals the case to the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

"I refused to be inducted to the service on the grounds I have been personally discriminated against. . . and there are no Negroes on my Selective Service board in Macon County," Schutz told U.S. District Judge Virgil Pittman of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, explained Schutz' stand further outside the federal courtroom in the Post Office building here.

"We take the position that he was drafted because he is a Negro, a civil rights Negro, and most of all a member of SNCC," Jelinek said.

He charged that Macon County's all-white draft board discriminated against Schutz by selecting him ahead of eligible whites. The lawyer also said the draft board had no legal authority to draft Schutz because "the board is segregated, and segregation is illegal in this country."

But Jelinek never got a chance to prove his argument inside the courtroom. This first time he tried to present evidence of discrimination by the Macon County draft board, Judge Pittman ruled him out of order.

"That's not proper," Pittman said. "It has no relationship to this case." He repeated the ruling whenever Jelinek tried to bring up the subject with the only two witnesses, Schutz and Mrs. Sarah Booth, the draft board's clerk.

The judge did permit Schutz to testify that he never received the draft board notice of induction because he was in Lowndes County working on "independent political organization." Schutz also said he first learned about the notice the night of May 3 (election day), and didn't learn the exact date he was ordered to report (May 4) until he walked into the draft board office May 5.

That, Schutz said, was when he told Mrs. Booth he was reporting as ordered, but would not submit to induction.

Jelinek then argued that the draft board broke the law by not giving Schutz a chance to change his mind. The lawyer also said Schutz' failure to report on time wasn't evidence of "criminal intent. The point is, he did report."

But Judge Pittman didn't accept any of those arguments. He found Schutz guilty and gave him the three-year sentence, the lightest punishment the law allows for refusing to serve in the armed forces.

"We are appealing to the Fifth Circuit and if necessary, to the U.S. Supreme Court," Jelinek said.

But SNCC officials this week decided not to wait for the appeal. They charged that Schutz' sentence was part of a "conspiracy" to stop SNCC's work. The sentence was "the result of Schutz' active involvement in the drive for free elections in Alabama . . . and participation in SNCC's activity against the war in Viet Nam," a SNCC statement said.

Whites Win Macon ASCS

TUSKEGEE--"Baby, we're blowing it. I could cry," said a husky civil rights worker as he watched the ASCS county committee count ballots last Tuesday.

The ballots were cast last week in the re-run of the Macon County ASCS (Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service) election for community committeemen. The first election was thrown out because the ballots were not kept in a locked box.

In the second election, Macon County's Negro majority chose 12 white men and only three Negroes for regular positions on the five community committees that elect the powerful ASCS county committee. Another eight Negroes won alternate positions.

And it might have been worse.

All the Negro observers left the National Guard Armory after the county committee had tabulated ballots in the areas where civil rights people had been working. But the county committee still had Notasulga left to count.

When the committee finished with Notasulga, chairman Troup R. Cunningham brought out 20 to 25 more ballots for the Roba area, where two Negroes had been elected regular delegates by margins of 22 or less.

There was a long pause. Finally, P. C. Beach, ASCS deputy director for the southeast region, pointed out that because the extra ballots were enclosed in envelopes from other parts of Macon County, the votes were not legally acceptable.

Afterward, Beach said, "I sort of feel that if I hadn't opened my mouth, someone else would have mentioned it. This seemed to me a fair and honest

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

Tuskegee City Council Passes Rights Laws

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- The City Council this week quietly passed two laws against racial segregation or discrimination in employment and in public places. The vote on both was unanimous.

The laws came five months after a council resolution to end "any form of discrimination based on race" in Tuskegee. They blanket the areas of fair employment and equal treatment in public places.

But they don't break any new ground. Although one council member originally pledged to look into "every matter, even housing and religion," the laws do not mention homes or churches.

"Our attorney, Mr. Gray, told us this was as far as we could go," councilman J. Allan Parker, who suggested the ordinances last April, explained after the Tuesday night council meeting. Fred D. Gray, Tuskegee's only Negro lawyer, was hired by the council to write the laws.

The fair employment ordinance is the bi-racial council's first attempt to outlaw job discrimination in Tuskegee. The public accommodations ordinance replaces--and strengthens--a similar one passed three weeks after the Jan. 3 murder of Samuel L. Younge Jr., a student civil rights worker.

"It shall be unlawful for any employer within (Tuskegee). . . and its police jurisdiction to discriminate against any person in connection with any hiring, application for employment, tenure, promotion, upgrading, increasing in compensation, terms or conditions of employment," the job law says.

It sets the same rules for labor unions and employment agencies. It also prohibits labor unions from printing, publishing, or circulating any notice "indicating any preference . . . based upon race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry."

The new public accommodations law says "all persons shall have the right to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any place of public accommodation, resort, or amusement . . ." except for "limitations established by law and ap-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

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Then, at the end of the week, the members asked Shuttlesworth to stay on. And on the night of Oct. 20, in a dramatic speech, he accepted their invitation.

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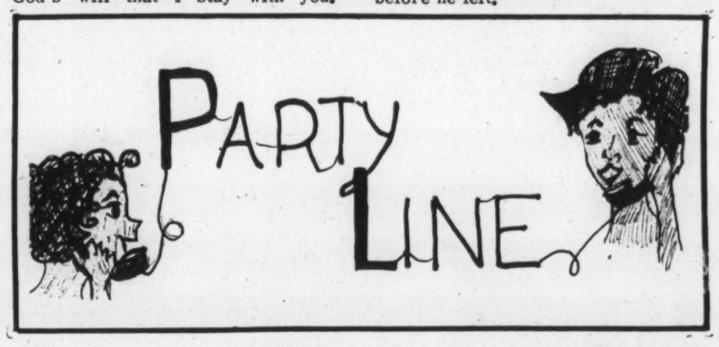
after all.

Shriver said OEO would consider giving CDGM more money if it met certain conditions, such as adding more whites to the board, hiring more professionals on the central staff, trying to integrate centers, and agreeing not to fight local anti-poverty boards.

In return, CDGM asked OEO to guarantee that it would refund the program--for a long time--if the conditions were met.

Shriver said he wouldn't give any group the kind of guarantee CDGM demanded. Nevertheless, OEO agreed to further meetings soon with CDGM.

The day-long meeting had a surprise visitor. One CDGM staff member who attended the meeting said Shriver looked "shaken" when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a strong defender of CDGM, walked in. Shriver decided at that point that no outsiders--including Dr. King--should be permitted in the meeting. But, said the CDGM worker, Shriver assured Dr. King he meant nothing personal, and allowed him to read a statement praising CDGM before he left.



Abbeville

Earl Johnson is in the county hospital for an operation. He is recovering nicely. (From James J. Vaughan)

Wetumpka

The Willing Workers for Freedom and Unity--a group of students who attend integrated Elmore schools, and their parents--met at the Community Center Oct. 20 to elect some of their officers. Mrs. Marie Bracy was elected president, and Mrs. Cornelius Peavy was named vice president.

Meridian, Miss.

The Meridian High School chorus has four Negro members--Charles Jones, Kenneth Inge, Billy Gathright, and Billy Stewart. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and a calypso song were two of the numbers in a school assembly program presented by the chorus last Tuesday. (From Patricia James)

Abbeville

Kenneth Ward, assistant director of the Community Action Program, spent this week in Montgomery on business. James Thomas Vaughan spent last weekend in Montgomery, and attended the football game between Alabama State College and Morehouse, won by State, 63 to 0. (From James J. Vaughan)

Mobile

About 100 guests, some wearing the costumes of foreign lands, attended the Baha'i observation of United Nations Day here last Sunday. The program consisted of three speakers--Robert Edington, consul of Guatemala; the Rev. T.E. Williams, a local Baptist minister; and Stan Bagley, a world traveler and a Baha'i. Music was sung by Miss Nyoake Baker of Gulfport, Miss., and a skit with some writings from Baha'u'llah, founder of the Baha'i World Faith, was performed. Mrs. Rosie Poole, an authority on Negro poetry, recited a poem by W.E.B. DuBois.

Abbeville

Joseph H. Willis got shot last Saturday night at the 506 Club. He is in the county hospital in serious condition. (From James J. Vaughan)

Philadelphia, Miss.

Last spring Mayor Clayton Lewis told a delegation of Negroes who wanted him to fire Negro policeman Willie "Tripp" Windham that they should stop complaining, because the mayor was going to have a street paved in Philadelphia's Negro neighborhood. Sure enough, bulldozers and grading machines appeared on Carver Avenue this summer, and by the first week of September, Philadelphia Negroes had their first black-top street. Carver Avenue, which goes by Carver Elementary School and the MFDP office, has been a dirt road since it was cleared in 1947. Windham is still on the force.

Montgomery

Mrs. Ethel Green, who has 13 children, 38 grandchildren, and ten great-grandchildren, celebrated her 75th birthday last Wednesday. Mrs. Green, who has been living in Troy the past 16 years, is at the home of one of her daughters, Mrs. Dorothy Jean Frazier of Montgomery.

Wetumpka

The Friendly Five, a singing group, celebrated its 29th anniversary this week at the Second Baptist Church. The program included the Southland Singers from Columbus, Ga., and the Pilgrim Travelers from Tuskegee. (From Mrs. Cornelius Peavy)

Abbeville

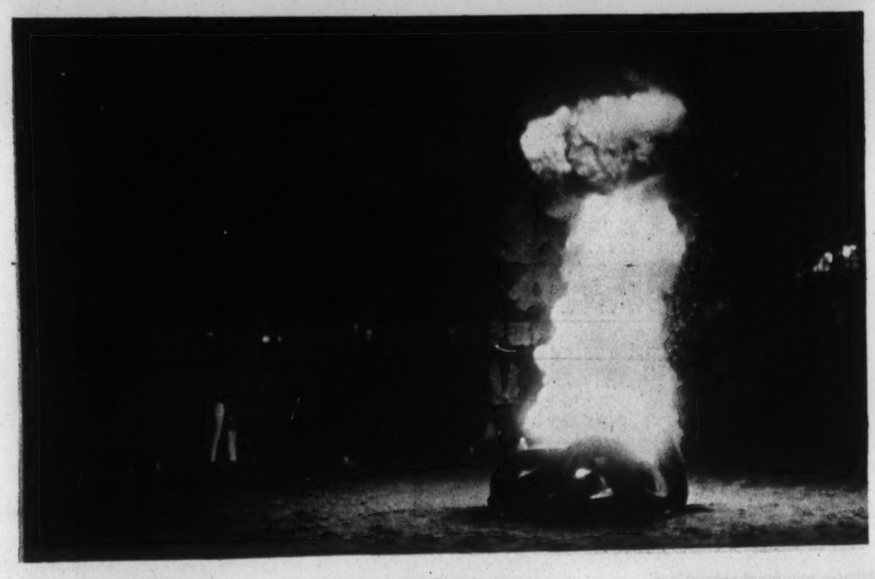
Mrs. Hortie Mae Vaughan was the first Negro woman from Henry County to serve two weeks as a petit (trial) juror in Middle District federal court. She said it was a great experience. James J. Vaughan, her husband, accompanied her each day to Opelika.

San Antonio, Tex.

Airman Jerry Davis, son of Mrs. McMurel Davis of Andalusia, has been selected for technical training at Sheppard Air Force Base, Tex., as an Air Force aircraft maintenance specialist. He recently completed his basic training at Lackland Air Force Base, Tex. Davis is a graduate of Woodson High School. (From John D. Shakespeare)

HOME-COMING 1966

Photographs by Jim Peppler



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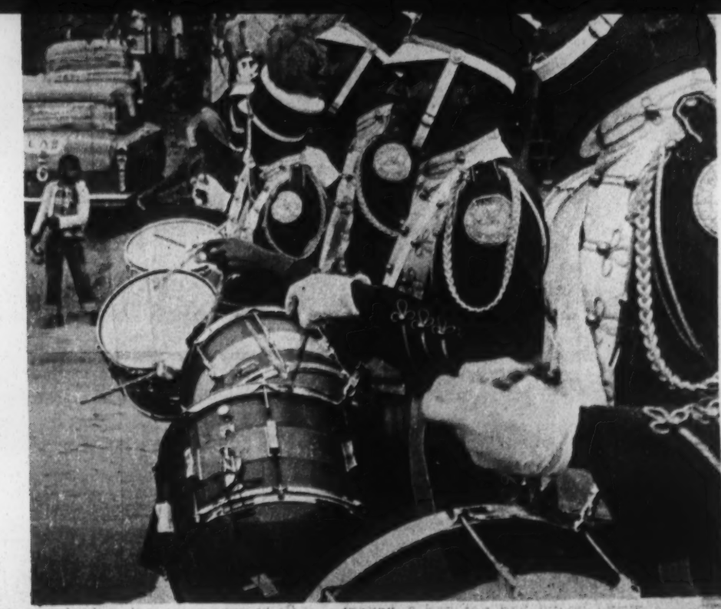

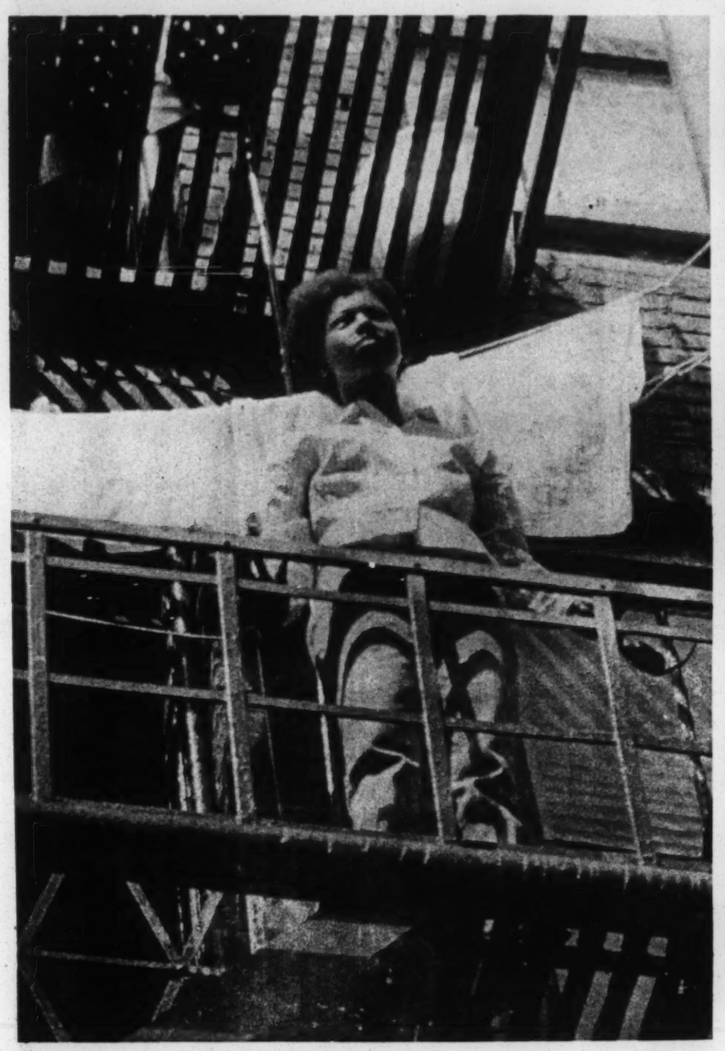

THOUSANDS OF NEGROES LIVE IN CROWDED HARLEM. HARRY JONES GREW UP IN THIS CITY WITHIN A CITY, IN A FLAT LIKE THIS ONE.

JONES WALKS THROUGH THE SLUM-YARD THAT WAS HIS PLAYGROUND TEN YEARS AGO AS A CHILD IN HARLEM.

TODAY THERE ARE PARKS FOR THE CHILDREN TO PLAY IN. BUT, JONES SAYS, FOR MANY PEOPLE CHANGE HAS COME TOO SLOWLY AND TOO LATE.

Where Hustling Is a Way of Life

DAY AND NIGHT IN HARLEM

TEXT BY HARRY JONES, PHOTOGRAPHY BY JIM PEPPLER

NEW YORK CITY--Harlem is the area where you would probably live if you came to New York. It is where the majority of the colored people of New York live and hustle.

Harlem is where civil rights groups asked for, demanded, and demonstrated for better conditions. But it took a riot to spark the government to pour millions of dollars into this area.

The money is meant to help relieve the people of some of their frustration, disgust, confusion, hate, and poverty--all that has built up in us to a breaking

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BLACK NEIGHBORHOOD, WHITE COP

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The money is meant to help relieve the people of some of their frustration, disgust, confusion, hate, and poverty--all that has built up in us to a breaking point. For most, the change has been welcome. For some, it is too late.

I recently walked through Harlem, where I was born and grew up. A photographer came along. This is what we found during our day in Harlem.

Drug addiction is one of the biggest problems in the community. Our first stop was at the "House of Hope," a church run by the Rev. O.D. Dempsey, a staunch fighter against dope.

Outside were two shoe-shine stands, usually manned by people who are addicted to drugs. Inside there was a recreation center, with about eight pool tables. Pool is a favorite sport for the Harlem adventurer, but in the middle of the day the center was empty.

We continued across 125th Street and arrived at Har-You headquarters. Har-You is a government-sponsored organization to help the youths of the black patch.

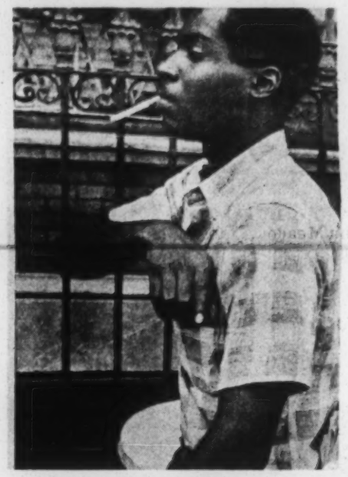
Inside we met a guard who told us that we had to get permission before we could take pictures of the organization. The man we were referred to, referred us to someone else. We left.

Our path led along 125th Street until we reached Lenox Avenue. This avenue is unique. It is typical of all the stories about Harlem.

This strip overflows with hustlers, legal and illegal. It's not unusual to see the "city's finest" (a New York term that means "policemen") being paid off to keep their heads turned the other way. Lenox Avenue, you have to see to believe.

At 129th Street and Lenox Avenue, we came upon a PAL street. PAL stands for Police Athletic League, an organization sponsored by the New York City Police Department. For years this has been a PAL street where play and civic activity are supervised by unpaid volunteers.

NUNS BRING HELP TO 129TH STREET



HARRY JONES

Within the last year, there has been a welcome addition to 129th Street. The newcomers are the Catholic nuns. These nuns work primarily with the younger children, discovering and cultivating any talents the children may have. The nuns create things for the children to do instead of turning them loose in the play area.

By day we found that Harlem is dotted with many organizations helping and trying to help the youth of the community. The most dynamic of these groups and programs is one founded by St. Thomas Church and partially sponsored by the government.

The St. Thomas program takes all age groups into consideration. For the young, there are Head Start classes. For older children, there are classes to help people who will find it hard to go on to high school from junior high school.

St. Thomas also provides house cleaning for old people unable to clean their own homes, and a street cleaning service made up of volunteers who go out and clean any street where they are sent.

There are training programs where teen-agers can learn anything from how to be a secretary to how to be a building inspector.

The St. Thomas group buys and rehabilitates houses that are neglected by their landlords. Inspecting is then done by inexperienced youngsters under the leadership of a government building inspector.

The St. Thomas Church is the only organization we came across during our tour that could totally help the Harlem community.

Harlem by day is humanitarians and the people who are benefited by their acts. But Harlem at night is something else. White people flock to Harlem at night for entertainment. There is more than enough to go around.

Night time in Harlem is the right time for prostitutes, pimps, and soapbox orators. As we got off the train at 125th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, we were greeted by a line of sporting-life girls and their pimps.

We returned to Lenox Avenue, where we found crap games in action on the sidewalk, junkies and streetwalkers, bars flourishing with business.

A cafe in Harlem was one of the most interesting stops we made. We came across a gathering point for young colored people who are only young in years. These people are the few who can't let bygones be bygones in order to live supposedly equal lives with the whites.

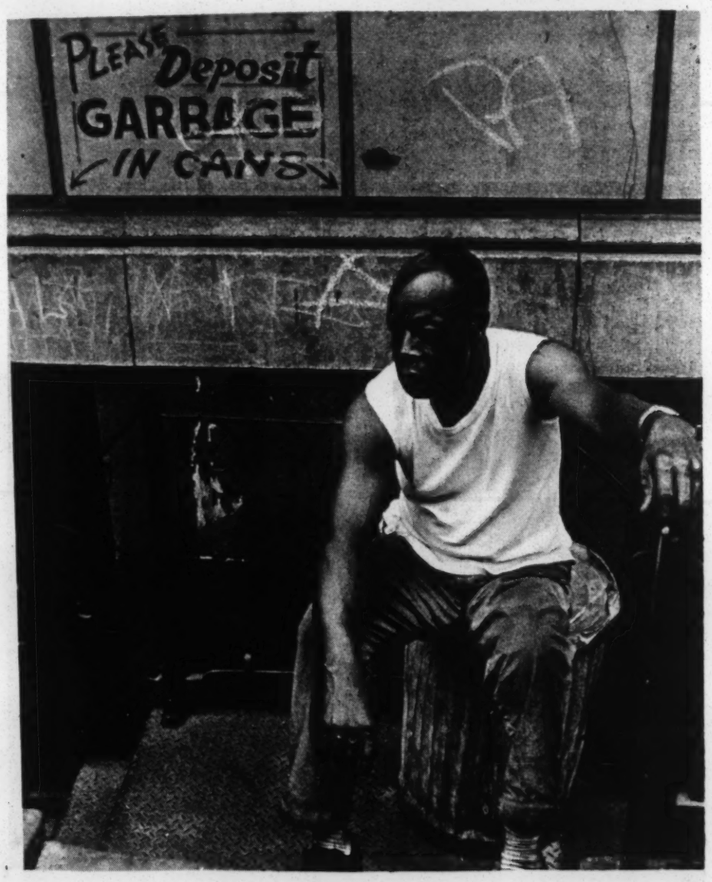
They can't forgive the crimes committed against the black people since we were herded here by white materialists. They can't forgive the de-emphasis of the colored people's contribution to this country.

As we were leaving the cafe, one young man followed us out to the sidewalk. Under the street light, he hinted that this was not a gathering of non-violent people. He suggested that they were black nationalists. He said they had plans.

Harlem is many things in one. It is the people in that cafe, and the nuns on 129th Street. It is the prostitutes, the junkies, and, most of all, the hustlers.

STREETWALKER AT NIGHT

A LOT OF PEOPLE IN HARLEM CAME THERE FROM ALABAMA



For Akron Girl

No Grades, Promotion

BY ROBERTA REISIG

AKRON--Last year, Miss Brenda Carter, 9, was in the third grade at Akron Public School. According to her mother, she was getting "good grades" --until she stopped getting grades at all.

This year, Miss Carter still doesn't

MRS. WILLIE CARTER

get grades. And she still is in the third grade.

Why wasn't Miss Carter promoted? And why doesn't she get grades? Her parents say it is because they refused to pay a $2 "school fee"--a fee that the state superintendent of education has declared illegal.

Whether an Akron student attends the two-room Martin Mission Elementary School or the Akron Public School, the child is required to pay school fees. For years, parents assumed that this was the law--and paid. But lately, a number of parents have been objecting.

The objections started last spring. Some PTA members wanted to have school trustees, so they got a trustee guide book. They noticed that it said no fees could be required of children in the first through sixth grades. Miss Carter's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Willie Carter, heard the same thing at an American Friends Service Committee desegregation conference in Montgomery.

When the parents mentioned this to Akron Public School Principal Caesar Tillman, he said the no-fee rule had been changed, according to Mrs. Rose Lee Cheesboro.

Mrs. Cheesboro then wrote to the state superintendent of education, Austin Meadows, to ask him what the law

Robert Spike: The Movement Loses a Voice

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--When the news came last week that the Rev. Robert Spike had been murdered in Columbus, Ohio, few people in Mississippi and Alabama realized that the event had much to do with them.

Robert Spike wasn't a man who made headlines in his life. Yet the list of projects he started or helped to succeed reads almost like a history of the civil rights movement in the last few years.

As director for three years of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, Spike helped organize the March on Washington and lobbied for the 1964 and 1965 civil rights laws. He worked to set up the training session for COFO workers at the beginning of the 1964 Summer Project, organized the Delta Ministry, rallied support for the MFDP's convention and congressional challenges, and worked as an organizer of the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

Spike inspired many Northern ministers to deal with the problems of the modern city ghetto. And he spent the weeks before his death deeply involved in the struggle over the re-funding of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

As friends talked about Spike this week, they recalled a "vigorous man" with "a great deal of personal style." "He would get mad but do it very well," said one. "He was easy to talk to, and intensely interested in lots of other things than the church."

But the church was his main concern, and most of all, his friends remembered a man who led the effort to involve the American Christian church in the struggles of the 20th century.

"Bob felt that the race question was really the question that was making the church decide whether it wanted to be involved with the world or just go off and build pretty buildings and stained glass windows," explained the Rev. Bob Beach, a member of the Delta Ministry in Hattiesburg, Miss.

"His definition of Christianity was to be where people were suffering and people were fighting for something that was right," said the Rev. Ed King, chaplain of Tougaloo College.

Churchmen first became a strong part of the civil rights movement in Mississippi a few months after Spike took over as director of the Commission on Religion and Race early in 1963. Spike's commission answered a SNCC call for ministers to take part in voter registration demonstrations in Hattiesburg.

Spike worked during the summer of 1964 to collect staff and support for the Delta Ministry, and he arranged to buy Mt. Beulah, an old Negro college campus, to be his permanent base.

Spike was disturbed by the Northerners who withdrew support from the civil rights movement when it started to get "radical," or when it came too close to home during the last year. He wrote in a magazine article this summer, "We cannot tell people they are free," and then try to control how they fight for freedom.

"We can provide some of the tools of revolution," he wrote, "but, God forbid, we may have to duck when they are thrown back at us. But that is the only choice--to help provide the money and materials, or not to provide them."

As early as 1964, Spike had already turned his attention to church work in Northern city ghettoes, because he foresaw that some of the tools of revolution would be "thrown back" in the big-city riots. "He not only predicted this kind of thing would happen," said Beach, but "he did as much as anybody else to set up something to relieve it."

What Spike did was to encourage liberal ministers to leave suburban parishes and go to work in the ghettoes. Their "inner city ministry" did not center around a Sunday morning sermon, but on helping communities to solve their social problems.

Last January, Spike left the National Council of Churches and went to the University of Chicago, where he set up a training program for the new kind of minister he thought the church needed.

Instead of assigning his divinity students to months of scholarly research, Spike sent them out to work in Chicago's ghetto regions. At the beginning of the program, each student was sent out for three or four days with 35¢ in his pocket, so he could find out what it was like to be penniless in Chicago.

But just before his death, Spike returned to the Deep South. He spent several days in Mississippi at the end of September as co-chairman of a committee of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, sent to investigate charges against CDGM.

It was his first time back in Mississippi in a year and a half, and, said Dudley Morris--who accompanied him on the trip--Spike was deeply impressed with the changes he found in Mississippi because of CDGM. Because of the Head Start program in Mississippi, Spike felt, the movement had been able to go beyond just protest, because people had started to do things for themselves.

This week, police still had no clues about the identity of the man who murdered Robert Spike. No one knows if the killer was simply looking for money--or if he realized he was taking the life of one of the civil rights movement's most powerful supporters.

Radio Station **WAPX**

HAS INSTITUTED **The Pastor's Study**

BROADCAST DAILY

MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

THE PASTOR'S STUDY is a daily devotional prepared under the auspices of and in conjunction with the Montgomery Ministerial Alliance. Listen to your favorite minister in our Pastor's Study.

Also, for your continuing listening, our GOSPEL PROGRAMS, 4:00 to 6:00 AM and 9:15 to 11:00 AM, and with Gretchen Jenkins from 11:00 AM to 12 Noon, Monday thru Friday.

WAPX Radio

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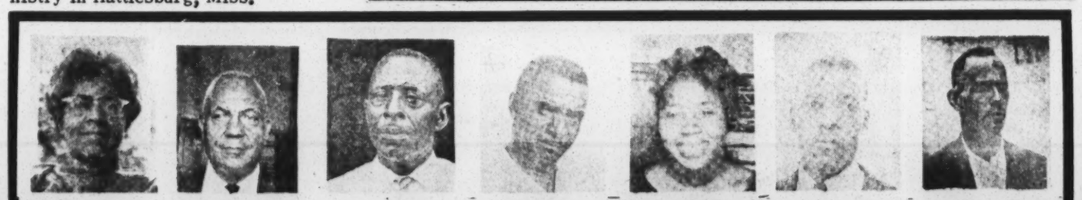
MONTGOMERY



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to pay a $2 "school fee"--a fee that the state superintendent of education has declared illegal.

Whether an Akron student attends the two-room Martin Mission Elementary School or the Akron Public School, the child is required to pay school fees. For years, parents assumed that this was the law--and paid. But lately, a number of parents have been objecting.

The objections started last spring. Some PTA members wanted to have school trustees, so they got a trustee guide book. They noticed that it said no fees could be required of children in the first through sixth grades. Miss Carter's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Willie Carter, heard the same thing at an American Friends Service Committee desegregation conference in Montgomery.

When the parents mentioned this to Akron Public School Principal Caesar Tillman, he said the no-fee rule had been changed, according to Mrs. Rose Lee Cheesboro.

Mrs. Cheesboro then wrote to the state superintendent of education, Austin Meadows, to ask him what the law was.

He replied in a letter: "No fees can be charged to elementary pupils, but fees can be charged for high school pupils. No grades nor diplomas can be withheld for failure to pay high school fees, but parents may be sued for such fees."

Mrs. Cheesboro said that when she discussed the letter with Tillman and Hale County Schools Superintendent Robert E. Ramey, they told her parents didn't have to pay, but that the principal had the right to withhold report cards if they didn't pay.

"Mr. Ramey told me I didn't have to pay, but he told Tillman right in front of my face that he could keep (the children) in the same grade unless I paid," Carter said.

Tillman and other school officials refused to comment on the fees.

Tuskegee Laws

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

plicable alike to all persons. . . ."

The ordinance makes owners, managers, and their employees all equally responsible for obeying the law.

Penalties for breaking either law are a fine of not more than $100, a jail sentence of not more than 90 days, or both. Places licensed by the city may lose their licenses for repeated offenses.

The laws go into effect after publication early next month. But there is no guarantee they will be used. Although the first public accommodations law was nine months old, no violation had ever been brought to court.

Macon ASCS Vote

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

election."

But the civil rights workers weren't so sure.

"We're going to complain to the federal government," one worker said. "The counting and the voting was fixed."

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he would get mad but he'd very well, said one. "He was easy to talk to, and intensely interested in lots of other things than the church."

But the church was his main concern, and most of all, his friends remembered a man who led the effort to involve the American Christian church in the struggles of the 20th century.

"Bob felt that the race question was really the question that was making the church decide whether it wanted to be involved with the world or just go off and build pretty buildings and stained glass windows," explained the Rev. Bob Beach, a member of the Delta Ministry in Hattiesburg, Miss.

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For Tax Collector— Vote for One	✗ Horace D. Griffin, Sr.
For Coroner— Vote for One	✗ N. F. Payne
For Member, Court of County Revenues— Fork District—Vote for One	✗ A. D. Bush
For Member, Court of County Revenues— City of Selma District—Vote for One	✗ Mrs. Agatha Harville
For Member, Court of County Revenues— West Dallas District—Vote for One	✗ Roosevelt McElroy
For Member, Court of County Revenues— Southside District—Vote for One	✗ Wilmer Walker
For Member, Board of Education, Dallas County— Place No. 3—Vote for One	✗ George Sallie

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Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

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WANT ADS

BEAUTY PAGEANT--The Uniontown Civic & Business League will sponsor its first beauty pageant, at the Robert C. Hatch High School gymnasium Nov. 25 at 7:30 p.m. The pageant is open to all girls between the age of 16-21. All contestants must be residents of Uniontown. All contestants must submit applications on or before Oct. 25. Contestants may be sponsored by any club, organization, church or social group. Application blanks can be obtained at Moore's Grocery, Robert C. Hatch High School, or from any member of the civic league. The purpose of the pageant is to establish a scholarship fund for some deserving student who has the potentials of making a good college student.

WANTED -- One parakeet, yellow, with green breast and funny-looking tail, already named Francis if possible, for six little girls. Call 264-4078 in Montgomery.

WORK FOR FREEDOM--Interested in peace action, academic freedom, civil rights, or poverty? Students for a Democratic Society is forming chapters in Birmingham and elsewhere. Write to P. R. Bailey, Miles College, Birmingham.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

ACCOUNTS WANTED--Zack Watkins, 826 St. Stephens Rd., Prichard, phone 478-1579, provides bookkeeping, accounting, and notary public services.

FASHION SHOW--The Licensed Practical Nurses of Chapter #3, Mobile, Ala., present their annual fashion revue, "The Daily Life of Florence Nightingale," at the Elks Club, State and Warren St. in Mobile, from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. on Friday, Oct. 28. Music by The Great Continentals. Opening the show will be the lovely Mrs. Mary Quivers Hall, "Miss L.P.N. of 1966." Don't fail to see the surprise of the year. Last year, we featured the topless bathing suit. Guess what this year? For tickets, call 432-2747 or 477-7846 in Mobile.

TUSKEGEE--A distribution manager and newsboys are needed to sell The Southern Courier. Call 727-3412.

ELMORE COUNTY VOTERS--The Elmore County Voters League will hold its meeting Sunday, Oct. 30, at 2:30 p.m. in the Elmore Rehoboth District Center, nine miles west of Tallassee. The meeting will be in behalf of all registered voters. There will be a voting machine for those who have never used one before. Bro. Willie Godwin, president; Bro. Balocks, vice president; Mrs. Clare Sears, secretary; Miss Julie Henderson, secretary; Abraham Billup, chaplain.

RECEPTIONIST--Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10025.

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--A meeting will be held Tuesday, Nov. 1, in the Westminster Presbyterian church at 7 p.m. Dr. John Nixon, president of the state NAACP, will be the last speaker of the lecture series, which also included Emory O. Jackson of the Birmingham World. The public is invited.

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'Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both.'

For many years black people in hte black belt of Alabama have been the victims of a vicious system of political, economic and social exclusion. Political exclusion is maintained in many ways-- the denial of the right to vote, service on juries, access to political offices, and by naked brutality acting under color of law or just a plain white sheet.

Although black people are a numerical majority of Lowndes County, Alabama the Democratic Party only provides them with white candidates who will adhere to a policy of white supremacy. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization wants a politics that is responsive to the needs of the poor--responsive to the need for education, decent law enforcement, paved roads, decent housing, good medical facilities, and all the things they hope for themselves and their children.

On November 8th, black people in Lowndes County will have a chance to cast ballots for candidates representing these interests. These candidates running under the symbol of the Black Panther, if elected, will be in positions of control. These will be black people in control, seeking to use the county governing mechanism for the benefit of all persons in Lowndes County. THIS POLITICAL EFFORT IS SIGNIFICANT FOR BLACK PEOPLE AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND NOT JUST IN LOWNDES COUNTY. THIS EFFORT NEEDS THE SUPPORT OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization will need money for gasoline to make sure that everyone gets out to vote on November 8th. Candidates need money to help in the canvassing of the county between now and November 8th.

The word needs to be spread about whats happening in Lowndes County.

On election day support rallies should be held for the people of Lowndes County.

Vote fraud, or violent assult against the Lowndes County Freedom Organization on election day is a real possibility. Some form of action may be neccessary.

Game of the Week

Harris of Meridian Wins, 25 to 7

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MERIDIAN, Miss.--With an offense that struck in a dozen different ways, Harris Junior College of Meridian trampled Choctaw County Training School last Friday night, 25 to 7.

Tiger end Leo Allen set up two touchdowns and scored one with spectacular catches of passes thrown by quarterback James Irby. Fullback Richard Wilson tallied twice on short smashes, and chewed up valuable yardage through the middle of the CCTS line. And halfbacks E.J. Kelly and Freddie Martin contributed several long gains on sweeps to the outside.

In the first quarter of Friday's game here, it looked as though nobody would ever score. The home-town Tigers and the Wildcats from Lisman, Ala., traded fumbles, interceptions, and penalties for the entire opening period.

But early in the second quarter, a 25-yard pass play from Irby to Kelly, Wilson's 13-yard run, and a look-in pass to Allen brought the Tigers to the CCTS two-yard line. Then Harris fumbled the ball away. But on the very next play, the Wildcats fumbled it back.

Still, it seemed that Harris might manage not to score. The Tigers lost five yards on an offside call, and then a running play went nowhere. But Allen made a diving catch of an Irby pass on the CCTS five, and Irby picked up a first down on a sneak. Then Wilson bumped over left tackle for the score.

Shortly afterward, a short punt by CCTS gave Harris the ball in scoring position. Irby passed to Allen on the Wildcat five, and then Wilson scored without being touched, to make it 12 to 0.

At half-time, the Wildcat players warmed up in the chilly weather by doing calisthenics. The Tigers warmed up by watching the Harris majorettes during the band show.

As the third period came to an end, Harris scored twice on flashy plays, and put the game out of reach. First, halfback Dewey Shack returned a CCTS punt 80 yards before being overhauled by Sylvester Davis of the Wildcats. Irby got the TD on a pass to Allen, and it was 18 to 0.

The next time CCTS had to punt, the results were even worse. The kick was blocked by Tiger captain Charles Jones, who recovered the bouncing ball on the Choctaw 25. On the next play, Irby rolled out and hit Jones with a 25-yard touchdown pass. Allen caught a pass for the Tigers' first and only extra point.

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
2. I WANNA BE WITH YOU-- Dee Dee Warwick (Mercury)
3. DON'T BE A DROPOUT-- Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
4. WHAT BECOMES OF A BROKEN HEART--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
5. IT TEARS ME UP-- Percy Sledge (Atlantic)
6. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
7. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
8. DON'T ANSWER THE DOOR-- B. B. King (ABC)
9. IF I HAD A HAMMER-- Willie Hightower (Fury)
10. WHISPERS-- Jackie Wilson (Brunswick)
11. I WORSHIP THE GROUND-- Jimmy Hughes (Fame)
12. I'M READY FOR LOVE-- Martha & the Vandellas (Gordy)
13. REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE-- The Four Tops (Motown)
14. BUT ITS ALRIGHT-- J. J. Jackson (Calla)

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Parents in Tuscaloosa Seek Teens' 'Respect'

BY ROBERTA REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--"We have a big cyclone going, where the kids are all running wild and you can't contain them, so we are trying to develop a type of leadership they can respect," said Joe Mallisham.

Mallisham is chairman of a new community group--the Concerned Parents Committee--which held its first meeting here last Sunday. About a dozen parents made plans to meet the rising problem of misbehaving teen-agers.

"We want to associate ourselves with the young people and develop good citizens, rather than to drive them away with the idea they're not wanted," Mallisham said.

Recent outbreaks of violence prompted the parents to act. "When a football team came from Montgomery (Carver High School, on Sept. 23), some kids began to throw rocks into the bus and did irreparable damage to kids on the bus," Mallisham said.

"It's getting so I wouldn't dare take my wife to a football game," added Burris Martin, the committee's executive director.

Martin said he believed that "one rotten apple spoils the barrel." He stressed the need for parents to work with the entire community, not just with their own children.

One child's quick-money earnings may tempt others away from school--and then from the law, he said. "What

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FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the Christian principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information write The

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Teen-Teens Respect

BY ROBERTA REISIG

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Martin said he believed that "one rotten apple spoils the barrel." He stressed the need for parents to work with the entire community, not just with their own children.

One child's quick-money earnings may tempt others away from school--and away from the law, he said. "What importance," Martin asked, "is a quarter in your pocket today at age 12, if you can make $25,000 a year at age 25?"

Parents should assume responsibility for disciplining the children, he said: "The police commission is capable of stopping anybody, but you may not like the way they stop them. Why don't you stop them--and help them avoid reform schools?"

Fathers should take the lead in community affairs, Mallisham said, but three out of every four Tuscaloosa PTA members are women. And, he said, it was women and children who carried the burden during the demonstrations in Tuscaloosa.

"When we should have been out there," he told his mostly-male audience, "we sent them out there. Since the children took the greater responsibility, we have developed a barrier against the husband in the home."

"We want to get our house in order," he added, "and our house is the total community."

The group decided on several ways to reach the community. Another, larger meeting will be held at the 18th Street YMCA this Sunday at 5 p.m. to alert parents to the problem.

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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held at 6:30 p.m., Monday, Oct. 31, in the First Baptist Church, Kingston, 4600 Ninth Ave. N., the Rev. G.W. Dickerson, pastor. The Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth will speak.

'Voting Is a Job For You and Me'

This entertaining 30-minute show tells you all about the latest voting procedures, and it tells you why your vote is important.

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SOUTHERN COURIER

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 45 | WEEKEND EDITION: NOVEMBER 5-6, 1966 | TEN CENTS

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Mac[illegible] Write-In Threatens Amerson

Tue[illegible]-Day of Decisions

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Friends of Macon County Sheriff Harvey Sadler are quietly organizing a write-in campaign to enable him to keep his job.

They are doing it, according to a man who has been watching county politics for 30 years, "because they like Sadler and they just don't want to have a Negro sheriff."

The "Negro sheriff" is Lucius D. Amerson, the Democratic Party nominee. His only opponent on Tuesday's ballot is Bob Dawson, a white man who switched to the 3rd Party For America after running a poor third to Amerson and Sadler in the May primary.

Amerson edged Sadler in the run-off by less than 400 votes out of 6,600, when only two-thirds of Macon County's Negro voters went to the polls.

Still fewer are expected to make it on Tuesday. If the white turn-out stays at 100%, Amerson could lose his chance to become Alabama's first Negro sheriff since Reconstruction.

But it wasn't only white people who voted for Sadler last time, and--according to the sheriff--it isn't white people who are running the write-in campaign.

"It's some of the colored people," Sadler said this week. "They came to me and said they were going to do it." Asked who they are, he smiled and shook his head.

"Now, if I give the names, that might start some rasslin'. We got enough of that. We need to stop it, not start more. I'm not fightin' anybody."

The sheriff said he was "grateful" to his friends, but didn't think they had much chance of succeeding where he failed last May. "You can't hardly win a write-in. I won't say it's never been done, but seldom. It'd need a lot of ink."

But Negro volunteers who have been teaching new voters how to use the machines in the courthouse said a lot of ink was being used. One volunteer said that when he left at night, groups of white people took over the machines to learn how to write in names.

And, he said, some people asked him to show them how to do it.

HIGH HOPES IN LOWNDES

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--Before the Lowndes County Freedom Organization candidates went on the radio last Sunday in a one-sided discussion show, school board nominee John Hinson recalled what an opponent had said about the black panther:

"We never had any trouble until that cat came along!"

In a 15-minute show on station WRMA, the candidates told how they hoped to give their white opponents plenty of trouble.

"We have enough registered people in Lowndes County to win," said Sidney Logan Jr., running for sheriff against Democrat C. Frank Ryals. "I feel very strongly that we will win. I been moving night and day, talking to my friends and getting my friends to talk to their neighbors."

The freedom candidates "have opened the eyes of all the people," said Robert L. Logan, who is opposing Republican David M. Lyon for place 3 on the school board. "I feel the people of Lowndes County will stand behind their candidates 100% on Nov. 8."

Although all candidates for Lowndes County offices were invited to participate in the discussion, only the freedom organization nominees showed up. But John H. Ellis, chairman of the Lowndes County Republican Executive Committee, sent a written statement in behalf of the Republicans seeking re-election to the school board.

Ellis' letter charged that Governor George C. Wallace tried to get the board to shut down Hayneville School after about 100 Negroes integrated it this fall.

But, said Ellis, the board unanimously refused the governor's "insistent" request [illegible]

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"The help they have given us is in courage...letting you know you are an American."

Says Injured Dr. Robinson

'W[illegible] A[illegible] Part of U[illegible]'

Whitley's Entry Twists Miss. Senate Race

BY GAIL FALK

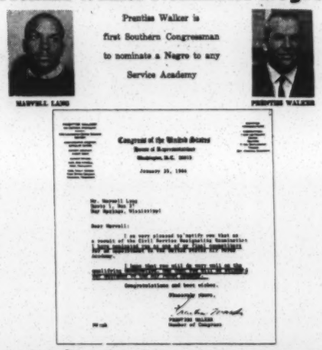
JACKSON, Miss.--Until last week, Mississippi Negroes disagreed about whether they would be better off voting for Democrat James O. Eastland or Republican Prentiss Walker for senator.

Some said Eastland was the only candidate who would get anti-poverty money for Mississippi, and that he was supported by President Lyndon Johnson. Others said Negroes should break Eastland's power by electing Walker, who would be "the lesser of two evils" because he would have no seniority.

Last week, a federal court ordered the name of the Rev. Clifton Whitley, an independent Negro candidate for senator, placed on ballot. But if anyone thought this would solve the question of who would get the Negro vote in the senate race, they under-estimated the complexity of Mississippi politics.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party leaders were enthusiastic about Whitley's campaign. "For Negroes to [illegible]

Prentiss Walker Nominates Negro



Get The "Black Power" Vote The Prentiss Walker Way

ANTI-WALKER LEAFLET

Logan Jr., running for sheriff against Democrat C. Frank Ryals. "I feel very strongly that we will win. I been moving night and day, talking to my friends and getting my friends to talk to their neighbors."

The freedom candidates "have opened the eyes of all the people," said Robert L. Logan, who is opposing Republican David M. Lyon for place 3 on the school board. "I feel the people of Lowndes County will stand behind their candidates 100% on Nov. 8."

Although all candidates for Lowndes County offices were invited to participate in the discussion, only the freedom organization nominees showed up. But John H. Ellis, chairman of the Lowndes County Republican Executive Committee, sent a written statement in behalf of the Republicans seeking re-election to the school board.

Ellis' letter charged that Governor George C. Wallace tried to get the board to shut down Hayneville School after about 100 Negroes integrated it this fall.

But, said Ellis, the board unanimously refused the governor's "insistent" request. The letter said this was "an outstanding example of the present board's concern for local autonomy and desire for good relations between the races."

But Mrs. Willie M. Strickland, running against Democrat C. B. Haigler for place 5 on the school board, said the present board wasn't concerned enough about Negro education.

"The colored schools are not up to date," she said. "There are too many students in a classroom--60 or 70 students for one teacher, and that's too many. In some schools, the children have to go out and get wood to heat the school."

The freedom organization candidates all told why they thought they deserved to be elected--and why their opponents didn't.

"When (Negro) people get killed now," said Emory Ross, opposing

FREEDOM ORGANIZATION CANDIDATES (LEFT TO RIGHT): MRS. WILLIE M. STRICKLAND, MRS. ANNIE L. MOORE, FRANK MILES JR., EMORY ROSS, SIDNEY LOGAN JR., JOHN HINSON. NOT SHOWN: ROBERT L. LOGAN.

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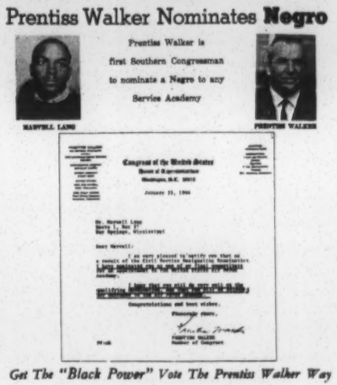

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ANTI-WALKER LEAFLET

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Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party leaders were enthusiastic about Whitley's campaign. "For Negroes to show their strength on a candidate they believe in, is the best thing they could do," said MFDP worker Joe Morse.

But a Meridian Negro leader disagreed: "Getting Whitley on the ballot was the worst thing that could have happened. We could have gotten Eastland out. He's the fifth strongest man in Congress. We had a chance to show our strength by putting a man with low education and little experience into that office."

If Whitley does poorly, the Meridian leader said, "we're exposed"--because people will see that Negroes didn't turn out. In the June Democratic primary, after a full campaign, Whitley polled 34,323 votes to Eastland's 240,171. In this election, he has officially been a candidate for less than two weeks.

Meanwhile, Eastland's press secretary, Ken Tolliver, said the senator was glad to have Whitley on the ballot. "It eliminates any possibility of a (legal) challenge," Tolliver said.

Whitley is the only candidate who has emphasized specific issues. "We need to pass laws to bring jobs for the 50,000 people put out of jobs in the cotton fields in the Delta," he said. "And we need to develop a more positive program for ending the war in Viet Nam."

Whitley said he opposed the state constitutional amendment that would permit the Mississippi legislature to consolidate counties, and he promised to support the Child Development Group of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

Says Injured Dr. Robinson

'We Are Part of U.S.'

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM--"Martin would be even worse for this state than Wallace."

Dr. Carl Robinson, independent candidate for governor, counted off his criticisms of Republican nominee, James D. Martin. But Robinson wasn't speaking from a campaign platform. He was lying in University Hospital.

The 40-year-old doctor-lawyer is recovering from a broken back, sustained when his gyroplane crash-landed last week.

Martin's philosophy is the same as Governor George C. Wallace's. He's against the working man, and he's not competent for the job, Robinson said.

"Martin voted against a decent minimum wage, Medicare, and the poverty program. Most of the other votes he wasn't around for--he attended onl about a third of the meetings of Congress."

In his platform, Robinson has proposed improving workmen's compensation and unemployment laws, making a college education available to everyone, and removing all taxes on food and medicine.

"The poverty program -- and other federal aid programs -- are designed to help us who are backward. Congressmen from other states are generous enough to let us get $2 back for every dollar we pay in taxes," Robinson observed. "They don't do that because they love us. They do it because, whether we admit it or not, we are a part of the United States."

"I'll probably be the first man in modern history to take office not owing anything to anybody," said Robinson, who places the highest value on "honest government."

Despite his injury, Robinson continued to issue daily statements from his hospital bed in the last days of the campaign.

He said his wife will be campaigning for him, in a plane similar to the one that crashed. "But," he said, "I'm afraid if she likes it too well, we're going to have to fight over who will be the governor's first assistant."

Meanwhile, Democratic candidate

DR. CARL ROBINSON

Mrs. Lurleen Wallace and the man who wants to be her "first assistant," George Wallace, continued to stump the state and to flood it with newspaper and television advertising.

Speaking to a crowd of 250 in Alabaster this week, Governor Wallace shifted his sights to the international scene, criticizing U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy's stands on foreign affairs.

And Republican James D. Martin was chugging around the state in a campaign train--the "Jim Martin Victory Special." The unusual sight drew large gatherings at most of the towns along the way.

Justice in Macon For Younge Death Suspect?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Sheriff Harvey Sadler and two other police officers said in court this week that Marvin L. Segrest, the white man accused of murdering a Negro civil rights worker, cannot get a fair trial in Macon County.

But a fourth officer, Tuskegee Public Safety Director Alton B. Taylor, said, "I believe people are capable of abiding by the judgment of this court."

The policemen testified at a hearing Tuesday on Segrest's motion for a change of venue (county). In making his request, Segrest pleaded not guilty to the charge of second degree murder in the shooting of Samuel L. Younge Jr., 21, a Tuskegee Institute student.

"There is danger of mob violence should the defendant be brought to trial in Macon County . . .," the motion says. It claims that Segrest "cannot obtain a fair and impartial trial" in the county.

It does not mention that Macon is the only county in the area where Negro jurors could outnumber white jurors.

Harry D. Raymon, one of Segrest's lawyers, called the four law enforcement officers as witnesses after District Attorney Tom F. Young objected to moving the trial.

The officers all testified that students and civil rights workers marched and demonstrated for several weeks after Younge was shot to death last Jan 3.

Sheriff Sadler said that while Segrest was in the county jail the first week in January, "groups of students came over and tried to get in." The students carried "placards demanding Mr. Segrest be given the death penalty," Sadler said.

When Raymon asked him to comment on community feeling now, the sheriff said, "I don't believe that either side could get a fair trial."

Former Police Chief G. M. Story said the killing was followed by "quite a bit of racial unrest," "some rioting," and "threats."

"I was in a position to learn that feelings on both sides have been running very high since the incident happened," said Story, who resigned as chief in February after students repeatedly accused him of incompetence in handling the demonstrations.

Jack Ayscue, the sheriff's chief deputy, said, "We had to call in the state troopers . . . . One Saturday I went to arrest a demonstrator and I had to battle about 50 of them."

Ayscue also testified that "a group of the same demonstrators started cursing me and calling me names" ten days ago, when the deputy and Segrest left the courtroom after a pre-trial hearing. Ayscue said the group was following Segrest.

But Segrest's attorney got a different kind of answer from Taylor, the highest-ranking law enforcement officer for the City of Tuskegee. Raymon asked whether there would be "further outbreaks of violence" if Segrest were tried in Macon County.

"I don't believe any man could say about that," Taylor replied. When Young, the district attorney, pressed him to blame SNCC for the "turbulence," Taylor suddenly said he trusted the people to accept the court's judgment.

Young didn't call any witnesses to ar-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 6)

Picketing Gets Tough

ROOSEVELT BARNETT (RIGHT)

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--Life on downtown Montgomery's month-old picket line is getting tougher. For example, the past week has been a nightmare for Robert Sims Jr., assistant SCLC project director.

Early last week, Sims said, he was taking his turn on the picket line at the S.H. Kress & Co. department store, when a white man called him a "nasty nigger" and then ripped up the sign Sims was carrying.

Sims signed a warrant against the man, Ned Dunagan of Coffeeville, and the case was set for Oct. 27 in Municipal Court.

But the night before the trial, Sims said, Montgomery and Prattville policemen arrested him on an old, unpaid ticket for an improper muffler. Sims said he got the ticket while working in Prattville earlier this year, and the civil rights group there neglected to pay it.

So when Dunagan's case was called the next morning, Sims was in jail in Prattville. Judge Eugene Loe dismissed the case, because there were no witnesses.

The man who had arrested Dunagan, Montgomery Sergeant Wayne Foster, wasn't in court, either. "There was nothing I could testify to," he explained. "As far as I know," he said, Sims' arrest just before the trial was a coincidence.

Sims charged that Montgomery police "turn their heads" when picketers are abused. Once, he said, "a fellow came by and stumped his cigarette in one boy's face," but the police did nothing.

Foster said he personally had chased the attacker, but couldn't catch him. "If someone breaks the law, I don't care what color he is, he's going to jail," Foster said.

Meanwhile, SCLC project director Roosevelt Barnett said the picketing could have been ended after "two or three days," if Kress officials had met with representatives of SCLC and the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Negro demands, he said, include dismissal of some employees accused of rudeness and brutality, and hiring of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 2)

voted for Sadler last time, and according to the sheriff--it isn't white people who are running the write-in campaign.

"It's some of the colored people," Sadler said this week. "They came to me and said they were going to do it." Asked who they are, he smiled and shook his head.

"Now, if I give the names, that might start some rasslin'. We got enough of that. We need to stop it, not start more. I'm not fightin' anybody."

The sheriff said he was "grateful" to his friends, but didn't think they had much chance of succeeding where he failed last May. "You can't hardly win a write-in. I won't say it's never been done, but seldom. It'd need a lot of ink."

But Negro volunteers who have been teaching new voters how to use the machines in the courthouse said a lot of ink was being used. One volunteer said that when he left at night, groups of white people took over the machines to learn how to write in names.

And, he said, some people asked him to show them how to do it.

Although the main emphasis is on the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

Voting Suits Still Pending In 4 Counties

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--The general election will take place on schedule Tuesday in Bullock, Barbour, and Macon counties. But nobody can be sure the votes for five of the offices will count.

The offices are the ones contested by five Negro candidates, who filed suit in federal court four months ago, charging that the May 31 run-off was rigged by election officials in the three counties.

Last week, the candidates asked U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to delay the general election until their suit--which asks for a new primary--is heard.

Two days later, Johnson said no. He gave no reasons for his decision.

So the candidates--and thousands of voters--will have to go to the polls without knowing whether the right names are on the Democratic side of the ballot for the five offices.

The men whose names won't be there are Fred Gray, the attorney who ran for the state House from the 31st district (Barbour, Bullock, and Macon counties), and four Bullock County candidates--H. O. Williams for sheriff, Rufus C. Huffman for tax assessor, and Alonza Ellis and Ben McGhee for county commissioners.

In the motion to delay the general election, their attorneys reported the first results of an analysis of the voting in Bullock County.

In the first two boxes studied, at least 250 of the 490 white people were permitted or encouraged to cast ballots "illegally and by procedures at variance with the law of the state of Alabama," the motion said. "All of the said illegal ballots were cast for white opponents" of the Negro candidates.

This week, attorney Fred Wallace, of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, said civil rights workers and U. S. Justice Department officials are continuing to find evidence of fraud as they examine the records.

Wallace also said there is still a chance that the names of two Negro candidates in Greene County--the Rev. Percy McShan for tax assessor and the Rev. Thomas Gilmore for sheriff--will go on the ballot there.

McShan and Gilmore have asked the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to reverse a lower court, and order their names placed on the ballot.

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Vol. II, No. 45 November 5-6, 1966

Issue in Ala. Senate Campaign--Is Sparkman an LBJ Democrat?

'He's 1,000 Miles Away'

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

WETUMPKA--"Who put the power in LBJ's hand?" Republican State Representative Tandy Little asked last Friday.

U.S. Senator John Sparkman, that's who, Little said, as he introduced Republican senatorial candidate John Grenier to an audience of 20 (including several from the Grenier motorcade) outside the Elmore County Courthouse. So, said Little, "we plan to take Sparkman out of the Senate."

Then Grenier spoke for himself. "If you elect John Grenier, you'll be electing a senator who knows Elmore County like the back of his hand," he said. "Do you want someone who will forget Tallassee, Wetumpka, Eclectic, or Alabama after six years?"

"I'll be loyal to the people of Alabama, and not the national Democratic Party," said the man who led Barry Goldwater's Southern campaign in 1964. "I care enough to vote for you, and not LBJ." For this he received applause.

Speaking of Sparkman, his Democratic opponent, Grenier said, "Your national Democrat has been rubber-stamped by LBJ. He betrayed the people of Alabama when he voted to integrate the neighborhoods in the nation."

"During the (Selma-to-Montgomery) march," Grenier told his audience, "a national newspaper reporter asked your present Democratic senator, 'What's happening in Selma?' and do you know what his answer was? 'How should I know? Selma is 1,000 miles away.'

"That national Democratic senator will always be 1,000 miles away," Grenier said. "I pledge to be with the people that elect me, the people of Alabama."

"We don't say one thing in Alabama and another in Washington," said Grenier. "If somebody's got any doubt about who stands where, ask yourself why is it that of all the campaigning you have seen, the national Democratic junior senator (Sparkman) isn't on the same platform with the governor?

"Is it because the national junior Democratic senator won't get on there with the governor, or is it because the governor won't get on with the national junior Democratic senator?"

A Louisiana native, Grenier has been a Birmingham attorney since 1957. According to his campaign literature, he and his wife, Lynne, "share their Birmingham home with their son, Bo, and Linus, the family dog."

'Nothing but Criticism'

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--"My opponent is running on a basis of negation and criticism," U.S. Senator John Sparkman said last Friday. "I'm running on the basis of my record in Congress--30 years of positive accomplishment."

Sparkman, a Democrat and a former candidate for vice president, said his seniority in the Senate and his positions on important congressional committees enable him to do more for Alabama than a new senator could.

Sparkman cited his achievements as a supporter of the Small Business Administration and as chairman of the powerful Senate Housing Subcommittee which, he said, "has been instrumental in providing housing for millions of Americans."

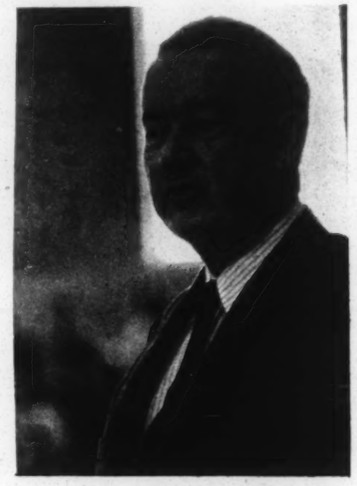
"I've always been troubled by the cost of so-called low-cost public housing," Sparkman said at a press conference. He then talked of a way to get private industry to "provide housing that could be rented at low cost."

This can now be done, he said, under a 1965 rent-subsidy law which he helped write. Under this program, a private investor builds housing under a contract with the government, and rents part of it to low-income families. Part of these families' rents are paid by federal money.

"The first such project in Alabama, in Ozark, was just authorized a few days ago," Sparkman said.

Explaining why he voted against the War on Poverty, Sparkman said, "I was afraid it was too hurriedly thrown together and wouldn't work." He then commented on the success of some Youth Corps and Head Start programs.

Turning to international events, he said that he has long "thought we ought to bomb the sources of supply (in Viet Nam), wherever they are."



SEN. JOHN SPARKMAN

Questioned after the press conference about Governor George C. Wallace's anti-guidelines law, the senator avoided the desegregation issue. "That's a state matter," he said. "I don't meddle in state matters."

Predicting "a Democratic sweep in Alabama," Sparkman said, "I do not look for the rebirth of the Republican party this year in the South."

Meanwhile, Julian Elgin, the 3rd Party For America candidate for the U.S. Senate, has proposed a "plan for perpetual prosperity."

Under Elgin's plan, every family in America with an income of less than $12,000 a year would get $100 a month from the government. He said this would cost the government $2 billion per month, but it would also save money by lowering the crime rate.

The other major part of Elgin's platform is his support of a Wallace-for-President campaign.

A New Twist

The strange case of the disputed Bullock County primary election took a new twist last week. U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. told five defeated Negro candidates who filed a lawsuit last June that he wouldn't decide whether the primary was valid or invalid until after the general election.

Last June, the candidates and their attorneys said they were acting on behalf of all the Negro voters whose ballots might have been "diluted" by illegal white votes. But since then, an unexplained and apparently inexplicable series of delays has diluted the suit itself.

First there was the court's month-long delay in denying motions for dismissal of the suit. Then there was the court's two-week delay in ordering the three counties involved to open their records to attorneys for the Negro candidates. And then there was the attorneys' five-week delay in asking the court to act before the general election.

Now that Johnson has refused to put off the election, it looks as if the suit is virtually over.

In a similar case last May, Judge Johnson refused to order a new election for the Barbour County Democratic Executive Committee, although he conceded that the original election was stacked against the Negroes. If he wouldn't throw out a primary, he isn't likely to throw out both a primary and a general election--no matter what the candidates and their lawyers manage to prove in court.

If this lawsuit becomes just another exercise in futility, the real losers will be not the candidates, but the people. Every voter who cast an honest ballot in the May 31 primary in Barbour, Bullock, and Macon counties has a stake in the suit. Every one of them deserves a new election if the old one was dishonest. But the way it looks now, the best the people can hope for is that the courts will ask the election officials to behave themselves in the future.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Lo and behold! While our attention is drawn to Washington as the supposed villain, I see by the printed legal notices that the citizens of Alabama are being asked to not only give away their Constitutionally guaranteed powers but also asked to give away their private property rights. I refer to Constitutional Amendments 3, 4, and 6 on the Nov. 8 ballot.

[illegible] to "...give and convey" this property, etc., "to any person, firm, association or corporation." And--thrown in this same "package"--an additional 2% tax will be collected to pay for this "legalized" STEALING of one man's property to give to another!

"Oh, no!" Both people and news articles tell me. "This is to bring industry to Alabama!" Hog Wash! Who wants industry controlled by government...that's socialism! And, when private property [illegible]

20 Negroes Run In Mississippi

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss.--An unusual political advertisement appeared in the Neshoba County Democrat last week.

Mrs. Mary Inez Batts, candidate for the county school board, introduced herself to voters this way:

"I was born near Forest Dale community in 1912 and have worked all my life on a farm. I love digging in that soil. I made a living because that's all I had to do. I raised truck patches and sold vegetables to help out. It was [illegible]

she said, county officials told her she couldn't run at all. Then they delayed approval of her nominating petition for two weeks, telling her the signatures had to be checked with Mississippi Attorney General Joe Patterson.

But finally, on Oct. 21, Mrs. Batts was informed that her name would be placed on the ballot. Since then she has campaigned by speaking in mass meetings and talking to friends in the time she can spare from picking her cotton.

PARTY LINE

Hayneville

John Hulett, head of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was recovering this week from a painful chest [illegible]

Bailey, Miss.

Students and teachers at Middleton Attendance Center this week mourned the death of head football coach [illegible]

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This vicious action will grant a county in one instance and, two cities in the others, the right to "...acquire real property, plants, buildings," etc., and, then, to permit these same governments to "...give and convey" this property, etc., "to any person, firm, association or corporation." And--thrown in this same "package"--an additional 2% tax will be collected to pay for this "legalized" STEALING of one man's property to give to another!

"Oh, no!" Both people and news articles tell me. "This is to bring industry to Alabama!" Hog Wash! Who wants industry controlled by government..that's socialism! And, when private property is no longer sanctified . . . you and me have become a slave!...

E. McAllister Davis
Montgomery

House Nominee Perry Has Unusual Platform

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM -- Walter Emmett Perry Jr., Democratic candidate for the U.S. House from the Sixth District, is running with a platform of unusual ideas.

Is the cost of education too high? Perry proposes tax deductions to help families educate their children.

Are bright students held back in public schools? Perry suggests special classes for the best students.

Is China a threat to the United States? Perry wants to penetrate Red China by moving UN headquarters to Peking.

"It's not fair to take money from people in taxes and then tell them their gross income is too large for their children to get scholarships," said Perry, explaining his education plan. "I believe that education to the limits of every child's ability should be free."

"If our children are going to get into the best colleges," he continued in an interview last Tuesday, "they will have to have special classes in high school."

On international issues, Perry believes that China is the biggest threat to peace. He said the United States should build stronger alliances against that threat. For one thing, he said, the U.S. should "tear down the Berlin Wall" and unify Germany.

Domestically, Perry favors federal assistance to states and cities, as long as there are not too many strings attached. "I would be big on the War on Poverty, " he said, "if we could get rid of all the boondoggling--the fancy salaries and featherbedding."

But on the question of the federal school desegregation guidelines, Perry said he stands with Governor George C. Wallace. "Technically speaking, he's right," Perry said. "The guidelines are just not within the scope of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

And on the subject of civil disobedience, Perry is equally firm. "I think it's very dangerous to let people think they can choose which laws to obey," he said. "What if the Minutemen or some of those other people were to decide that the law against killing Negroes was foolish?"

Perry's opponent is the present U.S. Representative for the Sixth District, Republican John Buchanan. Buchanan is a strong conservative who has made a name for himself in Washington as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"This is Norman Lumpkin, **WRMA** News Editor and Reporter. For one newscast I write, call on the telephone, and talk with all sorts of people for YOU. Hear news from Central Alabama as well as from Viet Nam on WRMA, 950 in Montgomery, Ala." Norman Lumpkin reports eight times daily, every hour on the half-hour. Do you have news? Call 264-6440 and ask for Norman Lumpkin.

national Democrat has been rubber-stamped by LBJ. He betrayed the people of Alabama when he voted to integrate the neighborhoods in the nation."

cording to his campaign literature, he and his wife, Lynne, "share their Birmingham home with their son, Bo, and Linus, the family dog."

20 Negroes Run In Mississippi

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss.--An unusual political advertisement appeared in the Neshoba County Democrat last week.

Mrs. Mary Inez Batts, candidate for the county school board, introduced herself to voters this way:

"I was born near Forest Dale community in 1912 and have worked all my life on a farm. I love digging in that soil. I made a living because that's all I had to do. I raised truck patches and sold vegetables to help out. It was sometimes hard, but we made it by the help of the good Lord. . . .

"Since I have been in this beat, I have made a lot of friends among white and colored. Anything I had I would share it, matter not what color."

Mrs. Batts went on to say she would do all she could for all people if elected to the school board.

Mrs. Batts is the only Negro running against four white men--J. T. Hill, Floyd Jones Jr., Bernard Breazeale, and Hilton Vowell.

She didn't have an easy time becoming the first Negro to run for a Neshoba County office in modern times. At first, she said, county officials told her she couldn't run at all. Then they delayed approval of her nominating petition for two weeks, telling her the signatures had to be checked with Mississippi Attorney General Joe Patterson.

But finally, on Oct. 21, Mrs. Batts was informed that her name would be placed on the ballot. Since then she has campaigned by speaking in mass meetings and talking to friends in the time she can spare from picking her cotton.

Mrs. Batts is one of nearly 20 Negroes running for public office, in the first 20th-century Mississippi election to have a significant number of Negro candidates. Most of the Negro candidates (in Issaquena, Holmes, Jefferson, Claiborne, Wilkinson, Jasper, Marshall, Carroll, and Madison counties) are running for Beat 5 school posts, like Mrs. Batts.

In Claiborne and Jefferson Counties, where Negro congressional candidates polled a majority of the vote in the June 7 primary, the Negro candidates are given a good chance of winning.

Negro candidates are also running for U.S. Representative from the First and Third Congressional Districts, Madison County constable, Holmes County justice of the peace, and Leflore County supervisor.

The number of Negro candidates isn't the only unusual thing about this election. In the past in Mississippi, all a candidate needed--once he got past the primary--was the Democratic party label.

But in the race for Prentiss Walker's seat as U.S. Representative from the Fourth District, it's the Republican candidate, L. L. McAllister, who's been boasting about his party. You can't find the word "Democrat" on Democratic candidate G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery's campaign literature.

The reason isn't hard to find. In the last congressional election, more than 88 per cent of the voters in Lauderdale County--the home of both candidates and the largest county in the district--voted Republican.

McAllister's campaign concentrates on attacking "the LBJ way--a new leech on life." Montgomery apparently doesn't want to take a chance on being identified with the national Democratic party.

MISS. SENATE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Mississippi.

Between Eastland and Walker, disagreement centers on who is the more segregationist of two segregationists.

Eastland's campaign publicity has certainly been the more segregationist. On TV, he has boasted about blocking 127 civil rights bills that came before his Senate Judiciary Committee. One of his leaflets points out that Walker nominated a Negro, Marvell Lang of Bay Springs, for the Air Force Academy. Another quotes the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as saying, "We have to get rid of Eastland if the civil rights movement is to go forward."

Negro voter registration in Mississippi has increased by 500% in the year since federal voting examiners first came to the state under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

"If Negroes show they will use their vote by voting together for senator," said a campaign worker in Eastland's office, "they'll show that they're not sleeping--and even Eastland will have to start listening to them in the next election."

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BROADCAST DAILY

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MONTGOMERY

ed write. Under this program, a private investor builds housing under a contract with the government, and rents part of it to low-income families. Part of these families' rents are paid by federal money.

"The first such project in Alabama, in Ozark, was just authorized a few days ago," Sparkman said.

Explaining why he voted against the War on Poverty, Sparkman said, "I was afraid it was too hurriedly thrown together and wouldn't work." He then commented on the success of some Youth Corps and Head Start programs.

Turning to international events, he said that he has long "thought we ought to bomb the sources of supply (in Viet Nam), wherever they are."

don't meddle in state matters."

Predicting "a Democratic sweep in Alabama," Sparkman said, "I do not look for the rebirth of the Republican party this year in the South."

Meanwhile, Julian Elgin, the 3rd Party For America candidate for the U.S. Senate, has proposed a "plan for perpetual prosperity."

Under Elgin's plan, every family in America with an income of less than $12,000 a year would get $100 a month from the government. He said this would cost the government $2 billion per month, but it would also save money by lowering the crime rate.

The other major part of Elgin's platform is his support of a Wallace-for-President campaign.

PARTY LINE

Hayneville

John Hulett, head of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was recovering this week from a painful chest injury. Hulett was hurt by a bolt that fell on him while he was repairing a truck.

Abbeville

Augusta Griffin Sr. served two days on the Henry County grand jury last week. (From James J. Vaughan)

Mobile

Mobile Chapter No. 3 of Licensed Practical Nurses held their sixth annual fashion show, "A Day in the Life

of Florence Nightingale," last Saturday at the Elks Club. Against a background of wild music by the Continentals, chapter members modeled the latest in hospital, lingerie, casual, after-five, hostess, and bridal wear.

Bailey, Miss.

Students and teachers at Middleton Attendance Center this week mourned the death of head football coach Adrian C. Lewis. Mr. Lewis, 31, died on Oct. 26, after eight years as a coach and math teacher. He had made his home in Meridian, and is survived by his wife and two young children. (From Mary Darden)

Abbeville

The Henry County Training School football team defeated Andalusia High School last Friday, 18 to 7. For homecoming this week, HCTS plays Grimsley High. Homecoming activities also include the 1966 Coronation Ball and the annual parade. (From James J. Vaughan)

Mobile

"We must succeed in bringing peace to our peoples before we can succeed in bringing it to the world," Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen told the thousands of men, women, and children who marched for peace in honor of Christ the King last Sunday. The march was designed to impress Mobilians that to love God "is to bring him into the hearts of all men."

Abbeville

The Rev. L.R. Warmack is in the hospital in Tuskegee. He is seriously ill. (From James J. Vaughan)

On Nov. 8

Pull the Lever

For the Black Panther--

And Then Go On Home

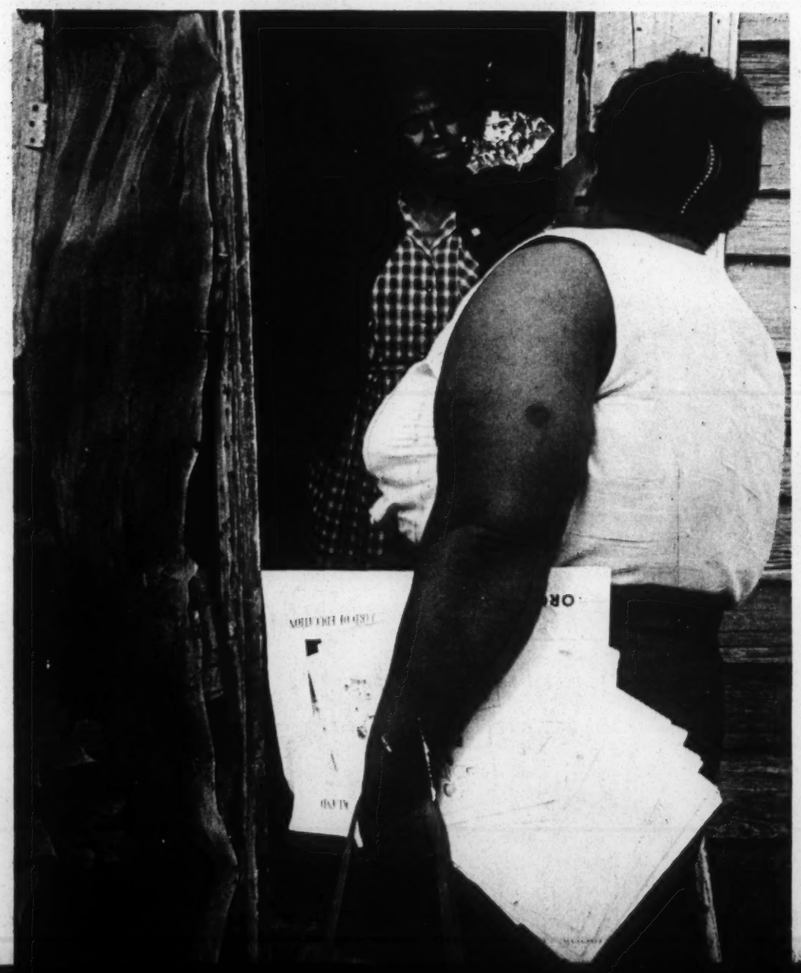
PULL THE LEVER

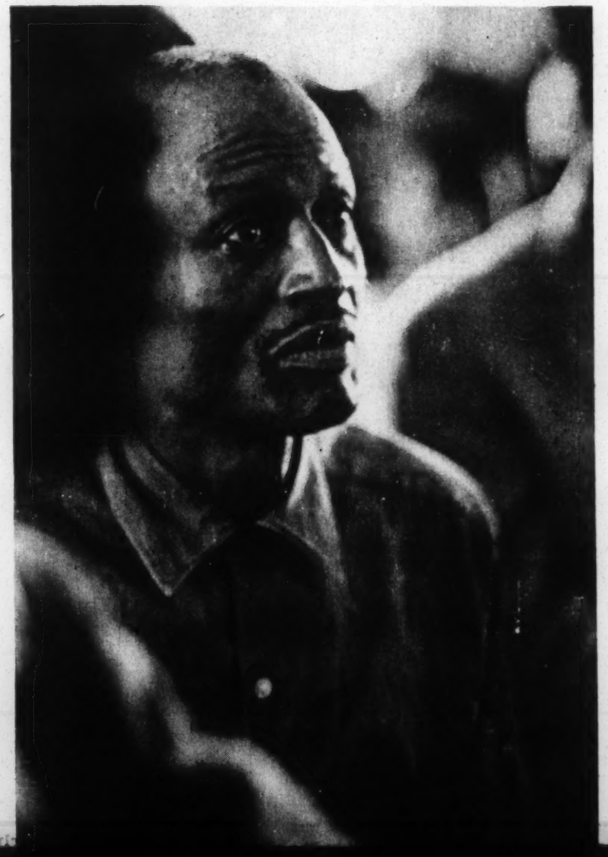
for the **BLACK PANTHER**

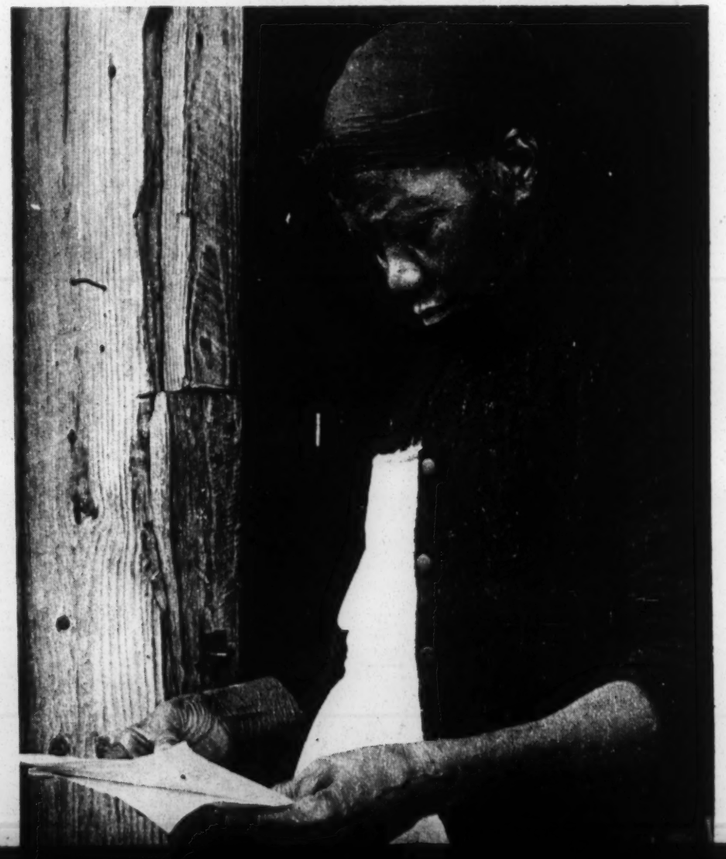
and then **GO ON HOME**

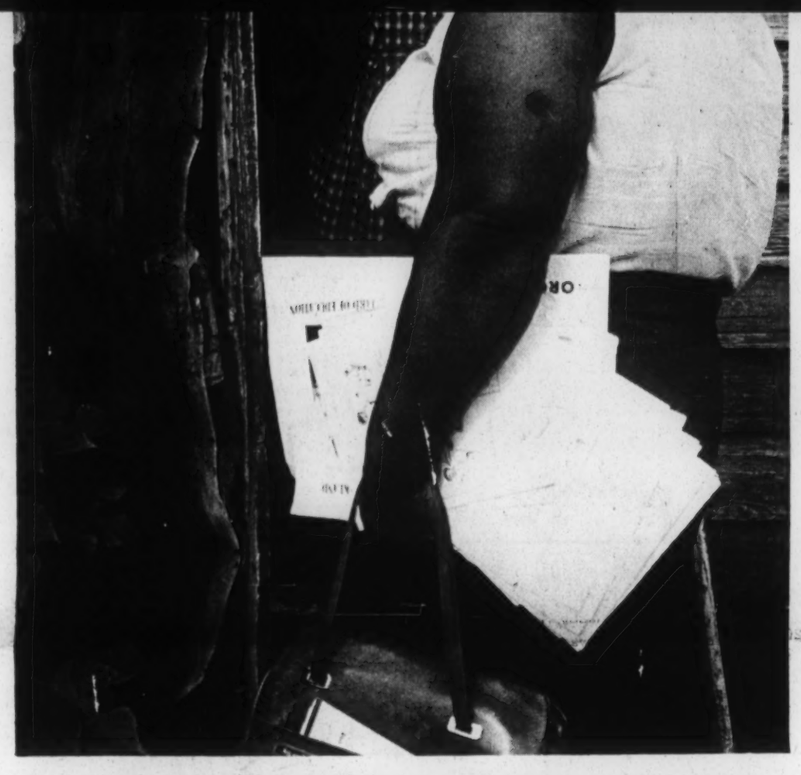
(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Lowndes County Freedom Organization, J. Hulett, chmn.)

BLACK PANTHER STALKS LOWNDES VICTORY



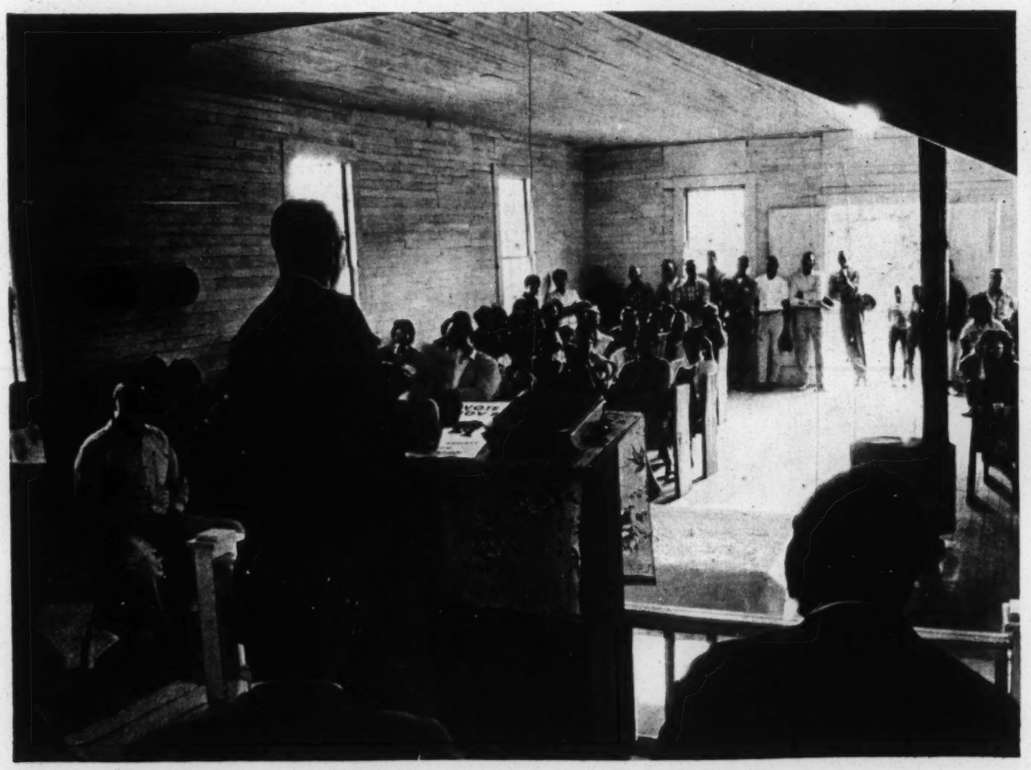


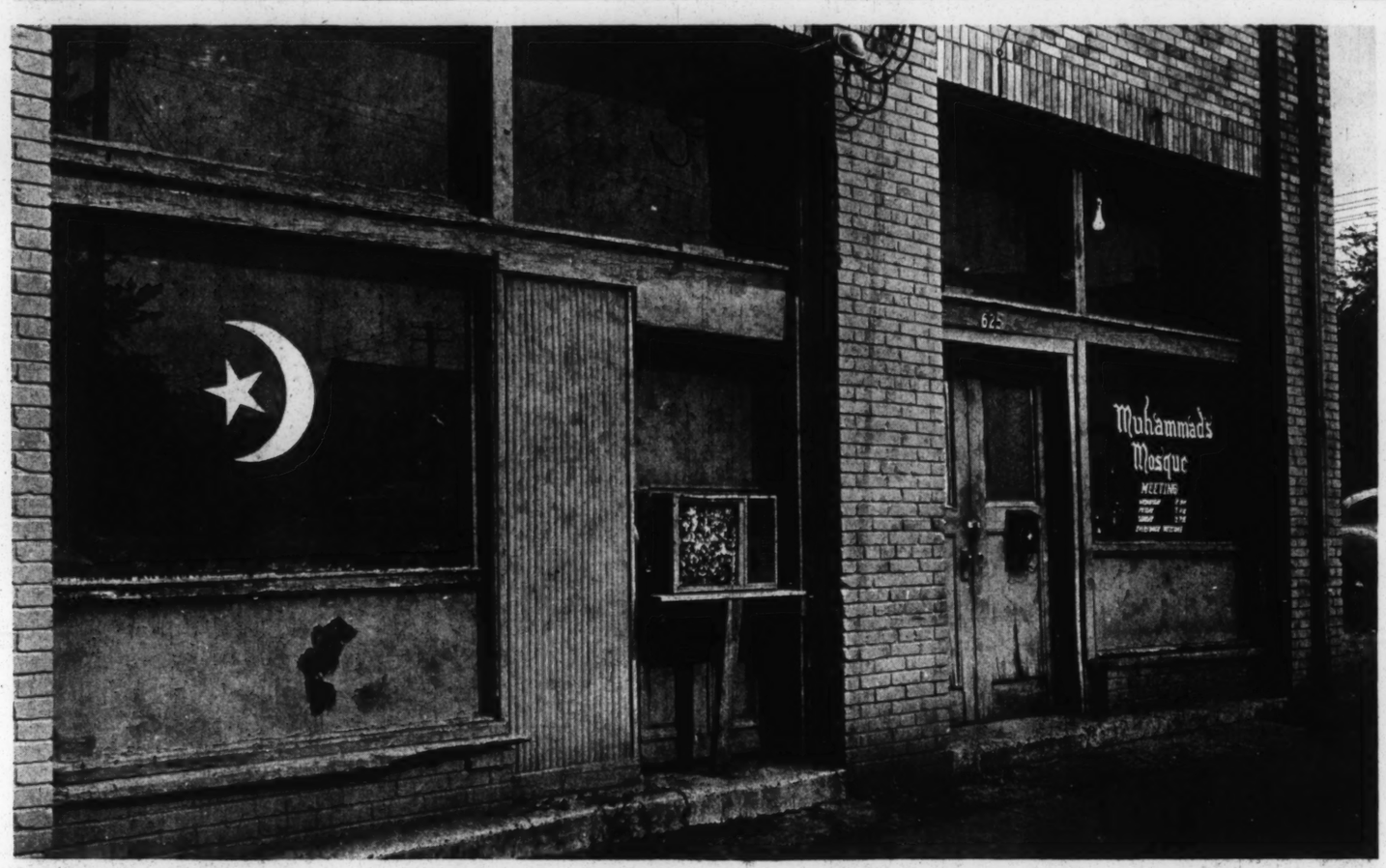




To Be or Not To Be?
Black Power in Office in Lowndes County-- Nov. 8 Will Decide

Photographs by Jim Peppler





THIS SMALL BUILDING AT 625 N. 16TH ST., BIRMINGHAM, IS A BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE. IT HAS ABOUT 70 MEMBERS. THEY BELIEVE IN ISLAM AND REJECT CHRISTIANITY. THEY FAVOR SEPARATE BUT EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN AMERICA.

MINISTER JAMES SHABAZZ, FORMERLY A RADIO REPAIRMAN, HAS BEEN THE LEADER OF THE BIRMINGHAM MOSQUE FOR MORE THAN FIVE YEARS.

Leader of Birmingham Muslims Says, 'Islam Made Me a Man'

TEXT BY JAMES CRAIG AND MARY WISSLER; PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRIS McNAIR

BIRMINGHAM -- The place is very small. As you approach the door, you knock, and a man looks out and lets you in. No man is allowed inside unless he is wearing a coat, no lady unless she is wearing a dress that reaches to her feet.

As soon as you enter, the man tells you to step into a room that is a little larger than a closet. Curtains cover the door of the room, and inside there is another man waiting to search you. When you've been searched, he lets you step out to where a girl is sitting with pencil and paper. The girl takes your

the Muslim meetings and had read Elijah Muhammad's column in the movement's weekly paper, Muhammad Speaks, he changed his mind. "I liked it, I thought it was beautiful, but I was leading a full life and I didn't think I'd join."

Then, two FBI agents came to James house and tried to convince him that the Muslims were going to start a war against the white world. "They told a pack of lies about the Messenger. It worried me that officials would have to resort to lies to discredit a little uneducated black man. They were afraid of the name of Allah and Mr. Muhammad. I decided then and there that I

attacks against Negroes. It demands equal employment opportunities and equal education.

But, unlike most civil rights groups, the Muslims are against integration. They want their equal education in separate schools. In fact, they want the United States government to give them "a complete state or territory of our own."

"It made all the Bible's history clear to me," Minister James says of these teachings. "For the first time I could find myself in the Bible. Islam restored my manhood."

But the beliefs and demands of the Muslims are not so easy for others to

have come to the Birmingham Mosque, threatening to kick the door down. And the FBI has not forgotten him.

For about six months, Minister James has been writing a weekly column for a local Negro newspaper, the Birmingham Times. A few weeks ago, after he had written a column on black power, he said, FBI agents tried to convince the publisher of the paper to fire James. When the publisher refused, the FBI went to the advertisers. Advertisers were shocked that the paper employed a Muslim, and James is out of a job.

James thinks people are scared of the Muslims because they don't understand

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Five rows of chairs with five chairs in each row face the pulpit at the front of the room. To the right of the pulpit are two rows of chairs for the ladies.

The pulpit is about two feet high and covered by an old carpet. Beside it are two old chairs that look as if they'd be very uncomfortable to sit on.

On the wall are two blackboards. One blackboard has a picture of the American flag with "Christianity" written under it and a picture of the Muslim flag with "Islam" written under it. Beneath the two flags is written, "Which one will survive the war?"

Under this question are a picture of a tree with a Negro hanging from it, and a cross. On the other blackboard is written the subject for the evening: "Open Your Mind."

"Open your mind" is what Minister James Shabazz says all Negroes must do before they become Black Muslims and accept Islam as their true religion. Minister James is short and wears square-rimmed glasses. He is 40 years old and has been the leader of Birmingham's Black Muslims for the last five and a half years.

Most Muslims replace their last names with X since they say their names were passed on to them by slaveholders before the Civil War. But Minister James took the name Shabazz, which stands for "prophet."

Ten years ago, Minister James was a radio and television technician in Atlanta. He had been in and out of jail on minor charges. He had never heard of Islam or of the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad. Even when a friend told him about the religion of Islam, he didn't think he was interested. The way he tells it, it was the FBI that made him take the final step and become a Muslim.

"I fought Islam within my mind because it made me look foolish," Minister James recalls. "Everything I had been taught, according to the Messenger (Muhammad), was wrong."

Later, after he had been to some of the Muslim meetings and had read Elijah Muhammad's column in the movement's weekly paper, Muhammad Speaks, he changed his mind. "I liked it, I thought it was beautiful, but I was leading a full life and I didn't think I'd join."

Then, two FBI agents came to James house and tried to convince him that the Muslims were going to start a war against the white world. "They told a pack of lies about the Messenger. It worried me that officials would have to resort to lies to discredit a little uneducated black man. They were afraid of the name of Allah and Mr. Muhammad. I decided then and there that I would never turn back."

Muslims believe the Negroes' true religion is Islam, that their true God is Allah, and that God's Messenger is Elijah Muhammad, who lives in Chicago and is the leader of the Muslim movement. Muslims try to draw other Negroes away from Christianity, which they consider the white man's religion designed to keep the Negro a slave.

Muslims also try to rid their communities of "vices which contribute to our early deaths," according to Minister James. Muslims don't smoke or drink. They don't eat certain foods, such as swine, that they consider unhealthy. They fast once a month for 72 hours.

The Muslim movement tries to bring money into the Negro community. As much as possible, Muslims spend their money among themselves. In some cities, like Chicago, the Muslim movement owns businesses. All over the country, Muslims try not to trade in the establishments of white men.

Muslims favor some of the things that Negro civil rights groups fight for. The "Muslim Program" calls for an immediate end to police brutality and mob attacks against Negroes. It demands equal employment opportunities and equal education.

But, unlike most civil rights groups, the Muslims are against integration. They want their equal education in separate schools. In fact, they want the United States government to give them "a complete state or territory of our own."

"It made all the Bible's history clear to me," Minister James says of these teachings. "For the first time I could find myself in the Bible. Islam restored my manhood."

But the beliefs and demands of the Muslims are not so easy for others to accept. The group of Brothers and Sisters that gathers at Birmingham's 16th Street Mosque on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays is small, less than 70. And it's smaller than it used to be. Before the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in 1963, Minister James said, the Muslim movement in Birmingham had about 130 members. But after the bombing, people got scared.

Yet, this little group -- and groups like it in the North and South -- frightens many white people.

Two years ago in June, Minister James and one of his Muslim Brothers drove to Tuscaloosa to sit in on a civil rights rally there. As they walked in the door, a newspaper reporter recognized Minister James and asked if he had come to add the endorsement of Muslims to the civil rights cause. "Muslims!" the cry spread through the crowd, "Muslims!" Next thing James knew he was in jail. He said he was held there over the weekend without charges.

Minister James has a stock of stories about similar incidents. His driver's license was taken away, he says, because he is a Muslim. Policemen have come to the Birmingham Mosque, threatening to kick the door down. And the FBI has not forgotten him.

For about six months, Minister James has been writing a weekly column for a local Negro newspaper, the Birmingham Times. A few weeks ago, after he had written a column on black power, he said, FBI agents tried to convince the publisher of the paper to fire James. When the publisher refused, the FBI went to the advertisers. Advertisers were shocked that the paper employed a Muslim, and James is out of a job.

James thinks people are scared of the Muslims because they don't understand what the movement is all about. "They think we're going to start a war," he said, "but one of the Muslim rules is that we don't carry weapons."

Once a week Muslim Brothers attend a Fruit of Islam class, but far from preparing men to fight a war, James said, these classes teach the brothers to "be themselves, stop arguing and bickering, work hard, and save their money."

The Muslims' stand on integration, James said, has been deliberately misunderstood by "middle-class Negroes and liberal-minded whites who are bent on exploiting our people." If complete integration were ever achieved, he reasons, many of these whites would be out of work "because there wouldn't be a need for the do-nothing organizations that are led and controlled by whites and white-minded Negroes."

Most followers of Islam would probably say the same thing. But Minister James adds a few thoughts of his own to the Muslim creed. Muslims don't vote because they say there is no real choice between two look-alike parties, but James has a passion for practical politics.

"You got to hand it to the man," James says of Governor George C. Wallace, "he's smart. And look at all the money he has in that campaign. Where does he get all that?"

Of President Johnson, James admits, "I admire the man, he's a real politician." And of gubernatorial candidate Carl Robinson, "he's too sincere, really. People don't get elected in this country on sincerity."

James blamed the division among civil rights groups on two things. "Personal ambition is what turns groups against each other. Personal ambition and the press."

One of Minister James' strong convictions is that white writers have too much to say about Negroes. "The white press has blown up the issue of black power until it's gotten out of hand. Those words need to be clearly defined." He also holds writers responsible for the bad reputation of Muslims.

Like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and many other Negro leaders, Minister James says Negroes need unity more than anything else. He called marching and riots "senseless," because they add to bitterness in the South against Southern Negroes.

Instead of marching or rioting, James said, Negroes have to face reality. Besides unity, they need "economic stability." They should boycott stores to get better jobs, and Negroes who have money should build factories and department stores and hire Negroes to work in them. The way it is now, James added, "people in the North are rioting, but it's the people in the South who are catching hell for it."

MINISTER JAMES SAYS NEGROES NEED MONEY AND UNITY.

JAMES AT CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY

MALCOLM X WAS MURDERED SHORTLY AFTER HE BROKE AWAY FROM MUSLIM LEADER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. BUT MALCOLM'S WORDS LIVE ON.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, WHO RULES THE BLACK MUSLIMS FROM HIS CHICAGO MOSQUE, IS BELIEVED BY THEM TO BE GOD'S MESSENGER ON EARTH.

Letter Blasts Dem. Ticket

SELMA--A fiery letter put out by the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization has condemned nearly all the nominees on the Democratic ticket as "racist and segregationist candidates."

The free voters organization asked all Dallas County ministers to read the letter to their congregations.

The letter said the voters organization was still "in great shock and pain" because the Dallas County Voters League had endorsed the straight Democratic ticket, from Mrs. Lurleen Wallace on down.

"We hate to think of the reasons of why they did this and for what advantage," the letter said. "We certainly know it is NOT in the interest of MOST of the Negroes in Dallas County or Alabama. NO OTHER NEGRO GROUP in Alabama or elsewhere has dared to endorse voting for Wallace and other segregationists--most would not even consider doing such a terrible thing."

"The Wallace Machine needs to be BROKEN . . . not built. It is a threat to the whole and best interests of our state and our entire country. Wallace and his group plan to continue a racist campaign all over this country."

Besides attacking Governor George C. Wallace, the letter also branded as "racists" such Democratic candidates as Albert Brewer (lieutenant governor), MacDonald Gallion (attorney general), and John Sparkman (U.S. senator).

It said Walter C. Givhan, Democratic candidate for re-election to the state Senate, "has been preaching against and acting against 'niggers' for over 27 years."

The letter urged Dallas County Negroes to cast their ballots for the eight independent candidates for county office, who are supported by the free voters organization.

An anti-Democratic leaflet, similar to the letter, has been circulated in the county by SCLC, SNCC, and the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations.

Macon Write-In

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

sheriff's race, the write-in campaigners also are teaching people to insert the name of James L. Braswell for tax collector. Braswell, a white man, was named tax collector by Governor George C. Wallace when the office became vacant last summer. L.A. Locklair, a Negro, is the Democratic nominee for a full term.

All Quiet in Race for Attorney General

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--"The biggest legal problem in Alabama right now is Governor George C. Wallace's anti-guidelines bill. It should never have been

DON COLLINS

passed," said Don Collins, Republican candidate for state attorney general.

As James D. Martin, Republican candidate for governor, shouted to a whistle-stop audience that Alabama must "cut loose from Lurleen and Katzenbach," Collins spoke quietly of the state's legal problems.

Collins has been speaking quietly throughout the campaign. And his Democratic opponent, MacDonald Gallion, has been even quieter. In fact, Gallion--who served as attorney general once before, under Governor John Patterson--has hardly campaigned at all.

Wallace's anti-guidelines law is the "most unconstitutional bill that's ever been passed in the history of the South," Collins charged last Tuesday. "It's a political farce, an absolute fraud and fake on the people of Alabama.

"If you're going to test the guidelines in Washington, the only way you test administrative rulings and laws is through the courts."

As attorney general, Collins said, he thought he would test the guidelines, "because I believe they go beyond the authority of the '64 Civil Rights Act." He did not mention "states' rights" or the question of integration.

"The real issue (in the attorney general's race) is crime in Alabama," Collins said, as he talked of the law-enforcement duties of the office. "Crime is on the increase on a spiraling rate. The latest FBI report shows that Birmingham, Ala., leads the nation in murders per 100,000 people."

Collins said he is the candidate best qualified to combat crime because of his ten years' experience as a trial lawyer and his 12 years in the state legislature.

"My record in the legislature indicates that I have introduced and have been successful in passing bills to make penalties more severe for assaults on women and children, and it shows my fights on hard-core pornography," he said.

The second issue in the campaign is the "partisan issue," Collins said. "My opponent cannot say that he's an Alabama Democrat, because he was Lyndon Johnson's campaign manager in Alabama."

Collins said that the civil rights trials of Eugene Thomas and Thomas Coleman were "mishandled." Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers "should have stayed out of Lowndes County and let the local district attorney handle it," he said. "The local district attorney would have been closer to the feelings of the people."

PICKET LINE

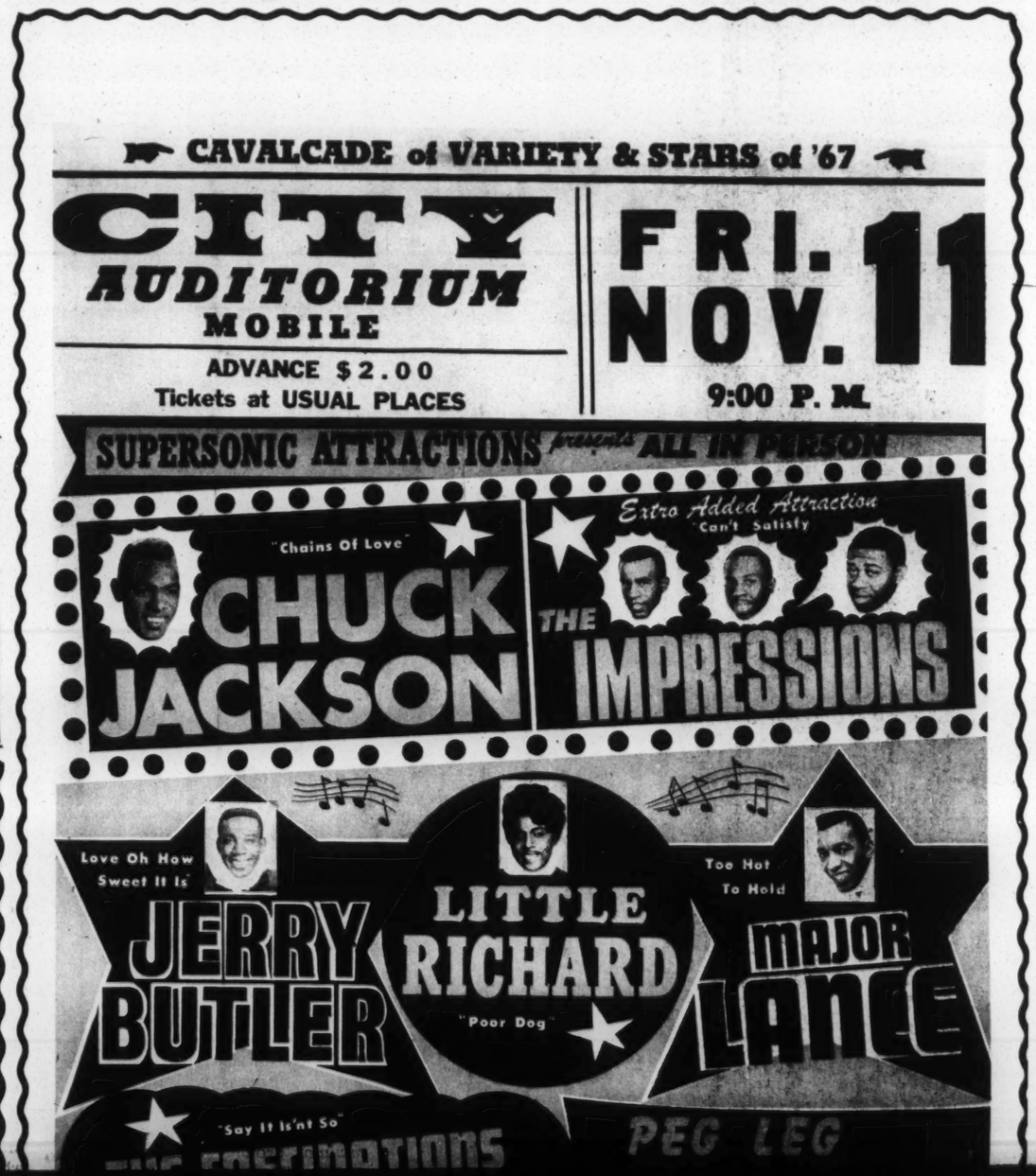
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

qualified Negroes.

Barnett said the picket line was "killing" Kress by keeping Negro shoppers out. Store manager J.C. Spikes refused to comment.

In Mobile It's
FRANKLIN'S PHARMACY
for
All toilet articles
and package medicines
Delivery service
Money orders
Paying utility bills
Corner of
S. Warren & Elmira
433-5727

THE GAME OF THE YEAR!!
Booker T. Washington
High School
vs.
Geo. W. Carver
High School



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Some of Amerson's supporters are worried about the write-in campaign. "They're out to get that boy," said the Negro voting instructor.

But Amerson said he isn't upset. "They had a chance to do it with the levers," he said. "Not many people have heard of it (the write-in effort for Sadler), so not too many are going to be writing his name in.

"I'm not talking about it. I'm just going to go on and campaign. The most important thing is to be sure all the people get to the polls."

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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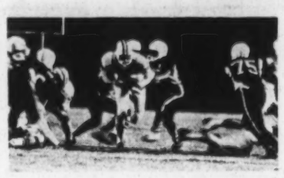

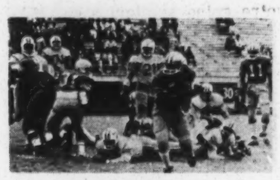

CRAMTON BOWL--MONTGOMERY

1:30 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 12

WMOO

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Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
9:30-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

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WANT ADS

TUSKEGEE--A distribution manager and newsboys are needed to sell The Southern Courier. Call 727-3412.

BAHA'I STATE CONVENTION--Baha'is from all sections of Alabama will attend their state convention on Sunday, Nov. 6, in Birmingham. The purpose of the convention is to elect a delegate to the national convention, to be held in April at the Baha'i Temple in Wilmette, Illinois. These delegates will then elect members of the National Spiritual Assembly.

RECEPTIONIST--Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10025.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--The meeting will be at 7 p.m. Tuesday, Nov. 8, at the Westminister Presbyterian Church. All residents of this area are invited. The Rev. L. Williams, president.

BEAUTY PAGEANT--The Uniontown Civic & Business League will sponsor its first beauty pageant, at the Robert C. Hatch High School gymnasium Nov. 25 at 7:30 p.m. The pageant is open to all girls between the age of 16-21. All contestants must be residents of Uniontown. All contestants must submit applications on or before Oct. 25. Contestants may be sponsored by any club, organization, church or social group. Application blanks can be obtained at Moore's Grocery, Robert C. Hatch High School, or from any member of the civic league. The purpose of the pageant is to establish a scholarship fund for some deserving student who has the potentials of making a good college student.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

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2. DON'T BE A DROPOUT-- James Brown (King)
3. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
4. WHISPERS-- Jackie Wilson (Brunswick)
5. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
6. IT TEARS ME UP-- Percy Sledge (Atlantic)
7. IF I HAD A HAMMER-- Willie Hightower (Fury)
8. WHAT BECOMES OF A BROKEN HEART--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)
9. YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON-- Supremes (Motown)
10. HYMN NO. 5-- The Mighty Hannibal (Josei)
11. I'M READY FOR LOVE-- Martha & the Vandellas (Gordy)
12. DON'T ANSWER THE DOOR-- B. B. King (ABC)
13. I WANNA BE WITH YOU-- D. D. Warwick (Mercury)
14. REACH OUT I'LL BE THERE-- Four Tops (Motown)

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Game of the Week

A&M Tops State in College Clash

BY ALONZO CHANEY

BIRMINGHAM--The Alabama A & M Bulldogs downed the Alabama State Hornets 36 to 19 last Saturday in college football's Magic City Classic.

At first the teams seemed evenly matched, but then Onree Jackson passed to Maurice Coleman for a 29-yard touchdown that tilted the match for A & M, 6 to 0.

In the second quarter, A & M's defense was red-hot. Melvin Hines of the Huntsville Bulldogs blocked a State punt, picked it up, and ran for a 25-yard touchdown. Joe Haugabrook scored the two-point conversion with a right-end sweep.

The Hornets struck back after they recovered a fumble on A & M's 36-yard line. After a series of short plays, Charles Mitchell passed to Jerry Allen for the score.

But Bulldog quarterback Jackson was on target all afternoon. He tossed a 50-yard pass to Thomas Jones for one TD. Then he connected on two consecutive 35-yard passes, before scoring on a two-yard run. Haugabrook passed to Terry Bates for the extra point, making the score 28 to 6 at halftime.

In the third period, State started to come alive. After eight plays, the Hornets scored on a five-yard run by Willie Wilkinson, but the extra point failed.

Still fired up, State's Harry Scott intercepted a pass and returned it to A & M's 33-yard line. Then Johnny Pleasant ran 33 yards for the touchdown, and Mitchell kicked the extra point. That made it 28 to 19, but State never got any closer.

A & M ended the scoring with a 17-yard pass from Haugabrook to Jones. Haugabrook passed to Coleman for the extra points.

A & M has now won its last seven games against State.

NOLEN'S GROCERY

Groceries, Notions, School Supplies

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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held at 7 p.m. Monday, Nov. 7, at the Galilee Baptist Church, 1013 N. 23 St., the Rev. R. H. Thompkin, pastor. This is the kick-off for 1967. Speaker will be the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth.

Mobile Teams Win

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Football fans cheered two of their favorite high school teams to homecoming victories here last Saturday. Mobile Central High's Wildcats downed Carver of New Orleans, La., 34 to 24, and Toulminville's Rattlers defeated Booker T. Washington of Pensacola, Fla., 20 to 13.

The full day's activities started in the morning with a parade of marching bands that circled the northern part of the city.

Then, in an afternoon struggle in Prichard Stadium, Toulminville upped its record to 4 and 3 by putting down the Pensacola Wildcats.

A pass from Jerome Bettis to Percy Smith gave Toulminville the lead. Homecoming queen Miss Sharon Elaine Sims and the rest of the Toulminville fans looked pleased.

But Oscar Abner of Pensacola scored from the five-yard line in the second period, to tie the game. And a six-yard pass from Wildcat Walter Williams to James Duckworth gave the visitors the lead.

With four seconds left in the half, however, Bettis passed 53 yards to John Morisette in the end zone, and the score stood 13 to 13 at intermission.

It stood that way until the final period, when the Rattlers scored the winning TD on a 21-yard run by Morisette.

Saturday night, 2,858 spectators watched Central High run its record to 6 and 1 at Hartwell Field. Resounding encouragement from Miss Homecoming, Joyce Knight, and her court brought the team to its senses after the visitors took a six-point lead in the first quarter.

Central scored on a 36-yard dash by William Hives; a 16-yard pass to James Lewis; a 23-yard run by Lewis; a 50-yard pass to Ernest Taylor; and a six-yard charge by Taylor.

NAACP Meets In Montgomery

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

MONTGOMERY -- The Alabama NAACP last weekend held its first annual convention since being banned from the state for eight years.

Roger Wilkins, nephew of NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins and director of the federal Community Relations Service, told a Youth Rally audience Friday night in St. John's AME Methodist Church, "You will be the leaders of tomorrow, so you must train today."

On Saturday night, the first annual Human Rights Dinner was held in the mid-town Holiday Inn.

"White people in the South tell us where we stand and where to get off," NAACP president Kivie Kaplan told the 150 dinner guests. "But the white man in the North preaches integration and practices discrimination."

Kaplan also stressed the need for more memberships--particularly $500 life memberships--in the NAACP. "A maid, 74 years old, gave five $100 bills in Springfield, Mass., for a life membership," he said. "We are going to have to work harder and give more."

The convention approved a policy statement calling for action in the areas of public education, housing, economics, justice, and political action.

Segrest Case

ELECT

TOM RADNEY

State Senator

(Elmore-Macon-Tallapoosa Counties)

Insure Macon County

A Responsible Voice

In the Alabama Senate

The Southern Courier gives you the

FACTS

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RADNEY

State Senator

(Elmore-Macon-Tallapoosa Counties)

Insure Macon County

A Responsible Voice

In the Alabama Senate

VOTE AGAIN--WIN AGAIN

Vote Democratic

VOTE TOM RADNEY

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Macon County Friends of Tom Radney, Tom Radney, chmn.)

pastor. This is the kick-off for 1967. Speaker will be the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth.

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Segrest Case

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

gue against moving the trial out of Macon County. "The state is in the position where it can only submit this to the decision of the court," he told Circuit Judge L. J. Tyner.

Judge Tyner said he would have to study the exhibits, including several newspapers dating back to last January, before deciding where to hold the trial.

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the Christian principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.

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Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

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Candidates of

Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization

For Tax Assessor— Vote for One	☒ Mrs. Addie Lily
For Tax Collector— Vote for One	☒ Horace D. Griffin, Sr.
For Coroner— Vote for One	☒ N. F. Payne
For Member, Court of County Revenues— Fork District—Vote for One	☒ A. D. Bush
For Member, Court of County Revenues— City of Selma District—Vote for One	☒ Mrs. Agatha Harville
For Member, Court of County Revenues— West Dallas District—Vote for One	☒ Roosevelt McElroy
For Member, Court of County Revenues— Southside District—Vote for One	☒ Wilmer Walker
For Member, Board of Education, Dallas County— Place No. 3—Vote for One	☒ George Sallie

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DALLAS COUNTY INDEPENDENT FREE VOTERS ORGANIZATION
"Strength Through Unity"

NOV 8 TH

Pd. Pol. Adv. by Dallas County Independent Candidates Comm., J. Johnson, Everdale, chmn.

SOUTERN COURIER

Lowndes: *A Good Day to Go Voting, But Black Panther Candidates Lose*

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

HAYNEVILLE--It was a beautiful day for voting here. Men and women from 21 years of age to at least 82 were waiting at different stations last Tuesday, so that SNCC workers could come and pick them up. Many were voting for the first time in a general election.

As SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael rode along the highways, down rugged dirt roads, and through downtown areas, he would holler, "Did you vote right?" and the Negro voters would holler back, "Sure did!"

Some people had gotten up very early in order to be at the polls on time. Women who couldn't get baby-sitters had their children with them. Men rushed and got to the polls early enough so they could get back to the farm and finish their work.

This went on from sunrise to sunset. Some went alone, walking along the highway; many went in groups. These people wanted to vote. They wanted to "pull the lever for the black panther and then go on home," and this is what they did.

But it was not enough. When the day was over, not one of the seven candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization had defeated his white opponent.

Sheriff Frank Ryals, a Democrat, finished ahead of freedom candidate Sidney Logan, 2,320 to 1,643. Other candidates running under the black panther label lost by margins ranging from 273 to 677.

The night before, in a meeting in Mt. Moriah Church, Carmichael had told the people, "We have done tonight what people said we'd never be able to do. We have come together and organized."

"In Montgomery," he said, "all the big folks ain't got nobody to vote for. But tomorrow we'll have somebody to vote for .... Tomorrow when we pull that le-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

Dallas: *DCIFVO Head Not Discouraged*

SELMA--"We're here to stay," said the chairman of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization (DCIFVO), after the Negro group's candidates had all suffered staggering defeats in last Tuesday's election.

"This does not discourage us," said DCIFVO chairman Clarence Williams last Wednesday. "It only means we must work harder." He said the free voters organization would have plans for a new program in about a week.

The eight DCIFVO candidates for county office all lost by wide margins to white opponents. Mrs. Addie Lily, the first DCIFVO name listed on the ballot, lost to Democrat Claude A. Sherrer, 12,814 to 1,551 for tax assessor, and the other races went the same way. N.F. Payne, candidate for coroner, led the DCIFVO ticket with 1,579 votes.

One reason for the independents' poor showing, said Williams, was the Dallas County Voters League's endorsement of the entire Democratic ticket. This endorsement was chiefly intended to help the DCVL-backed Democratic candidate for sheriff, Wilson Baker.

Baker, the former Selma police chief, needed all the help he could get, as he edged write-in candidate Jim Clark, the present sheriff, by about 500 votes.

Williams charged that some "mighty funny things" went on in the election. He said his poll-watchers were not allowed to watch the voting at several boxes.

"Our votes disappeared somehow," he said in a tired voice. "I don't know what happened to them .... The count just don't seem right. We should have polled more than that."

Williams said he would have been "satisfied" if the independent candidates had polled "2,000 or a little better," in the face of "an all-out conspiracy of local leaders."

The DCIFVO candidates didn't even get 20% of the total vote, which would have made the organization a recognized political party.

But, said Williams, "we're not concerned with being listed as a party. We're out to establish a democratic system in the county."

"The next four years will determine what the Negro does with himself, where he'll be placed," said Williams. "We intend to stand up politically, any way we can. We're going to keep fighting."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 46 | WEEKEND EDITION: NOVEMBER 12-13, 1966 | TEN CENTS

From Macon to Lee

Segrest's Trial Is Transferred

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The trial of Marvin L. Segrest, the white man accused of murdering a Negro civil rights worker here last January, will not be held in Macon County.

Circuit Judge L. J. Tyner has ordered the trial moved to Lee County. His decision is final. There is no legal method of appeal.

The ruling means that Segrest, charged with second degree murder in the killing of Samuel L. Younge Jr., will almost certainly be tried by an all-white jury.

not have a fair and impartial trial in Macon County."

The judge based his eight-page ruling on newspaper articles and other evidence submitted by Segrest's attorneys, William M. Russell Jr. and Harry D. Raymon, and on testimony in court by county law enforcement officers.

Both sources were used to prove that Tuskegee Institute students and civil rights workers held a series of protest demonstrations after Younge's death, demanding that his killer be found, prosecuted, and convicted.

Amerson Elected Macon Sheriff Despite Sadler Write-In Effort

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Lucius D. Amerson, a barrel-chested, soft-spoken, determined young man, was elected sheriff of Macon County this week.

When he takes office in January, Amerson, a Democrat, will be Alabama's first Negro sheriff in the 20th century.

His victory wasn't easy. After weathering the Democratic primary election May 3 and the run-off May 31,

for write-in candidate James L. Braswell Jr.

A last-minute write-in against Harold W. Webb for the county board of revenue came to so few votes that nobody at the courthouse Tuesday night even bothered to put them on the running tally sheet.

Last week, Sadler said the write-in campaign for sheriff was organized by Negroes. But, according to Tuesday's results, most of his best friends were whites.

He won only four out of 25 ballot boxes--three in Notasulga (the only part of the county where whites strongly outnumber Negroes) and one in

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The ruling means that Segrest, charged with second degree murder in the killing of Samuel L. Younge Jr., will almost certainly be tried by an all-white jury.

Negroes outnumber whites two to one on the Macon County jury list. But only a few Negroes have ever served on state juries in Lee County.

In his ruling, filed last Saturday but not revealed until after the election, Judge Tyner said that Segrest "cannot have a fair and impartial trial in Macon County."

The judge based his eight-page ruling on newspaper articles and other evidence submitted by Segrest's attorneys, William M. Russell Jr. and Harry D. Raymon, and on testimony in court by county law enforcement officers.

Both sources were used to prove that Tuskegee Institute students and civil rights workers held a series of protest demonstrations after Younge's death, demanding that his killer be found, prosecuted, and convicted.

The judge said "the great majority of the citizens, both Negro and white, of Macon County, Alabama would . . . award the accused a fair and impartial trial." He cited the "sincerity, interest, decorum, dignity and apparent efforts of the juries to be fair" in the Macon County court term which ended last week.

"Yet this court has no way of knowing that members of organizations promoting the demonstrations...after the unfortunate death of Samuel Younge Jr. would not be on the panel of jurors called for the trial of this case, or that some jurors would not be influenced by their actions," the judge continued.

He said "the atmosphere created by the repeated marchings and demonstrations of members of organizations in Macon County, composed in part or promoted by professional agitators . . . is prejudicial to the accused."

Judge Tyner quoted at length from the four newspaper articles.

The judge noted that all four articles and a fifth piece of evidence, a notice of a student mass meeting about Younge's death, referred to events "prior to October 26, 1966," the date set for Segrest's pre-trial hearing. But the judge did not add that all the events took place within a month after Younge's death, or more than nine

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

Helps To Be A Lady And A Democrat

MONTGOMERY--It helped to be a woman and a Democrat in Tuesday's election in Alabama.

Five women were elected to statewide office, led by Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, who won the governor's race by a two-to-one margin over Republican James D. Martin. Independent candidate Dr. Carl Robinson was a respectable third with 50,000 votes.

Democrat Albert Brewer was unopposed for lieutenant governor, and Democrat MacDonald Gallion swamped

BEFORE THE VOTE

his Republican opponent, Don Collins, in the attorney general's race.

U.S. Senator John Sparkman, a Democrat, easily won a fourth term over Republican challenger John Grenier.

And the Democrats regained two of the five U.S. House seats currently held by the Republicans. Democrat Bill Nichols unseated the GOP's Glenn Andrews in the Fourth District, and Democrat Tom Bevill beat Republican Waymon Sherrer for Martin's old Seventh District spot.

Democrats also won all but one of the 141 seats in the state legislature. The lone Republican winner was Leland Childs of Jefferson County.

In the 16th District race for the state Senate, Democrat Tom Radney rolled up a three-to-one margin over Republican J.B. Ruffin.

Radney, a moderate, defeated Ruffin, a conservative, in all three counties--Macon, Elmore, and Tallapoosa.

Amerson Elected Macon Sheriff Despite Sadler Write-In Effort

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Lucius D. Amerson, a barrel-chested, soft-spoken, determined young man, was elected sheriff of Macon County this week.

When he takes office in January, Amerson, a Democrat, will be Alabama's first Negro sheriff in the 20th century.

His victory wasn't easy. After weathering the Democratic primary election May 3 and the run-off May 31, he had to face a strong write-in campaign last Tuesday for the county's present sheriff, Harvey Sadler.

But when the final count was in, the election wasn't even close. Amerson won nearly two votes to every one for Sadler--3,868 to 2,002. Bob Dawson, the 3rd Party For America candidate, limped in third with 149 votes.

Two other Negroes on the Democratic ticket were swept into office without difficulty. L. A. Locklair, the Democratic nominee for tax collector, rolled up well over 4,000 votes to 50 for write-in candidate James L. Braswell Jr.

A last-minute write-in against Harold W. Webb for the county board of revenue came to so few votes that nobody at the courthouse Tuesday night even bothered to put them on the running tally sheet.

Last week, Sadler said the write-in campaign for sheriff was organized by Negroes. But, according to Tuesday's results, most of his best friends were whites.

He won only four out of 25 ballot boxes--three in Notasulga (the only part of the county where whites strongly outnumber Negroes) and one in Little Texas (where whites have a voting majority).

Sadler also won two-thirds of the 135 absentee ballots. Although the write-in effort became public only a few days before the election, Amerson said, "Sadler got write-ins all the way from Viet Nam. He must have planned this thing two or three months ago."

Early or late, Sadler's campaign was well-planned. The election officials at the courthouse said they thought he had the biggest write-in total in Macon County history.

COUNTING THE WRITE-IN VOTES

AMERSON CHECKS THE RETURNS AT HIS HEADQUARTERS

There was one major snag. Shortly after Sadler's friends printed up hundreds of stickers, the state attorney general's office reminded Alabama write-in candidates of a 1954 ruling against stickers.

But most of Sadler's supporters apparently got the message. Fewer than 200 of them used stickers instead of ink or pencil.

About 5,900 voters--nearly two-thirds of them Negroes--went to the polls. The turn-out was 700 less than it was for the May 31 run-off, and 200 below the May 3 primary. Poll-watchers reported that most, but not all, of the missing voters were Negroes.

Some Negroes evidently voted for Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, who topped her May total here by 1,000 ballots. The tally in the governor's race was 2,594 for Mrs. Wallace, 1,629 for independent candidate Dr. Carl Robinson, and 1,308 for Republican Congressman James D. Martin.

While the election officials counted ballots at the courthouse last Tuesday night, Amerson counted poll-watchers' reports at his headquarters in the Tuskegee Federal Savings an Loan building.

As the results began to pour in, a grin spread across Amerson's face. "I had to run three times and beat five men," he said, "but I did it." (Amerson beat Dawson in two elections and Sadler in all three.)

Then the sheriff-elect sat down and wrote out a winner's statement for the television cameras.

"My victory indicates that the people of Macon County want a man who they believe will be fair and impartial in all of his dealings with the people in this county, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin," Amerson said. "I shall uphold and execute the law at all times."

Maddox, Rival Even; Whitley Low

GEORGIA

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--The outcome of the governor's race in Georgia may be up in the air for a long time to come.

A determined write-in movement for former governor Ellis Arnall apparently made it impossible for either Democrat Lester Maddox or Republican Congressman Howard "Bo" Callaway to get a majority.

And a lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) made it likely that the issue will go before a federal court before being finally decided.

With almost all the returns in, Maddox and Callaway each had 47% of the total, and the Arnall write-in had a vital 6%. No candidate can be elected unless he gets more than 50% of the vote.

The election lived up to predictions that it would be close right to the finish. Segregationist Maddox, who closed his Atlanta restaurant rather than serve Negroes, made a strong showing in the rural counties, leaving the cities mainly to Callaway, as was expected.

He also picked up the votes of extreme conservatives and segregationists who made up the core of the vote for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Callaway, who played down his conservative voting record and emphasized the importance of bringing industry into Georgia, got support from some moderate Democrats and Negroes, as well as from full-fledged Republicans.

The write-in movement for Arnall apparently hurt Callaway in particular. It was heaviest in counties where Callaway got a strong majority.

The write-in will probably make its protest felt by landing the election in a legal mess.

The state constitution says that if no candidate receives a majority of the votes, the Georgia legislature will pick the governor from the two highest candidates. But the ACLU of Georgia filed a suit last Wednesday to prevent this, because the present legislature has not yet been reapportioned to meet the "one man, one vote" standard set by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The suit asks the federal court to delay the election by the legislature until reapportionment takes place.

On another front, the write-in headquarters said Wednesday that it had received many complaints of irregularities that might be grounds for seeking a new election.

One charge was that write-in ballots were not furnished to voters along with regular ballots, so

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

MISSISSIPPI

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--"Well, we got one in down in the low country and we might have another up North. But other than that, we didn't do so good," said a Meridian lady as she relaxed on her porch last Wednesday, after a long Tuesday of urging Negro voters to the polls.

In Jefferson County, Robert Williams, 31, of Rodney, received almost twice as many votes as his white opponent, E.P. Breithaupt, for a post on the school board. Williams, a farmer and school bus driver, is the first Negro to be elected to public office in Mississippi in this century.

"But we didn't tell people to vote for him just because he was a Negro," said NAACP field director Charles Evers. Evers said Williams had promised to work for more classrooms and buses, 100% compliance with federal desegregation guidelines, equal pay for teachers with equal qualifications, and equal facilities at all schools.

And in Leflore County, the Rev. J.D. Collins of Greenwood polled 1,740 votes--more than any of the five white men who opposed him in a special election for Beat 3 supervisor. He didn't get a majority of all the votes, though, so he will face his nearest rival, W.L. Kellum, in a run-off Nov. 22.

Collins, 64, runs a shoe repair business in addition to his work as pastor. He said he protested when the ministerial alliance first drafted him to run for the post, but now is "proud they did." He said he has in mind a lot of improvements he wants to work on if elected, particularly in the field of public housing.

But except for Williams and Collins, the election winners in Mississippi were just about the same as always, even though Negro voter registration is five times higher than it was a year ago. (The U.S. Justice Department said it was 172,836 last Sept. 1.)

A half hour after the polls closed, the computers had already declared U.S. Senator James O. Eastland re-elected to a fifth term.

Eastland, a Democrat, campaigned more vigorously than ever before against Republican Prentiss Walker and--late in the campaign--MFDP-backed independent, the Rev. Clifton Whitley.

After Barry Goldwater carried Mississippi in the 1964 Presidential election, many people believed the state was on its way to a two-party system.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Editorial Opinion

'Go' Party Is Gone

The results of Tuesday's election, as expected, were not encouraging for Alabama. It is hard to be hopeful about four years of the Wallaces, MacDonald Gallion, and the rest. But in the long run, the most damaging thing about Election Day, was the total collapse of the Alabama Republican Party.

All over the country, Republican candidates scored impressive victories on Tuesday. But not in Alabama, where the GOP--suffering from disunity, disorganization, and a profound lack of courage--did a good job of destroying itself.

Two-party politics at least raises the hope that the candidates will take opposite stands on the major issues, giving the voters a choice. And that is how many Republicans won last Tuesday--by being different from Democrats. In places like Florida and California, it is true, Republicans won by being more conservative than their liberal Democratic opponents. But responsible Republicans in Arkansas and Maryland were elected because they chose the path of moderation.

Conceding defeat after a mindless campaign for governor, Republican Jim Martin said, "Alabama had a choice, and my opponent won." The truth is that Martin and his running mates didn't have the guts to give the people a choice. They were so afraid of losing their 200,000 die-hard Goldwaterite votes that they refused to offer anything to the thousands of reasonable Alabamians who might have supported them.

Of course, the Wallaces were just about unbeatable, and they pulled other Democratic candidates along with them. Nevertheless, when the voters wanted to--as with Congressman Jack Edwards in Mobile--they didn't have any trouble splitting their tickets. But in most contests, there was no reason

Money Running Out

Free Food For Miss.?

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--Operation Help, Mississippi's free-food program, will run out of money at the end of November.

But Paul J. Ussery, director of the program, said he has been "negotiating" with the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for the past six weeks, and is confident that the government will continue to support Operation Help.

"I feel we will be refunded," Ussery said this week after a round of conferences with OEO officials in Atlanta, Ga. "We've certainly done a lot of good with the money OEO has given Mississippi for surplus food."

An OEO spokesman in Washington said "things look very good" for Operation Help.

The program has given free surplus food to more than 400,000 people in 75 of Mississippi's 82 counties. It began last spring under a special six-month OEO grant, after demonstrations at Greenville Air Force Base and Mt. Beulah had called attention to poverty in Mississippi.

This week as usual, poor people were carrying off cartons full of peanut butter, flour, dry milk, meal, shortening, and chopped meat from the county warehouses. But Operation Help was already laying some off some of its workers.

"They fooled us," said Mrs. Mary Wooten, who was laid off her job of interviewing Lauderdale County applicants for free food. "They told us we would be working until the last of November. Then they came and told us the 31st of October was the last go-round--and that was it."

Ussery said Operation Help would have to stop distributing food in mid-November if it didn't save money by laying off some of the staff.

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Segrest Trial

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

months ago.

The only evidence of a more recent disturbance related to the murder case was given by sheriff's deputy Jack

Surprise Write-In Fails; Negro Coroner in Sumter

BY ROBIN REISIG

MARION--The night before last Tuesday's election, meetings throughout Perry and Sumter counties revealed a write-in campaign for ten Negro candidates who lost in the May Democratic primary. Despite this surprise tactic, all ten candidates lost again.

But, nevertheless, a Negro was elected to office in Sumter County. James Weatherly, an undertaker, ran unopposed as the Democratic nominee, and became the county's first Negro coroner since Reconstruction.

Weatherly's appearance on the political scene was something of a mystery. Sumter County Probate Judge Wilbur E. Dearman said Weatherly had been nominated in the May primary.

But Weatherly and his wife, Mrs. Addie Mae Weatherly, said that wasn't so. "He decided to run about August," said Mrs. Weatherly.

The new coroner, contacted in Chicago where he was attending a meeting of funeral directors, said he did not run in the Democratic primary, but rather was placed on the ballot by the county Democratic executive committee.

Weatherly said he ran because it was his "democratic duty." "I'm a staunch Democrat all the way," he said. "I've never voted anything but the Democratic ticket."

The Negro write-in candidates, supported by the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations (COAPO), hoped to win at least the offices where both Democrats and Republicans were on the ballot. But they ran into troubles.

"We had 3,000 copies of a sticker made with all eight candidates' names on it, but the attorney general said it was illegal," said Albert Turner, who lost to Ira D. Pruitt in the race for state representative, place 1, from Sumter, Perry and Marengo counties.

THE REV. F. N. NIXON

"I think the people had enough votes to win, but the difficulty of a write-in campaign stopped them."

The Rev. F.N. Nixon, who lost to Richard Manley for the district's other seat in the state House, said the defeats of Samuel Little (for school board) and Connie Ruffin (for tax assessor) in Sumter were due in part to "irregularities in boxes."

"When people arrived at the polls," Nixon charged, "they were told, 'We don't know about no Turner or Nixon. They ain't even on the ballot.' A lot of people went home confused because they were given the wrong information."

A similar write-in campaign fell short in Wilcox County.

SNCC Reports Violence, Poll Trouble in Lowndes

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

ver, we'll be saying good-bye to shacks and bad schools. We'll be telling everybody (whites in particular), if you stand in our way and don't move over, we're going to move on over you."

Carmichael came to the church Monday night just hours after being released from jail in Selma. He had been arrested last Saturday while protesting the arrests of two other SNCC workers, Thomas L. Taylor and Stu House. He was charged with inciting a riot.

(Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, attorney for the SNCC workers, asked a federal court to take the cases out of the Selma Recorders Court. He said the arrests were made "for reasons of race and color, for the sole purpose of discouraging activities on behalf of the Negro electorate which might result in Negro participation in local affairs and the government of Dallas County."

(But Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas sent the case back to the Selma court for trial.)

In the Lowndes election on Tuesday, While we were standing by our car, a Negro girl came running to us, saying, 'They're beating up my father.' The policeman was just standing there doing nothing.

"We ran . . . to our car to get some guns and stuff, because some white men had guns and other concealed weapons. We realized that we didn't have enough guns to fight with. Some of those white cats had guns in their pockets. A white man in a uniform shot at our car four times. After this the workers left."

The man who was beaten, Andrew Jones, was rushed to Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma. A hospital spokesman said Wednesday that "his condition is satisfactory."

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Of course, the Wallaces were just about unbeatable, and they pulled other Democratic candidates along with them. Nevertheless, when the voters wanted to--as with Congressman Jack Edwards in Mobile--they didn't have any trouble splitting their tickets. But in most contests, there was no reason for splitting. One narrow-minded racist mouthing the tired litany of "state's rights, free enterprise, and constitutional government" is pretty much like another.

Letters to the Editor

To The Editor:

I think there should be more policeman protection in buses and trains stations, especially late at night when crime seem to have more of a tendency to occur. Now I don't mean some unfair minded person with a badge on.

This year there was an embarrassing racial incident that happen to me at 2 bus stations located in Columbus, Ga., and Montgomery, Ala. I don't know if I was more embarrass than upset. This incident happen when I was waiting to change buses in Columbus, Ga. It was a lots of white people started staring at me and openly talking about me out loud. I heard them very well. There were no policeman in sight, and they started making remarks like these:

"She is nice looking, got a boss shape. We ought to line up and each one of us rape her, then beat hell out of her. Look what she wearing, she must be a Jew. No, she is a Commie. No, she is a Muslem. She seem to be very intelligence. Seem like a New York Slicker, must be rich, she made a long distance phone call, let's get her. She look like a kid, no she not got too much sence to be a kid."

The same thing happen in this pattern this year when I arrived late one night at a bus station in Montgomery, Ala. No policeman was there.

To whom it may consern, I have you know I am God's child.

May I say thanks to that young colored man that got on the bus and was sitting behind me and I heard him make this remark:

"Man, I was just fixing to check out and I saw this young lady sitting over there all by herself and these white guys talking about what they were going to do to her. I said to myself I better take this girl home, I know where she is going. It made my blood boil when I saw one started over toward her. I had my hand on my gun in my pocket, I was just waiting to blow his head off."

I did not want to see any shooting, thank God there wasn't any, but it did make me feel proud that some of our race do care about each other. May God bless that young man, give him the strength to remain a man with dignity and pride.

(Name Withheld)
Union Springs

* * * *

To the Editor:

I, Addie Lily, am a Candidate for public office in Dallas County. Last night at Brown Chapel Church, I requested the privilege to speak to my people as their candidate for Tax Assessor. Rev. P.H. Lewis, Vice-President of the DCVL, refused to allow me to speak. He said, "We don't have any candidates running anyway!"

This refusal hurt me deeply because (No. 1) four years ago when we had our first march, I was there, willing to lend a hand in whatever I could do for my freedom and everybody's. If it had cost my life, I was determined to be there.

(No. 2) I'm hurt because I know that the way is being darkened for the future--for our young people--and I know that we as adults are responsible to create a light so that our children will be able to see the way and get to the top of the hill.

(No. 3) In 1964, I was wounded--standing for dignity and fighting for freedom--and last night, I was not even allowed to speak to the people I am fighting for.

MRS. ADDIE LILY

(No. 4.) In 1965, I was wounded and gassed on the Pettus Bridge on Black Sunday, marching for the right to vote.

(No. 5) In 1966, I went all the way out to help my people. I taught seven classes to help prepare my people to vote wisely. Through my teaching, I was able to help my people see a better life for themselves. What Rev. F.D. Reese and Lewis are doing will not stop me. I have doubled my determination to fight on, and I will never turn back. "Before I'd be a slave, I'd rather be dead and in my grave, and gone home to be at rest."

Mrs. Addie Lily
Selma

already laying some off some of its workers.

"They fooled us," said Mrs. Mary Wooten, who was laid off her job of interviewing Lauderdale County applicants for free food. "They told us we would be working until the last of November. Then they came and told us the 31st of October was the last go-round--and that was it."

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Segrest Trial

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

months ago.

The only evidence of a more recent disturbance related to the murder case was given by sheriff's deputy Jack Ayscue in court last week.

Tyner quoted Ayscue as saying: "Mr. Segrest left court (on Oct. 26) and I was asked to follow him and I went out in front of the courthouse and was standing on the steps and I wasn't talking to anyone and a group of the same demonstrators turned around and started cursing me and calling me vulgar names."

In his ruling, Judge Tyner quoted several past court decisions. One of them said, "With his life at stake, it is not requiring too much that (the defendant) be tried in an atmosphere undisturbed by so huge a wave of public passion."

In this case, Segrest's life is not at stake. The penalty for second degree murder is a prison sentence of not less than ten years. A jury could lower the charge, but could not raise it.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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(But Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas sent the case back to the Selma court for trial.)

In the Lowndes election on Tuesday, several incidents were reported from the polling places.

A Negro man said that in one polling place, "some white men would open the curtains with their hand, and look into the booth while the Negroes were voting."

As the SNCC workers left Hayneville, they met a car carrying a Negro man who had been beaten in Fort Deposit.

Ronald William Woodard III, a SNCC worker, told what happened: "We were at the poll. We had a little bit of trouble all day. There was a lot of confusion. People were challenging."

"Whites started to standing around, getting into arguments with SNCC workers, saying, 'I'm going to get you,'" Woodard continued. "About 6 p.m., they were winning . . . . We figured there wouldn't be any trouble right then.

First Vote in Grenada: 'Just Need a Name'

BY GAIL FALK

GRENADA, Miss.--A plump Negro lady in a black-and-white house dress paused in front of the Grenada County Courthouse last Tuesday afternoon and looked both ways with an anxious expression. Then she shrugged her shoulders, stood up straight, and marched on in.

A few seconds later, a pink-faced man in a sports shirt paused at the same door and looked inside at the long lines of Negroes waiting at registration tables. His face and neck turned red, but he shrugged his shoulders too, and went on in.

It was the first time thousands of Negroes in Grenada and elsewhere around the state had voted, and it didn't come easy for lots of people.

In Grenada, fewer than 700 Negroes were registered in the county when the Meredith March came through last June. But federal examiners were busy registering people all summer, and the total is around 3,000 now. Only 37 people in the county voted for the Rev. Clifton Whitley in the June primary. But on Tuesday, more than 1,300 did.

"All you need's a name," one of the poll workers said to an old Negro man who looked worried because he didn't have a poll tax receipt.

A Negro election official helped illiterate people mark their ballots, and she helped find out the addresses of nervous Negroes who had trouble talking to the white officials. Even Grenada County Constable Grady Carroll--who recently served time in federal prison after attacking a civil rights lawyer--opened the door for a Negro lady.

But civil rights forces around the state claimed things didn't go so smoothly everywhere for new voters.

In Jefferson County, said NAACP field director Charles Evers, white school board candidate E. P. Breithaupt had a polling place in his store. Evers said Negroes there weren't being permitted to assist their friends who couldn't read the ballot, and a local official was telling the illiterate voters to vote for the white candidate.

When the trouble was reported to the FBI, said Evers, investigators came down to the store and cleared up the interference.

Eastland Wins

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

But after Eastland's landslide victory (nearly two-thirds of all the votes cast for senator), State Democratic Party Chairman Bidwell Adams boasted that the Republican party had been "crushed and demolished . . . in Mississippi."

And anyone who hoped the vote for Whitley, a Negro, would be a demonstration of Negro voting power was disappointed. Whitley failed to carry a single county, and his total was several thousand below the 34,323 he polled when he ran in the June Democratic primary.

Heavily-Negro Jefferson and Claiborne counties, the only two counties with majorities for Whitley last June, went for Walker, the Republican, on Tuesday.

Negro Congressional candidates, Dock Drummond (Second District) and Mrs. Emma Sanders (Third District), both lost by large margins.

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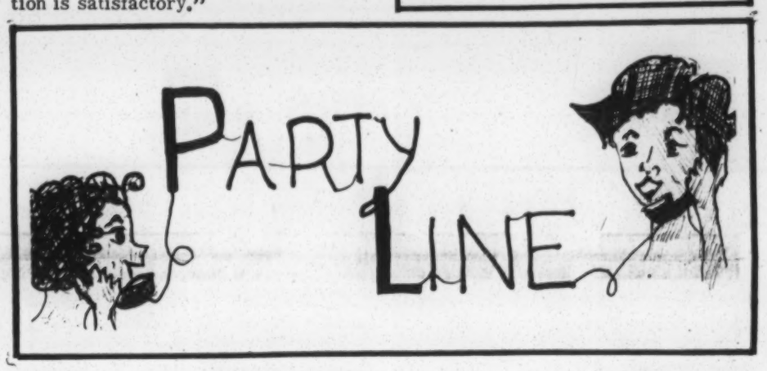


Montgomery

Mrs. Barbara H. Flowers of the Southern Courier staff gave birth to a baby daughter, Kami Kadell, at 3:15 a.m. last Saturday morning. The baby, who weighed six pounds and some ounces, is the second daughter for Mrs. Flowers and her husband, Robert. Mother and baby are both doing well, father not so good. (From Ruby and Levetia Howard)

Detroit, Mich.

Five months after he was ambushed in Mississippi, James Meredith says he will return--but he won't say when or how. "My purpose is yet to be accomplished," he said here last week. "I couldn't live in good conscience with

my purpose still undone." Meredith said, "The Negro today is nowhere near where the Negro thinks he is..... The very poor in our race are worse off now than they were 20 years ago." Meredith was here to organize the James Meredith Foundation, a private group that will work for political education and voter registration all over the country. (From Robert E. Smith)

Meridian, Miss.

The Meridian First Union Baptist Church Credit Union recently made its first loan to one of its members. The executive directors of the credit union have temporarily limited the amount anyone can borrow to $50. They said this will be increased as new members give the credit union more assets. They also said they hope LEAP (the Lauderdale Economic Assistance Program) will help to support the credit union. (From Patricia James)

St. Petersburg, Fla.

The Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches is calling for a state civil rights law in its 1967 legislative program. The law would provide for fair employment practices, open housing, and desegregation of public accommodations and public and private schools. "It is time that segregation and discrimination be completely wiped from the face of this state," the NAACP said.

Heron Bay

Two crosses were burned last weekend in front of the Head Start center here. Classes in the center have been integrated since last August. The crosses weren't very big. One had been fashioned from a highway marker. The other, some Heron Bay residents noted, looked quite a bit like a Veterans of Foreign Wars memorial cross.

Heidelberg, Miss.

Mary Schaeffer, a civil rights worker in Jasper County, got a scare last Saturday when her car caught on fire. But she was not hurt at all. She said flames started coming out of the rear wheel of her car because of bad brakes, and the fire almost got to the gas tank. The car's name is Constance, short for "constant struggle." (From Patricia James)

Washington, D.C.

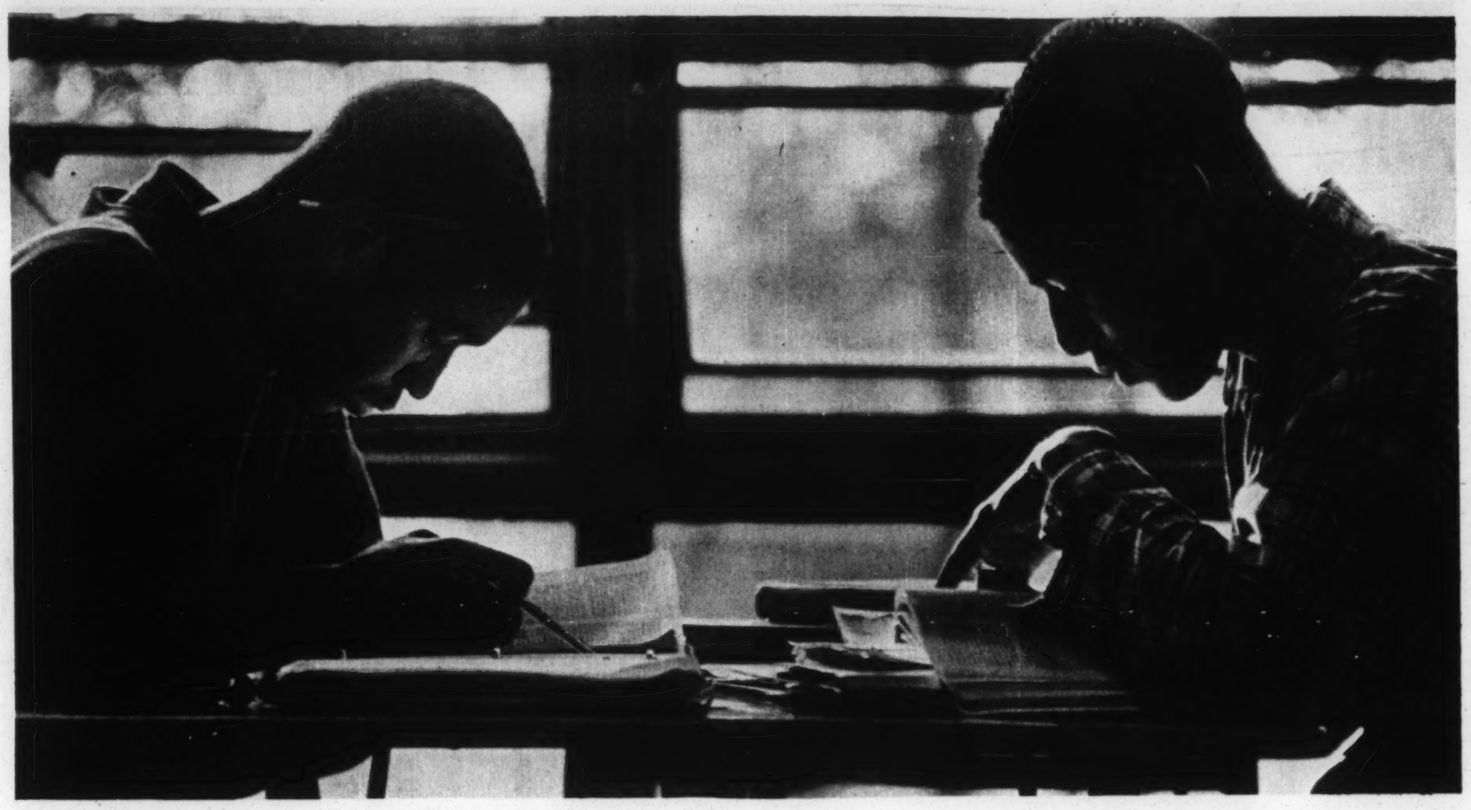
Walter Dukes, a former college and professional basketball star, has been appointed as an attorney in the solicitor's office of the U.S. Labor Department. He is assigned to New York City.

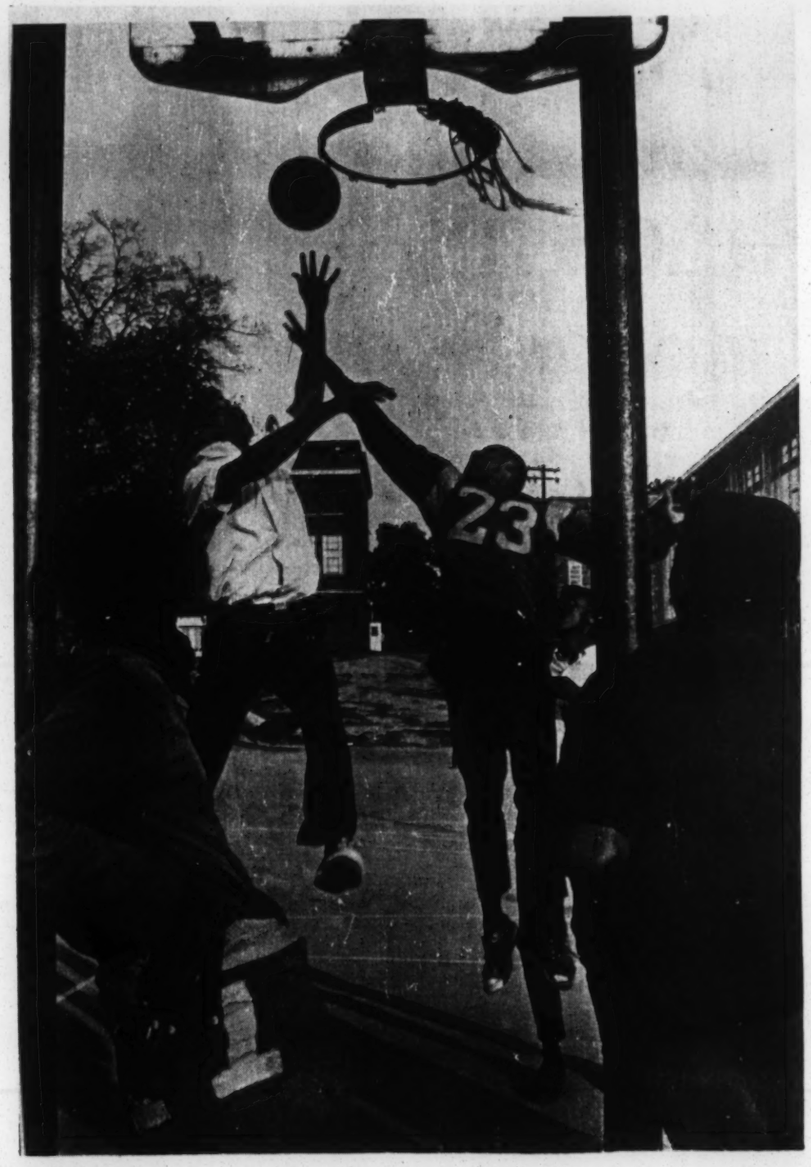
Meridian, Miss.

A free-for-all developed in the halls of Meridian High School last Tuesday morning, after a white boy bumped a Negro girl on the way to her first-period class. The girl, Miss Brenda Clayton, started to hit the boy, but was pulled back by a companion, Miss Georgette Leflore. But a few seconds later, the boy bumped into Miss Leflore, who this time hit him in the stomach. Not long after, the same boy got into a hair-pulling battle with Miss Dorothy Moore. And Miss Gwen Clark got into it with another white boy nearby in the hall. Miss Clark hit the boy she was fighting over the head. Miss Moore kicked the other boy, and he fell to the floor. Both Miss Moore and Miss Clark were sent home from school. (From Patricia James)

Mobile

"A Short Course in Negro History" held the first of its six meetings last Sunday in the Church of the Good Shepherd in Toulminville. The course, which covers the years from the Civil War through the civil rights movement, is being sponsored by the Mobile Council on Human Relations. The next five meetings will be held on Sunday evenings at 7:30 p.m.





The Campus Scene

The Campus Scene

Photographs by Jim Peppler

SCHOOL PROBLEMS IN 3 COUNTIES

Akron Children Continue Boycott Of One-Room Elementary School

BY ROBIN REISIG

AKRON -- Every window in the Martin Mission Elementary School here was smashed a month ago.

The windows have beer patched with plastic, but nothing has yet patched together a solution for the problems that have been jarring Akron's Negro schools all fall.

Broken windows are only a part of the story. Children have been boycotting Martin Mission since two weeks after school started, because they want to attend the larger, better equipped Negro school--Akron Public School.

Their complaints have not been given much official notice. Last week Caesar Tillman, principal of Akron Public School, claimed, "I haven't heard of the boycott. We have no boycott."

But even Tillman's school participated in a "sympathy boycott." For two weeks near the beginning of the term, attendance at Akron Public School dropped to as low as 40 (580 is normal), parents say, as Akron Public School children showed their support of Martin Mission children.

Martin Mission is an elementary school usually enrolling somewhere between 65 and 85 students. It has one room, divided by a curtain to form two rooms. Each "room" contains three grades. The school has no water, and only an out-house for a bathroom, parents complain.

"Sometimes my children can't get heat," claims Mrs. Mattie Walton, the mother of three boycotting children.

And that wasn't all. "The teachers are not kind to the children," Mrs. Walton said.

"The children did most of the teaching," recalls a former student, Miss Celia May Hays, 15.

The parents say that Akron Public School has two empty rooms--enough space for the children from Martin Mission.

The parents also say that seven similar schools in Hale County have been closed, and that Martin Mission should be closed.

And the parents say that school supervisor John C. Tucker and his wife, who teaches at Martin Mission, told them that their children could go to Akron Public School this fall.

The trouble started when fall came and the parents tried to enroll their children in Akron Public. "Every time we go down there, they turn us around and they wouldn't let the children in," said Mrs. Walton. She has tried to enroll her children five times since school started.

Eventually, the children might have returned quietly to Martin Mission. But, according to Mrs. Walton, Tucker "hi-jacked"--or took over--a school bus. She said he forced two little girls, who insisted on going to Akron Public School instead of Martin Mission, to walk miles home in the rain.

After that, the boycott went into full force. For a while, parents say, only five children were attending the small school--and two of them were Mrs. Tucker's. A few more have drifted back now.

But the boycotting parents have taken some new actions, too. Mrs. Rebecca Ward said that her children and others have turned in their Martin Mission books. Some parents are circulating a petition calling for the removal from office of Tillman, Tucker, and Hale County Schools Superintendent Robert E. Ramey.

"My duty is to administer the school program. It's not my duty to determine where a child goes to school," Tillman said.

"The laws are handed down and we carry out orders," commented Mrs. Tucker.

There was another kind of trouble over the boycott when some 15 Negro students transferred to predominantly white Akron schools under a federal court order late in September.

"The (Akron Public School) principal said, 'You have days with zeros waiting on you when you enroll in every class,' because we had boycotted school. Then he asked us did we still want to enroll," transfer student Larry Williams said.

Nineteen Negro students had been admitted to mostly white Hale County schools at the start of the term. But 184 Negroes had requested transfers. On Sept. 15, federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas ordered the white schools to accept re-applications for a period of several days.

The Negro students at Akron Public School are not satisfied with permission to attend classes there. They want the same privileges that white students have.

"The lessons are kind of hard on my son Willie Lee," Mrs. Rose Lee Cheesboro said, "but he might like it better if they allowed him to play football."

"We asked the principal," Williams said, "and he said we wouldn't be able to play this year, but he'd try to make arrangements so we can play next year."

THESE AKRON CHILDREN ARE PICKING COTTON THIS FALL, INSTEAD OF GOING TO MARTIN MISSION ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

Choctaw Students Crowd Classes at Shady Grove

BY GAIL FALK

SILAS, Ala.--When school opened this year, Mrs. Gladys Harrison had 60 children in her second-grade class at all-Negro Shady Grove High School. The school's sixth-grade teacher had 52 students.

All in all, said principal George Moore, Shady Grove had an increase of more than 100 students over last year's enrollment of about 400.

Was it the beginning of a population explasion in this sparsely settled West Alabama county? No, say the teachers, the students transferred to Shady Grove under the new county-wide freedom-of-choice plan.

Freedom-of-choice forms, required by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to give Negro parents a chance to enroll their children in white schools, were mailed out in Choctaw County last spring. But, said a Shady Grove teacher, "Those parents weren't thinkin' of no white school."

No Negro students are attending classes at all-white South Choctaw High School in Silas. But many parents used the forms to transfer their children from all-Negro Melvin Junior High Moore. (Shady Grove is larger than Melvin, and it has a football team.) "And some changed because their brothers and sisters were here at the high school."

Mrs. Caressa Ray, who taught first grade at Melvin last year, said, "At Melvin they had outside facilities, and the children would have to go out in the cold to get to them. They found out they were inside at Shady Grove."

There were so few students up at Melvin that one teacher could take both the first and second grades. So Mrs. Ray was hired to help out Mrs. Harrison at Shady Grove. The high school also hired another sixth-grade teacher.

But there were no extra rooms at already-crowded Shady Grove. Instead, wooden partitions had to be built down the middle of the second-and sixth-grade classrooms, so that two classes now meet in rooms meant for one.

County Schools Superintendent W. M. Wimberly said he hopes some room can be added to Shady Grove by next year. He said there's "nothing racial" about the over-crowding.

Eight hundred students, he said, are "packed in like sardines" in space meant for 600 at mostly-white Choctaw

Bullock Parents Say Hot Lunches

Cost Too Much for Poor Pa

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Why did the children change? "Children like to go with the crowd," said "And some changed because their brothers and sisters were here at the high school."

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tried to enroll her children five times since school started.

Eventually, the children might have returned quietly to Martin Mission. But, according to Mrs. Walton, Tucker "hi-jacked"--or took over--a school bus. She said he forced two little girls, who insisted on going to Akron Public School instead of Martin Mission, to walk miles home in the rain.

After that, the boycott went into full force. For a while, parents say, only five children were attending the small school--and two of them were Mrs. Tucker's. A few more have drifted back now.

But the boycotting parents have taken some new actions, too. Mrs. Rebecca Ward said that her children and others have turned in their Martin Mission books. Some parents are circulating a petition calling for the removal from office of Tillman, Tucker, and Hale County Schools Superintendent Robert E. Ramey.

"My duty is to administer the school program. It's not my duty to determine where a child goes to school," Tillman said.

"The laws are handed down and we carry out orders," commented Mrs. Tucker.

There was another kind of trouble over the boycott when some 15 Negro students transferred to predominantly white Akron schools under a federal court order late in September.

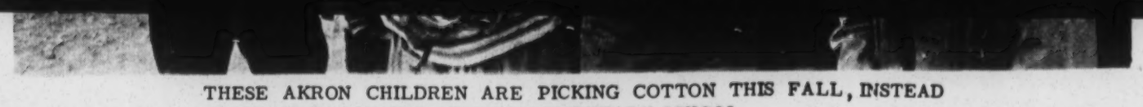
"The (Akron Public School) principal said, 'You have days with zeros waiting on you when you enroll in every class,' because we had boycotted school. Then he asked us did we still want to enroll," transfer student Larry Williams said.

Nineteen Negro students had been admitted to mostly white Hale County schools at the start of the term. But 184 Negroes had requested transfers. On Sept. 15, federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas ordered the white schools to accept re-applications for a period of several days.

The Negro students at Akron Public School are not satisfied with permission to attend classes there. They want the same privileges that white students have.

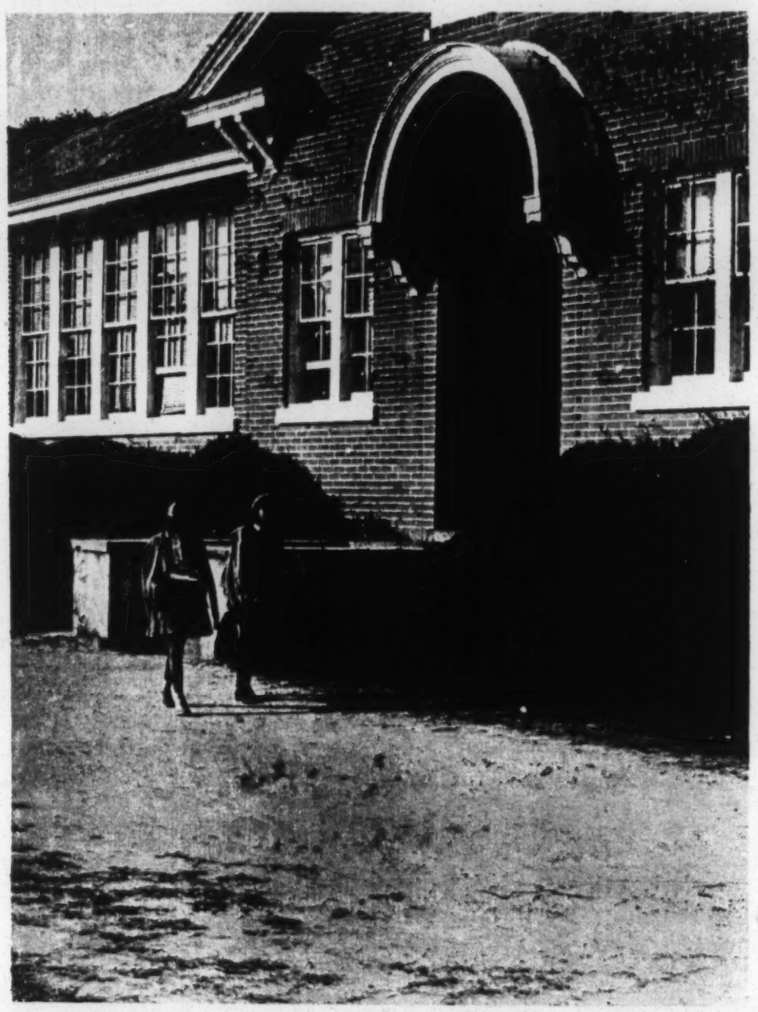
"The lessons are kind of hard on my son Willie Lee," Mrs. Rose Lee Cheesboro said, "but he might like it better if they allowed him to play football."

"We asked the principal," Williams said, "and he said we wouldn't be able to play this year, but he'd try to make arrangements so we can play next year."



THESE AKRON CHILDREN ARE PICKING COTTON THIS FALL, INSTEAD OF GOING TO MARTIN MISSION ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

Bullock Parents Say Hot Lunches Cost Too Much for Poor People



INVERNESS SCHOOL ENROLLS ABOUT 400 STUDENTS. ONLY 65 OF THEM EAT IN THE LUNCHROOM. PARENTS SAY THE PRICE IS TOO HIGH.

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

INVERNESS -- Bullock County Technical High School doesn't look like a Negro school. That's because it wasn't--not until this year. It used to be Inverness Elementary School for white children.

The 400 Negro students who go to Bullock County Tech have a lot of facilities they didn't have at their old elementary schools near here. One of those new facilities is a lunchroom serving hot lunches.

But the lunchroom isn't very popular. Only 65 students eat there regularly.

At last month's PTA meeting, Principal Albert Lancaster asked the parents to start supporting the lunchroom. "We can't operate this way," he said. "We can't pay our bills."

Lovie D. Crawford, of Corinth, father of six children, stood up. "We can't pay our bills either," he told Lancaster. "That 35 cents for lunch is just too much for a large family."

Then, Crawford said later, "Some smart joker with no kids got up and said it wasn't his fault I had so many going."

That made a lot of people angry. And, since the PTA meeting, other parents with small incomes and big families have complained about the cost of lunch at Bullock County Technical High school.

Now school officials have dropped the price to 30 cents a day, but the parents still say it's too much.

"I really can't afford it," said Miss Willie Grace Thornton, of Aberfoil, who takes care of her own five children and two of her sister's children. "I only make $15 a week. By the time I get through buyin' groceries, I ain't got nothin' left. And every time you turn around, those children need somethin' to wear."

MRS. ODIS LEE KING AND THREE OF HER TEN CHILDREN

Mrs. Odis Lee King, who has ten young children and a four-room house in Aberfoil, said almost the same thing. "My husband, he makes $47 a week, but all 12 of us have to live on it."

She looked down at the ground through the warped boards in the floor of her small home. "I had a stroke. I can't do nothing but my house work. My grown children are away--they're no help to me now.

"I want to do the best I can and put my children through high school. But the lunch is too much. I feel like them what's able to pay, they go on paying for it--but I can't."

Crawford and Mrs. King said they didn't feel anyone was really trying to force them to buy the lunches. But Miss Thornton saw it differently.

"They was insistin' on it," she said. "It's wrong when we can't afford it."

Bullock County Schools Superintendent Edward M. Lindbloom agreed that forcing people to buy lunches would be wrong. "We wouldn't want to do that," he said. "We try to give as low a price as possible to encourage them. Thirty cents doesn't seem high to me.

"I know anything is too high for the people on welfare, but I don't know what else we can do."

Some parents said the federal government should provide the school lunches. "The law says you pay zero to 35 cents depending on what you have," claimed H. O. Williams, of Union Springs. "This is an ideal situation where the county could prosper by taking a government hand-out--but the white folks just don't care about us."

But Lindbloom and Lancaster, the principal, said they didn't know of any federal funds available for the lunch program. "We get rice and beans free," Lancaster said, "but that's about all we can get."

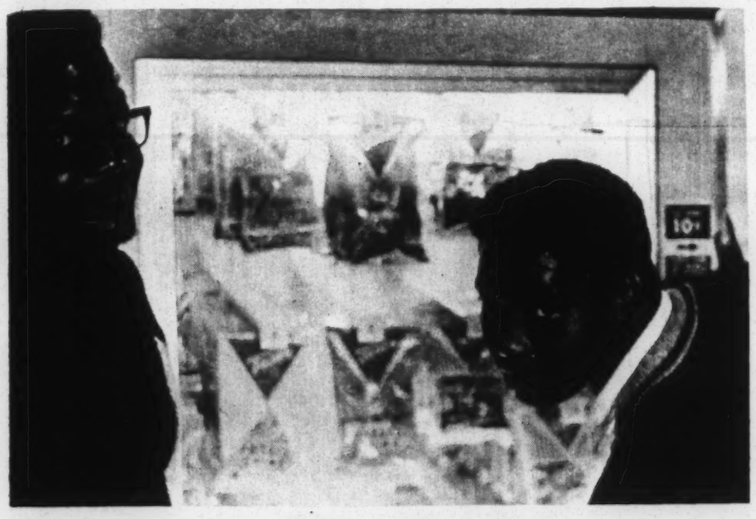
Lancaster said part of the problem was that the children haven't gotten used to the lunchroom.

"Some of them still put 40-50 cents a day into the cookie machine," he said. "That machine takes in $85 to $90 every week.

"I know there are some people who can't afford lunch, but it's mostly the larger people that will not participate."

The principal suggested that the richer parents get together and buy lunches for the children who can't afford them. "Myself and several bus drivers have purchased lunches for several children," he said. "But the parental element has said nothing so far. I think we could work this thing out if we come together."

While the parents and school officials were talking about lunchroom prices, the students had a different complaint. "It's 30 cents for nothing," said one teen-ager. "The food is no good."



BUT THE VENDING MACHINES ARE BUSY.

Over High Food Prices

Ladies Picket In Meridian

BY PATRICIA JAMES

MERIDIAN, Miss.--Meridian housewives have begun a boycott to protest high grocery prices.

Mrs. Annie Gathright, a Negro woman, said a white woman called her on the phone last week and asked her to come down and help picket. "She (the white woman) told me to get anyone else to come and help picket," Mrs. Gathright said. "She did not tell me her name."

Mrs. Gathright and Mrs. Agnes Smith, project director of MFDP in Meridian, picketed the A & P grocery store.

"There was no integrated picket line," said Mrs. Smith.

"When we got up there, the ladies were gone," said Mrs. Gathright. "We picketed a while and then left, because it got so cold."

"We were picketing because we want lower food prices," she said. "I will picket some more."

"We are picketing for lower food prices and to do away with the stamps, games, and gimmicks," said Mrs. Peggy Rushing, a white lady speaking for the women picketing at the Winn-Dixie grocery store last Saturday.

"This is just the local housewives of the Meridian area picketing," she said. She said her group had asked the MFDP for help.

"We are going to continue to picket until the stamps, games, and gimmicks are done away with, and the prices are down," said Mrs. Rushing.

But one Meridian housewife said

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 6)

More to Come in Greene

BY ROBIN REISIG

EUTAW--Don't go away, folks. The election still isn't over.

The Rev. Peter J. Kirksey, winner in the May 31 Democratic primary runoff, became the only Negro member of the Greene County school board by winning last Tuesday's election.

But that wasn't all. A federal court gave two more Negro candidates--the Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore and the Rev. Percy McShan--hope that they still might get on the ballot for sheriff and tax assessor.

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals last week ordered Greene County not to hold elections for these two offices until the courts can decide whether Gilmore and McShan have a right to be on the ballot. These offices were not voted on last Tuesday.

Gilmore and McShan have tried to run as candidates of the Greene County Freedom Organization. And they have challenged the results of the May 3 primary, in which Gilmore lost to the present Sheriff Bill Lee and McShan was beaten by present Tax Assessor M.A. Cook.

The appeals court ruling gives them time to prove they belong on the ballot. The court told them, though, that they must decide whether they want to be independent or possible Democratic candidates.

Kirksey had won the Democratic school board nomination in the May 31 run-off. He was threatened in Tuesday's election by a low Negro turnout and a write-in campaign for white candidate R. Sebron Colson. His winning margin was a narrow 100 votes.

THE REV. PETER J. KIRKSEY

Kirksey said he expects to "work harmoniously" with the other board members, "for the good of all concerned."

He said he ran for the office because, "after working with the civil rights group here, my boy was thrown in jail for four days. I couldn't get any consideration from the school officials or the board.

"After I got him out, I decided if there was someone on the board, some of our people, maybe we'd get more consideration."

Meanwhile, two SNCC workers were arrested in the county last week, after the Greene County Freedom Organization issued a statement through the Atlanta (Ga.) SNCC office protesting the fact that Gilmore and McShan weren't on the ballot.

The statement said the group would "elect and support candidates of our own choosing, therefore becoming and functioning as a sovereign black community of America . . . . If met with armed aggression by the white power structure, we are fully prepared for armed resistance."

On Nov. 3, SNCC workers George Greene and Rap Brown were arrested for grand larceny. Two days later, Justice of the Peace Fulton G. Durett bound them over to the grand jury on the charge of allegedly stealing a rifle.

There was still a question as to who was speaking for whom in the county. Although the freedom organization

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

Lauderdale Anti-Poverty Board Debates Youth Corps Program

BY PATRICIA JAMES

MERIDIAN, Miss. -- Lauderdale County's new anti-poverty board didn't have much trouble agreeing on a charter and by-laws at its meeting Nov. 2. But when it came to deciding on the first project for LEAP (the Lauderdale Economic Assistance Program), there was plenty of disagreement.

Obie Clark, community action specialist for STAR, Inc., Meridian's adult-education program, described plans for a 12-month Neighborhood Youth Corps program to provide jobs for 150 school drop-outs between the interested after a conversation with one principal. But Assistant Schools Superintendent Arno Vincent said they would be interested, if they were contacted through the proper channels.

Finally, the LEAP board agreed that a proposal from the school board should be sent to the federal office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) along with the original proposal.

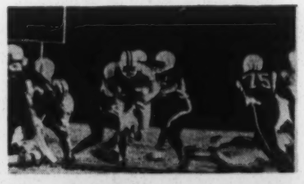
The following officers were elected at the meeting: Charles Young, president; Abe Taylor, vice president; Mrs. O.D. Polk, secretary; Frank Giffin, treasurer; and William Compton, parlia-

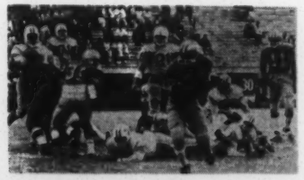
THE GAME OF THE YEAR!!

Geo. W. Carver High School

VS.

Booker T. Washington High School





CRAMTON BOWL--MONTGOMERY

1:30 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 12

In Montgomery, Ala.

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WRMA News airs racial, civic, and social information.

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Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
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NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

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The program he described called for $26,000 in salaries for full-time people like the project director, bookkeeper, secretary and two counselors.

The boys and girls in the Youth Corps would be paid $1.25 an hour.

But some LEAP board members thought the plan had been drawn up too hastily, and others complained that the Meridian school board had not been properly contacted. They said the Youth Corps members must take six hours of classes while they are working, but no arrangements had been made for cooperation with the public schools.

STAR director Connie Moore said he concluded the public schools weren't interested after a conversation with one principal. But Assistant Schools Superintendent Arno Vincent said they would be interested, if they were contacted through the proper channels.

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CR Poet Reads At Samford U.

SHADES VALLEY -- Conservative Samford University met civil rights poet John Beecher here last week. Both survived.

The campus literary club invited Beecher to read from his new book of poems, "To Live and Die in Dixie," which deals in part with injustices against Negroes. Afterwards, the white-bearded poet said he thought "a new day is dawning in Birmingham."

Two hundred people attended the reading, said literary club president Phil Mattar, making it "the largest single meeting the club has ever had in its entire history."

"I've never had a more enthusiastic or polite audience in my life," said Beecher. He said 60 of his books were sold, and a university official even asked for an autograph. "It showed that students in the most conservative institution in the state really want things to be different," Beecher said.

Beecher said the university administration tried to keep him from giving the reading. But Mrs. Margaret Sizemore, a dean at Samford, said she didn't know about any such attempt.

Shortly after Beecher's reading was announced, Mattar and the literary club's vice president, Jim Huskey, were charged with breaking a Samford social rule. Mattar said this was "most probably purely accidental." He and Huskey face possible disciplinary action.

GEORGIA RACE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

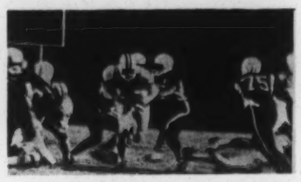
that people writing in Arnall had to ask for them. "Everybody in the whole damn gymnasium knows how I voted," growled one man.

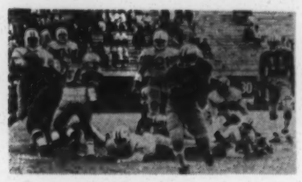
If no one is elected before Governor Carl Sanders' term expires Jan. 15, either he or Lieutenant Governor-elect George T. Smith will serve until the new governor is finally chosen.

Geo. W. Carver High School

VS.

Booker T. Washington High School





CRAMTON BOWL--MONTGOMERY

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"Say It Isn't So" THE FASCINATIONS

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FOOTBALL TICKETS--Wanted: two tickets to the Lee-Lanier game in Montgomery. Call 262-5491.

FRENCH CLASS--Classes being organized in Meridian for students who want to catch up or get ahead in French. Call 483-6757.

RECEPTIONIST--Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M. B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10025.

GOOD JOB--Wanted: Agent and managers to earn up to $500 per month in their spare time, with Merlite Life-Time guaranteed light bulbs. If interested, contact T. L. Crenshaw, 923 Adeline St., Montgomery.

CAR FOR SALE--1954 Ford sedan, V-8 engine, air-conditioned, overdrive. $225. Phone 262-7010 in Montgomery, in the morning or before 7:30 p.m. in the evening.

BEAUTY PAGEANT--The Uniontown Civic & Business League will sponsor its first beauty pageant, at the Robert C. Hatch High School gymnasium Nov. 25 at 7:30 p.m. The pageant is open to all girls between the age of 16-21. All contestants must be residents of Uniontown. All contestants must submit applications on or before Oct. 25. Contestants may be sponsored by any club, organization, church or social group. Application blanks can be obtained at Moore's Grocery, Robert C. Hatch High School, or from any member of the civic league. The purpose of the pageant is to establish a scholarship fund for some deserving student who has the potentials of making a good college student.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

Mrs. Isaac Dickson

of the First C ME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my

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Game of the Week

Carver of Montgomery Rolls On

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Hartwell Field aged considerably last Saturday as two big games were fought out before unusually large crowds. Montgomery's Carver High Wolverines defeated the Lions of Williamson High, 25 to 7, in afternoon action, and the Mobile Central Wildcats romped over Blount High's Leopards, 38 to 12, in the evening.

Oscar Belser got the Montgomery team off to a first-quarter lead with a 41-yard pass to Willie Arrington. But Williamson rallied for a 7-6 halftime lead, as Robert Cade plunged four yards for a TD and Aubrey Allen kicked the extra point.

The game then bogged down until the fourth quarter, when the Carver Wolverines rolled up 19 points against the Lions. Archie Robinson tallied on runs of 25 and two yards, and Belser passed 30 yards to Johnny Collins. Robert Randell added an extra point.

The win pushed Carver's record to eight wins without a loss. It was Williamson's second defeat.

The surprising Carver juggernaut faces cross-town enemy Booker T. Washington this Saturday.

It was a hard day for Williamson, but it was an even harder night for Blount. James Lewis scored four touchdowns and Ernest Taylor added two, as Central pushed its record to 7 and 1.

Blount's Matthew Hudson drove 15 yards for the game's first TD, giving the Leopards a 6-0 first quarter lead. But Blount soon got a taste of things to come, as the Wildcats' Lewis ran 88 yards down the sideline to tie the game.

Central's Taylor followed this with an even more spectacular charge through the middle for 56 yards and another TD. Blount hung on, however, and narrowed the gap to 13 to 12 at half-time on a successful 30-yard pass from Reginald Niles to Winston Woods.

But the Wildcats came back stronger than ever in the third quarter, scattering the Leopards with a 44-yard pass from Donald Bell to Lewis in the corner of the end-zone, a seven-yard break by Taylor, and a 64-yard pass to Lewis.

This combination was repeated again in the final minutes of the game, as Bell connected with Lewis for 30 yards, and a 38-12 final margin.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. in the Morning Star Baptist Church, 1600 Slayden Ave. Sherman Heights, the Rev. William A. Hamilton, pastor. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth will be in town.

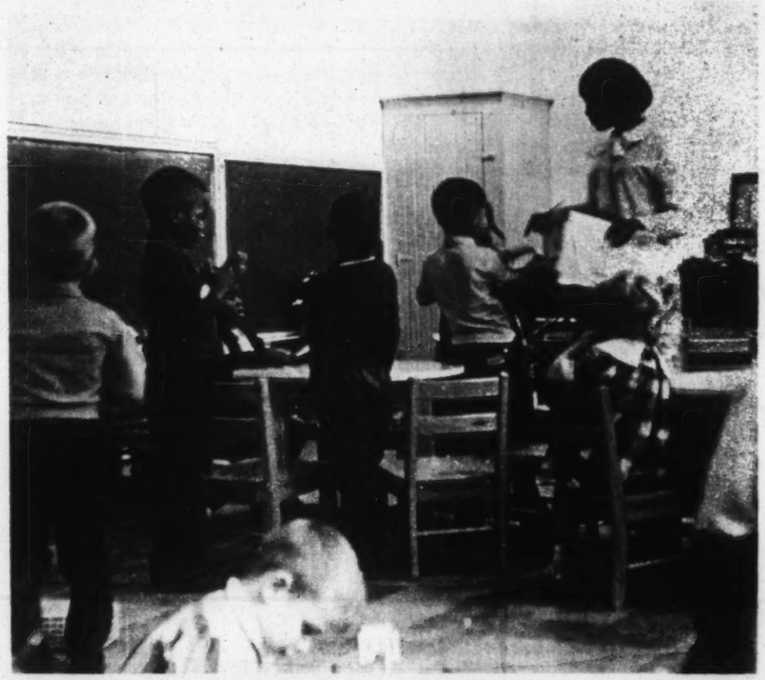
GREENE VOTE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

statement was issued through SNCC, McShan identified himself as being "with SCLC and part of COAPO (the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations).

"The freedom organization," McShan said, "in the minds of the people is similar with black power. That's the kind of thing we're trying to get around. That brings up violence, and we can easily get into trouble. I think we should denounce violence as much as possible."

Federal Grant Revives Head Start in Mobile



HEAD START CLASS IN MOBILE

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--"I certainly am glad that the government has befunded you," said a five-year old boy to a teacher-aide.

A government grant of $1,200,000 has put Head Start classes here back in operation. And the grant will eventually pay for 14 pre-school centers in Mobile, Washington, and Clarke counties.

The Head Start programs weren't the only evidence that the War on Poverty is starting up again in earnest here. Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen's Anti-poverty Committee, sponsor of Head Start, also received a grant of $391,115 to start a Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

And finally, the U.S. Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare approved $166,- getting back to normal.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was ready to go, even before it got the official green light from Washington. Enrollment began two weeks ago for about 200 school drop-outs between the ages of 16 and 21. The Youth Opportunity Center in Mobile will refer these youths for job training in the Mobile, Prichard, and Chickasaw areas. Members of the Youth Corps also will receive counseling and remedial education.

Two manpower projects will train 20 auto mechanics and 20 auto body repairmen for about a year. Then the trainees will be able to get jobs through the Alabama State Employment Office. The state of Alabama has put up $8,014 of the manpower program's cost.

HIGH PRICES

WJLD

1400 on Your Dial

Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW

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12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

BIG D RADIO

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MALDEN BROTHERS BARBER SHOP
407 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama
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Nelson and Spurgeon Malden

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the Christian principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.

HEAD START CLASS IN MOBILE

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And finally, the U.S. Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare approved $166,-982 for Mobile's Manpower Development and Training Act projects.

Head Start's summer grant ran out last August. A full-year program involving over 1,000 pre-school children was supposed to begin in mid-September, but it had to be postponed.

"It took longer for OEO (the Office of Economic Opportunity) to process the application than we had expected," said the Rev. Thomas Nunan, chairman of the archibishop's committee.

"We were told we'd be laid off for about six days," said Miss Peggy Stallworth, one of the teachers who had been waiting since August for Head Start to start again. But this week, things were getting back to normal.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was ready to go, even before it got the official green light from Washington. Enrollment began two weeks ago for about 200 school drop-outs between the ages of 16 and 21. The Youth Opportunity Center in Mobile will refer these youths for job training in the Mobile, Prichard, and Chickasaw areas. Members of the Youth Corps also will receive counseling and remedial education.

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HIGH PRICES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

she couldn't see that the boycott had done any good.

"I don't see any difference," said Mrs. Rosa Lee Leflore. "I needed some shortening today -- I use Snowdrift. That's usually 78¢, and it was up to 83¢. Sugar was down to 49¢, but that's the way it always is---some things up, some down."

The Meridian boycott is part of a nation-wide movement by housewives to end high food costs.

The movement began in Denver, Colorado, where some success was scored, and has spread to practically every corner of the nation.

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Youths Sent To Reform School

BY GAIL FALK

HEIDELBERG, Miss.--Mrs. Mary Alice Thomas went to visit her 15-year-old son, Percy Lee Thomas Jr., last weekend at Oakley Training School, the state reform school for Negroes in Raymond, Miss. She came back more worried than ever.

She said her son wouldn't talk much about conditions at the school during the supervised visiting period, "but you could tell they was being mistreated." She said all the children seemed to be very afraid of talking with the lady guard listening in.

Mrs. Thomas said she's stayed worried ever since Thomas and a second 15-year-old Heidelberg youth, George D. Newell, were sent to Oakley last month on charges of making a phone call to a white lady.

The teenagers were first picked up in August, along with James Caraway, 15, and Mrs. Thomas' second son, Dennis Ray Thomas, 13.

"At the time," said Mrs. Thomas, "I went down to the city hall and asked what had they did. Travis Buckley (Jasper County attorney) told me to shut up, but I thought a mother had a right to know those things. I knows where my children be's pretty nearly at all times, and I thought I could give some explanation."

Later in the day, Mrs. Thomas said, she was told she had to raise $100 bond for the boys, because they made an "obscene phone call."

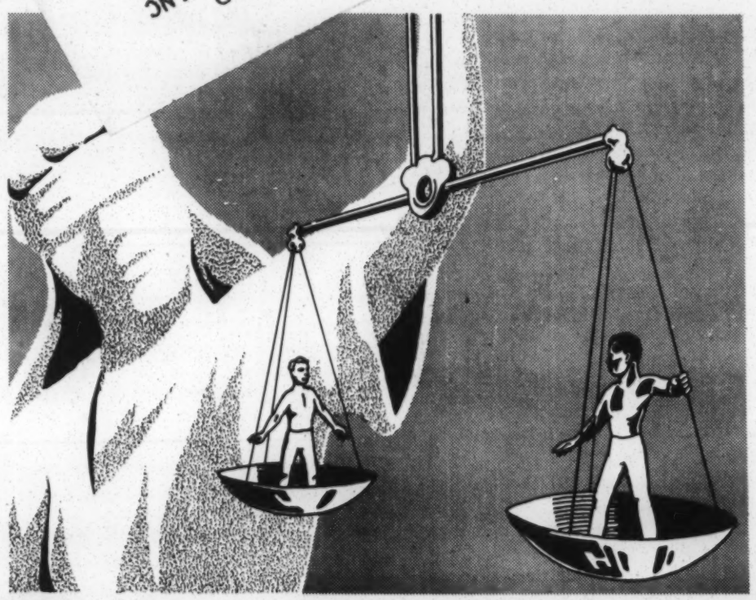
The boys said later that Buckley had threatened to send them away to reform school if they didn't admit making the call. Dennis Ray Thomas said he confessed because he was afraid Buckley would send him to the penitentiary, even though he "never knowed a white person's number to call."

But Percy Lee Thomas never did confess. His mother said he told her, "I wasn't going to tell no lie on my own self."

The boys had no lawyer at their hearing on the charge last Oct 5. Their attorney, Malcolm Farmer of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, was barred from the court on grounds that he was not a Mississippi lawyer.

At the hearing, Dennis Ray Thomas told Judge L.B. Porter that he didn't know

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)



Three's a Crowd In Linden Jail

BY ARTHUR STEIER AND CAROL S. LOTTMAN

LINDEN--Civil rights worker Dick Reavis came back from Texas this week to face a multitude of charges in Marengo County Circuit Court.

After two trials, not only was Reavis behind bars, but so were his wife and his lawyer.

Last Monday, Reavis was convicted on six counts of driving without an Alabama driver's license. He could not pay the $350 fine imposed by Judge E.F. Hildreth, and so he went to jail.

Demopolis police had given Reavis the tickets last summer, while he was working for SCLC in the Demopolis Summer Project.

Reavis' wife, Becky, who worked with him the past two summers, sat among the spectators at the trial. After Demopolis Police Chief A.E. Cooper had testified, she jumped up and loudly accused him of being "the best liar I've ever known."

DONALD A. JELINEK

Hildreth turned to Cooper and asked what she said. Cooper replied, "She called me a liar." The judge requested Mrs. Reavis to apologize. She asked her husband's lawyer, Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, if she had to, and he said she could do whatever she wanted.

So Mrs. Reavis said she wouldn't apologize. Hildreth held her in contempt, fined her $50, and sentenced her to five days in jail.

On Wednesday morning, Reavis was convicted of vagrancy, fined $100, and sentenced to six months in jail.

Shortly afterward, Sheriff T. Wilmer Shields arrested Jelinek on a complaint charging him with practicing without a license. He joined the Reavises in the Marengo County jail.

Beating Cases Stalled In Mississippi Courts

BY GAIL FALK

DEKALB, Miss.--It wasn't anything new to Kemper County when five young Negroes were beaten along the highway last July 2. The county has a long history of racial violence.

But it was something new when the men--Eugene Griffin, Ted Coleman, Lonnie Chamberlain, and Renea Johnson, of Preston, Miss., and R.G. Grady, of Memphis, Tenn.--called on the law to punish the white men they accused of the beating. The county has had no civil rights activity, except for a little voter registration.

The men swore out warrants that led to criminal charges of assault with a dangerous weapon against Lamar Breckenridge, and assault and battery with a dangerous weapon against James Calvin Breckenridge (the Breckenridges are father and son). In addition, the Negroes filed civil suit against the Breckenridges, asking payment for injuries caused by the beating.

Last week both cases came up in court, and neither of them got very far.

A grand jury refused to indict the Breckenridges on the criminal charges. District Attorney Harvey Buck, who was in charge of the prosecution, explained, "I didn't have any witnesses. There was

JURY CASES

MONTGOMERY--Attorneys for a Negro accused of raping a white woman

Another Beating In Philadelphia

U.S. Court Halts Trial of 80

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(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

Another Beating In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. --" 'Gunsmoke' had just ended" on TV, said Mrs. Mary Dell Finley, "when we heard a gunshot outside."

Mrs. Finley said she rushed outside last Saturday night in time to see Philadelphia police officers Willie "Tripp" Windham and Charles "Steve" Huddleston stopping Willie Jay Johnson and Eugene Johnson.

The Johnson brothers had been walking down a dirt alley and were about to turn onto Lewis Ave., just inside Philadelphia's city limits. "They mighta been drinking," said Mrs. Finley, "but they weren't bothering anybody."

"Jay (Johnson) began to run," she said, but when he couldn't get away, he asked Windham, "Tripp, why do you do us like this? We are all colored people."

(Windham, a Negro, has been accused of mistreating many colored people since he joined the police force last year. A boycott of Philadelphia stores is the latest effort in a Negro campaign to have him removed from the force.)

Mrs. Finley said Windham answered, "Shut up your mouth and give me that gun."

But, she said, Jay Johnson pleaded, "I don't have a gun. I don't have a gun." Mrs. Finley, Johnson's cousin, said he begged her, "Cuz Ma'y Dell, tell him I don't have a gun!"

Then, said Mrs. Finley, Windham knocked Johnson to the ground and shot three times while he had him on the ground.

Mrs. Ardella Huddleston, who lives right by the corner where the violence occurred, confirmed Mrs. Finley's story and pointed to a muddy trench by the road. "They kicked him over in that ditch," she said.

"Every time he'd go to get up, they'd knock him down again. He was just beggin' them to stop till it was pitiful."

Both Johnson brothers were held in the city jail without bail through the weekend. Eugene Johnson, 21, who was held to the side by Huddleston during the hassle, was charged with public drunkenness.

Willie Jay Johnson, 28, was charged drunkenness, assault with intent to kill,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

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Last week both cases came up in court, and neither of them got very far.

A grand jury refused to indict the Breckenridges on the criminal charges. District Attorney Harvey Buck, who was in charge of the prosecution, explained, "I didn't have any witnesses. There was not enough for the grand jury to go on."

Buck said sheriff's deputy H.T. Jarvis couldn't find anyone home when he went around to let the witnesses know when to appear in court.

On the day of the hearing, Buck said, "I got a bench warrant and the sheriff went out and arrested one." Jarvis arrested the youngest witness, 15-year-old Renea Johnson, but again reported he couldn't find any of the others, Buck said.

Johnson said he was taken to a room where there were about 20 men, and told him to point out the two men who beat him. He said that's what he did.

Roosevelt Griffin, father of 16-year-old Eugene Griffin, said Jarvis could have found more witnesses if he had tried. "He came here and asked for me and Eugene. My wife told him where I was working in Louisville (in the next county), and that Eugene was in school."

Roosevelt Griffin said the deputy didn't leave any message about the hearing. "If he had, this boy'd a been here. I'd a had him here. Or I'd a carried him to the courthouse myself."

And when the deputy sheriff went to find Coleman, according to Griffin, Coleman's sister said he was out in the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 5)

JURY CASES

MONTGOMERY--Attorneys for a Negro accused of raping a white woman have challenged the Montgomery County jury system.

In a suit filed in federal court last week, attorney Solomon Seay Jr. said the county's method of selecting names for the jury list excludes all people who are not "economically and politically successful."

Seay asked Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to stop the Montgomery County grand jury from acting on the case of Johnny Lee Davis, a rape suspect. Judge Johnson said he would not interfere with the grand jury, but would rule before Davis could be tried.

MERIDIAN, Miss. -- Lauderdale County's grand jury faced a double load of cases this week because the indictments returned by last spring's grand jury were no good.

Circuit Judge Aubert Dunn threw out the indictments last spring after attorney Jack Young of Jackson claimed his client, John Davis, 15, accused of rape, could not get a fair hearing because the jury excluded Negroes and women.

This term, Young said, there were no more Negroes on the grand jury than there were last term, and no women. So he protested again.

But this time, Judge Dunn denied Young's motion, saying he didn't think there was any racial discrimination.

DONALD A. JELINEK

Hildreth turned to Cooper and asked what she said. Cooper replied, "She called me a liar." The judge requested Mrs. Reavis to apologize. She asked her husband's lawyer, Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, if she had to, and he said she could do whatever she wanted.

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U.S. Court Halts Trial of 80

DEFENDANT DOROTHY FRAZIER IN EMPTY COURT BUILDING

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--A frantic trial in Montgomery Municipal Court last Friday resulted in $100 fines against five SNCC workers and a contempt-of-court citation against their lawyer.

A related trial, scheduled for Tuesday in the same court, might have been even more frantic, with 80 defendants instead of five.

But the night before, a federal court in New Orleans, La., said further courtroom antics would have to wait. It ordered Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to hear the defendants' claim that the trials should not be held at all.

This week's developments were the latest of many in cases that began around the time of the Selma-to-Montgomery march in March, 1965. These cases involved 167 defendants arrested in Montgomery on charges of disorderly conduct, loitering, refusing to obey an officer, and resisting an officer.

At first, lawyers for the 167 demonstrators asked Judge Johnson to take the cases away from the Montgomery court and hear them himself. He refused, and courts all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with him.

Then Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee asked Johnson to throw out the cases altogether, because the arrests were "selective and discriminatory," and the charges too "vague." But Johnson refused.

So SNCC workers James Forman, Stu House, Bill Ware, George Bass, and William Hall went on trial for disorderly conduct last Friday before Judge D. Eugene Loe. But Jelinek was told that state law prevented him from representing the defendants.

Charles Conley, a Negro lawyer from Montgomery, then refused to represent the defendants because, he said, they had not paid him for his previous work on the case.

When Jelinek tried to speak on behalf of the SNCC workers, Judge Loe said the LCDC attorney was in contempt and ordered him locked up. Jelinek was behind bars for about 30 minutes.

Meanwhile, the SNCC workers defended themselves.

They repeatedly asked Judge Loe to give them a lawyer. "Your honor," said Forman, "please explain our rights."

Forman got in several wrangles with City Attorney Ira DeMent. When the trial ran past the lunch hour, Forman remarked, "My legal experience tells me this trial is illegal."

DeMent responded, "My legal experience tells me I'm hungry."

Forman replied, "And I'm hungry for more than just food, Mr. DeMent. I'm hungry for freedom, freedom, freedom."

Forman wound up the defense with a long speech. He said the defendants' conduct had not been disorderly, unless the law required them to "salute and say, 'Here I am,' or bow down" when confronting a policeman. "There's no law that says a man can't sit down," Forman argued.

But all five were found guilty and fined $100. They were also sentenced to 30 days in jail, but the sentence was suspended.

Meanwhile, Judge Johnson's latest decision in the case was being appealed to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. And, hours before Round Two was to begin in Municipal Court, the Fifth Circuit ordered Johnson to give the demonstrators a hearing.

Election Aftermath in Lowndes

'Sold His People for a Coke'

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

LOWNDESBORO -- The Lowndes County Freedom Organization no longer exists. It is now the Lowndes County Freedom Party. In last week's election, the organization's slate of candidates received more than 20% of the vote. Under Alabama law, this makes it a full-fledged political party.

This week, people were still talking about the election--and the fact that all the freedom candidates lost. "We kind of expected it," said Mrs. Alice L. Moore, the freedom organization's choice for tax assessor. "But we didn't want the majority of the people to think so, because we figured that we couldn't get all of their support."

Mrs. Moore said intimidation was the main reason many Negroes didn't support the Negro candidates. "Most people who live on the white people's land were afraid to vote for the freedom organization's candidates because they thought they'd get thrown off their land," she said.

"Most Negroes didn't appreciate the vote," Mrs. Moore added. "They didn't think of the value of the vote."

But to SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, the Lowndes County election was something like a victory. "We got a party now," Carmichael said this week in Boston, Massachusetts. "Black people aren't discouraged. We're on the move."

"We are the second party in Lowndes County now," said James Jones, a resident of Lowndesboro. "We polled more votes than the Republican Party." Still, he said, he was "sick" about the results.

About one-fifth of the Negroes didn't bother to vote, he said. "And there was another group, the intellectuals, who had committed themselves to the people who were responsible for their jobs. They thought that the white people were the only ones who could help them, so they stuck with them."

"There was evidence in so many instances that showed why the (Negro) candidates didn't receive as many votes as they should have," Jones said. "Some Negroes were intimidated to such an extent that they didn't vote."

In one instance, he said, "a Negro Uncle Tom (voting) clerk sold his people for a Coke, a piece of cake, and some coffee.

"I didn't hear anybody say this, and nobody told me about it. I saw him help a Negro to the booth, and while he was helping him, I heard (the clerk) say, 'If you want to vote for Sheriff Ryals, here's the lever here. Pull this one for him.'"

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Editorial Opinion

When Trouble Comes

After Mrs. Ardella Huddleston saw Willie Jay Johnson beaten and arrested in front of her home in Philadelphia, Miss., Saturday night, she wanted to do something about it.

She didn't trust any local lawyers or law enforcement officials to help her. So she tried calling the FBI in Jackson the next morning. But the FBI only investigates--it doesn't give advice. After that, Mrs. Huddleston didn't know where to turn. All she knew was that Johnson was in jail with "his head swole up as big as two," and no one knew how to get him out.

The same day, the NAACP's national director, state director, and top Mississippi attorney appeared on a program in Philadelphia. National director Roy Wilkins told the crowd, "The NAACP is here when you need it." Wilkins said the NAACP was committed to "getting cruelty and terror off of our necks." But the NAACP officials had to rush on to another meeting, and none of them did anything to help Johnson.

If the people who always talk about defending the poor people from injustice and brutality mean what they say, they must get out of their offices and fine clothes, and down from their speaker's platforms.

Over and over, the excuse for inaction is, "We were not properly informed." But victims of brutality are most often poor and uneducated. They don't know how to inform properly.

The federal government and civil rights organizations must seek out the quiet victims, the ones who don't know what to do. They must go out and find the Mrs. Huddlestons, instead of waiting in an office in Jackson or Washington until the cry for help becomes too desperate to be ignored.

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Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Can you explain to me who does this there any low income bracket Negroes appointed to that committee who really

At Kress Store

Picketing Suspended

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--Five weeks of picketing at the downtown S.H. Kress & Co. five-and-dime store ended "temporarily" last week, after a meeting between store officials and representatives of civil rights groups.

The picketing, organized by the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and SCLC, began in October, after two incidents involving Negro customers in the Kress store. The civil rights groups charged Kress with "brutality," and with "discrimination" in hiring and promotion of Negroes.

In a meeting Nov. 10, the civil rights groups presented a list of demands to the Kress management. These demands included:

1. "That Negroes, along with others, will be treated with every degree of courtesy in all departments of this store, including the lunch counter, and by all sales personnel."

2. "That employment of Negroes will be the same as that of whites during the Christmas hiring."

3. "That Negroes will be hired percentage-wise, beginning immediately, to help alleviate the gross imbalance existing in the ratio between white and Negro employees. That the percentage employed will (move) progressively and steadily toward a commensurate percentage with the Negro patronage."

4. "That in the future Negroes will be hired on equal basis with whites, that is, without regard to race, creed, or color, including positions, pay scale, job order, etc."

5. "That the management will give satisfactory indication that he intends to alleviate the conditions prompting the demands."

The Rev. Percy Smith, chairman of the delegation of civil rights representatives, said from 55% to 57% of Kress' customers are Negroes, but Negroes make up 25% or less of the store's employees.

Smith said J.C. Spikes, manager of the store, guaranteed that "misunderstandings about courtesy would be corrected."

The minister said Spikes promised to hire one Negro for every white--and in some cases, two Negroes for every white--during the Christmas season. And, said Smith, Spikes promised to "seek to equalize job opportunities in all positions." Spikes refused to

People Complain About Macon Poverty Program

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Twenty people came to the courthouse Tuesday night to elect someone to speak for them on the Macon County Community Action Committee (CAC). But they also spoke for themselves.

"Time is running out on us," said Mrs. C.B. Quinn. "We've had this program over a year and not enough is being done. The poverty program is supposed to go out in the community instead of staying here in a tight little circle downtown."

John Gowan, formerly CAC chairman, was running the meeting. But he didn't argue with Mrs. Quinn. Instead he agreed with her.

"The committee hasn't always done what's best for the majority of the low-income people," said Gowan, who resigned as chairman about two months ago but stayed on as a CAC member. "A lot of other programs could be started--out in the county--if the committee could find out what the people want.

"That's your job. You know what you need better than anyone else does. If nothing is being done in your area, complain about it. If you complain long and loud enough, something will be done."

GOWAN SPEAKS AT MEETING

Several people got up and said that wasn't so. "We came in here with a plan for a day care center," said a woman from Shady Grove, near Milstead, "and we didn't get nowhere at all."

"We can't solve your problems for you," Gowan replied. "But we can help you. Mrs. Beulah C. Johnson (the program director) is getting paid a good salary to help you solve your problems. You should get together, find out what your problems are, and then pile 'em on her."

Mrs. Quinn stood up and said Mrs. Johnson had been hindering people more than helping them. "When the people from Shady Grove came in, with land and buildings they had bought, they were turned down very nastily--by that boss lady you just mentioned."

"Mrs. Johnson is supposed to be under the supervision of the committee," Gowan said. "Don't let her scare you. She doesn't have the say-so over what is started or what is not. Come to the committee if she turns you down."

The group elected Mrs. Florene Mason, of Nebo community seven miles south of Tuskegee, to represent the poor people in the Tuskegee area on the CAC. Then Mrs. Hattie S. Kelly got up and told them that wasn't enough.

"Mrs. Mason can't do it all by herself," she said. "We ought to see that she gets information about what we want before each committee meeting."

"Come to as many meetings as you can. Let those people on the committee know you're there watching and listening," Gowan added.

Mrs. Johnson, the director, was out of town all this week. But when some of her staff workers heard about the meeting, they said too many people were watching and listening already.

"A whole lot of colored people are criticizing us," said Mrs. Lottie Esau, "but when we asked them to help, they didn't. I'm not taking up for Mrs. Johnson, but it rubs anybody the wrong way when they spend all day up here working and fighting and then someone who's been resting comes down and starts criticizing."

"It's difficult to get the people to do anything," said Freddie L. Washington, the assistant director. "You know what we need? Understanding."

"The only time people come in here is when they want jobs," Mrs. Esau said. "That's all my people are interested in. Most of the work has been done by the white people."

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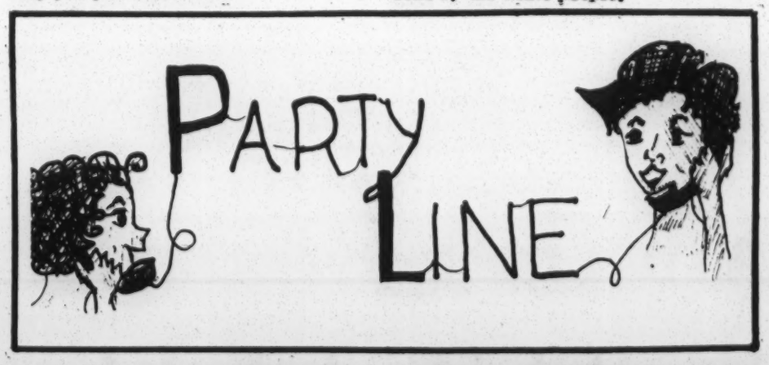
"It seems like the white committee members know a lot more than the Negroes," said H. O. Williams, a civil rights leader from Union Springs. "Some of the white folks downtown told me we had a grant while the Negroes were telling me they hadn't heard nothing about it."

Williams said this was a bad sign for the future; "If they do it like it's been



Montgomery

Dianne Holmes is a sophomore at the Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, to attend special classes on

director, and top Mississippi attorney appeared on a program in Philadelphia. National director Roy Wilkins told the crowd, "The NAACP is here when you need it." Wilkins said the NAACP was committed to "getting cruelty and terror off of our necks." But the NAACP officials had to rush on to another meeting, and none of them did anything to help Johnson.

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Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Can you explain to me who does this Montgomery so-called bi-racial committee of 45 Negroes represent. I am interested to know because the community is never informed of nothing that comes out of their meetings. With conditions getting worse in Montgomery County I am wondering why is it the committee doesent inform the community of the results of some of their meetings if there is any results.

I understand they have a committee on houses. I am wondering what is this committee doing about Negroes having to pay such tremendous price for houses 15 or 20 years old or older. Are this housing committee waiting until everyone is displaced so within the next four or five years the owner will be able to foreclose on those persons who will not be able to keep up the payments?

Tell me, Mr. Editor, why wasent there any low income bracket Negroes appointed to that committee who really know the need of the people and have the intrest of the people? These are Negroes who salaries are very limited (such as $15 to $30 per week and maybe $35 or $40 per week), although this committee consist of men whose salaries in the bracket of $7,000 to $9,000 per year. I wonder do they care about their other little brothers and sisters who salaries is $2,000 per year and I dare say $3,000 per year.

The other committee consist of men of the same salary bracket. The white man is very smart. Why I am thinking he picked this type of Negro because he knows he would not have any intrest in bringing the standards of his little Negro brother and sister up.

A.D.S. Harris
Montgomery

Alabama Opinion

Schools 'Better Wake Up'

BY GWEN PATTON

Negro educational institutions were founded after the Civil War to teach black men and women those things which would be relevant to them and their communities. The white had no idea of educating black men and women to be like white people. (The Negro has taken it upon himself to become white.) The purpose of these institutions was to teach black people about themselves, but now we find these same institutions no longer interested in teaching black culture. Instead, these schools tend to ape white schools, and teach black people to hate themselves and to be "white."

Many Negro schools have eliminated Negro history from the curriculum, because they found no "worth" in the course. They have replaced it with American history, and with white leaders who are now our heroes. W.E.B. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, and Harriet Tubman no longer are on the same plane with Patrick Henry, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln. But the latter people were never really concerned about black people in this country.

Another purpose of establishing Negro schools was to teach black people things that could be relevant to the community. These black students were to return to the community to help others. Today, black students are taught to be ashamed of their environment. To "make it" is to enter into the white world--therefore becoming an oppressor to the black people, like white people are. However, those students who choose the path of "making it" become functions of the white world, only moving up when the whites dictate it so.

Negro educators are going to have to face the reality that they are black and that they are no different, in the eyesight of white people, from the masses of black people in this country. Negro

MISS GWEN PATTON

educators are going to have to face the fact that most black people, including them, live in their own black communities because the white man has never really been sincere about integration. When they face these realities, then they will accept the concept of black power as a means of uplifting black people in this country.

Visiting Negro institutions and talking to black students has made me wonder what they are learning at their institutions. These students cannot relate to or address themselves to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa, because they do not want to be associated with Africans. They have accepted the white man's version of Africans, as depicted in "Tarzan."

Negro colleges and "so-called universities" had better wake up now. They may despise BLACK POWER, but if they want to preserve their existences they better start thinking BLACK. To serve in white society, black students can now go to the University of South Carolina or the University of Alabama. Black schools had best become unique and relevant to black people if they want to survive. Those who advocate integration can be the cause of their own downfall.

Let us face it. Most black schools are liberal arts colleges, because we have not "advanced" to technical schools. Let us face it. Most black people in this country live in communities which are predominantly- or all-black.

If a black student studying a liberal arts curriculum lives in a black community, then he is not educated. If black student studies sociology and learns about social stratification, minority group problems, and mobilization, and cannot relate this to his community, then he is not educated.

If a black student studies religion, especially "christianity," and does not learn that Jesus was an organizer and shared all things with his people, then he is not a Christian nor is he educated.

A Negro college education is a vacuum constituting absurdities, if it is not relevant to black students and to black communities. To make it relevant is to say that we need BLACK POWER for our schools.

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Smith said the picketing was halted "temporarily, during the examination of the response to our demands. . . .A great deal will depend upon the response of the management to these demands."

Meanwhile, it was learned that L.F. Ishee, assistant manager of the store when the picketing began, has been replaced. A Kress employee said Ishee had been "transferred to another store."

When a Negro girl was mistakenly accused of shoplifting last month, witnesses said Ishee told them he "didn't care whether or not Negroes shopped in Kress again." At the time, Spikes said Ishee "wouldn't say something like that."

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Williams said this was a bad sign for the future; "If they do it like it's been done, they'll make the plans first and then invite the Negroes in."

The grant of $16,332 is for "initial program development"--setting up an office and hiring a staff. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) approved it Nov. 1.

Robert Harris, a Negro board member from Midway, said the Nov. 10 letter from Stokes was the first he and the other Bullock County Negro members knew of the grant.

"But it says they're going to tell us when they hold the meeting to get the program going," he said. "I think they will. We haven't been having any trouble."

Stokes, at his office in Elba, said he was treating all the board members alike. "I notified every one at the same time by letter one day last week," he said.

According to the rules of the poverty program, Governor George C. Wallace has 30 days to accept or veto--or ignore --the new poverty grant.

Stokes said that as soon as he found out about the grant Nov. 3, he asked mayors of towns in the three counties to recommend that Governor Wallace waive the 30-day waiting period and let the program begin right away.

"We haven't been able to get all those recommendations yet," Stokes said, "but when we do, we hope the governor will agree. Then we'll call a board meeting to begin work."

"We don't know who will be hired (to run the program)," he said. Will the director be white or Negro? "That's entirely up to the board. Personally, I feel we should hire on qualifications, regardless of race, creed, or color."

Stokes also said the board would decide whether the up-coming meeting will be open to the public or not. "As far as I'm concerned," he added, "we're a private organization using public funds, so our meetings are private."

Williams said he thought the meetings should be public. Otherwise, he said, "they're saying, 'You have no choice but the choice we gave you.'"

Philadelphia

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

and resisting an officer. "The man shot two or three times at a policeman," explained an officer on duty at police headquarters.

Windham is one of the defendants in a federal suit filed last June by leaders of the Meredith march and joined by the U.S. Justice Department. The suit asks the federal court to order Philadelphia and Neshoba County police to protect Negroes exercising their civil rights.

However, the suit has not yet been heard. In fact, Federal Judge Dan Russell has not set a date for the trial.

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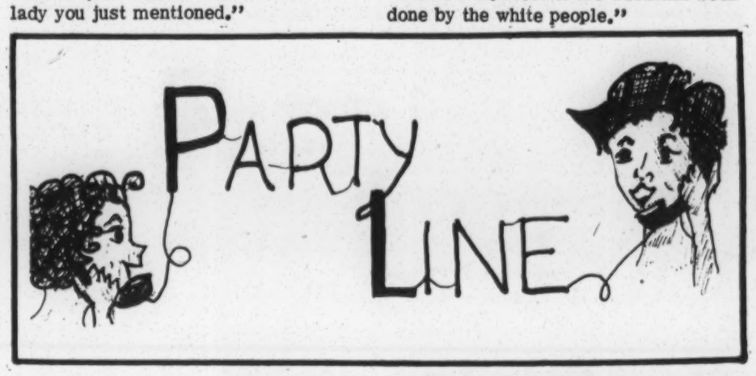


Montgomery

Turner Holmes is a friendly man, "a little over 65," with a very warm smile. He has an almost perfect record of attendance at meetings of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). "I've been coming since 1955," he said. "I don't think I've missed no more than two meetings in 10 years." Holmes lives seven miles out of town, but he says it isn't too difficult to find a way to and from the weekly meetings. "A man who works down by my way usually brings me in," he said, and someone at the meeting usually carries him to the bus station in time to catch the 11 p.m. bus. "If I don't get that one, I get the 1:10 (a.m.) bus," he said. Holmes said he started coming to MIA meetings "during the bus boycott. I never did stop. I just kept coming." How long will he continue to attend? "I'm coming until they go down," he said. "I'll be right here." (From Viola Bradford)

Tuskegee

Even the downpour that soaked Tuskegee Institute's homecoming parade last Saturday didn't spoil things for 30 Head Start children from Tyson-

ville, in northwestern Macon County. Their float--a bright red schoolhouse--won a first-place award. Tysonville parents, led by Mrs. Connie Harper, had stayed up almost all night to finish the float.

Meridian, Miss.

Bennie Rackley was sent home from Meridiah High School last week after a run-in with a white student in the library. Rackley said later that the boy told him, "Nigger ----s," and he answered, "So do you." The white boy hit him, and Rackley kicked and hit him back. (From Patricia James)

Abbeville

Joseph H. Willis died at 11:30 p.m. the night of Nov.9 in the county hospital. Charlie Morrison died at 6 p.m. the same day in the hospital. Funerals for both were at St. Peter Baptist Church. (From James J. Vaughan)

Tuskegee

Lucius D. Amerson, sheriff-elect of Macon County, is spending a week at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, to attend special classes on law enforcement. Before leaving for Cleveland, Amerson traveled to Biloxi, Miss., to speak to a fraternity.

Tuscaloosa

Birmingham attorney Demetrius Newton talked about Southern justice at the Nov. 9 meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. He said Negroes from a poor neighborhood are at a disadvantage in a court where justice is dispensed by whites. Newton told the audience that he had the greatest respect for the statue of Justice. "She is a beautiful woman, tender and gentle, with a sword and shield to protect the innocent," he said. "But the greatest thing about Justice is that she's blind--she can't see color." (From Judith Knopp)

Greenville

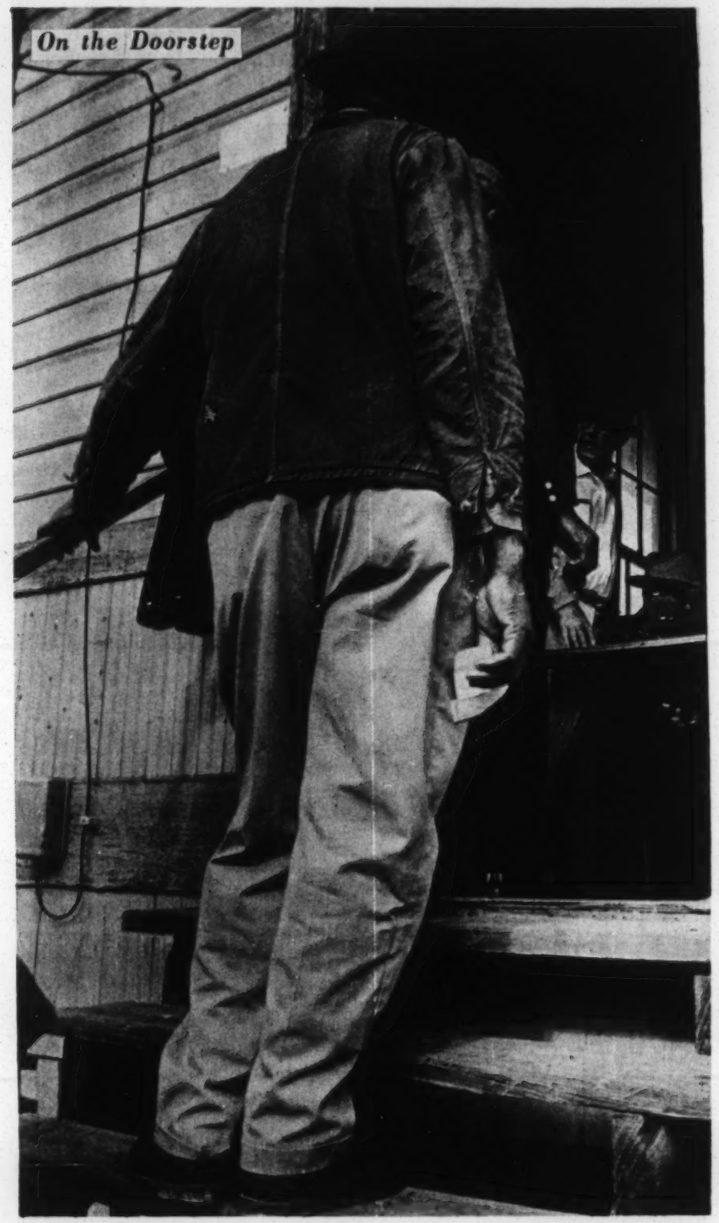
Edward Rudolph, one of the civil rights workers who were here in 1965 when the demonstrations were so heavy, returned to Greenville recently. Some people seemed happy about his return. But the majority of the seniors at Southside High School acted as if nothing could lift them. Jimmie L. Purifoy, associate editor of the school paper, said, "I might be with him after school hours, but not during school hours.... I will have nothing to do with any interfering with our school because I am a senior. I plan to graduate and I believe a Tom's education is better than none at all." (From Henry Clay Moorer)

Meridian, Miss.

Albert Davis burned to death when his house caught fire about 2 a.m. last Sunday. Meridian Fire Department officials say they believe the blaze started after a cigarette set fire to Davis' bed.

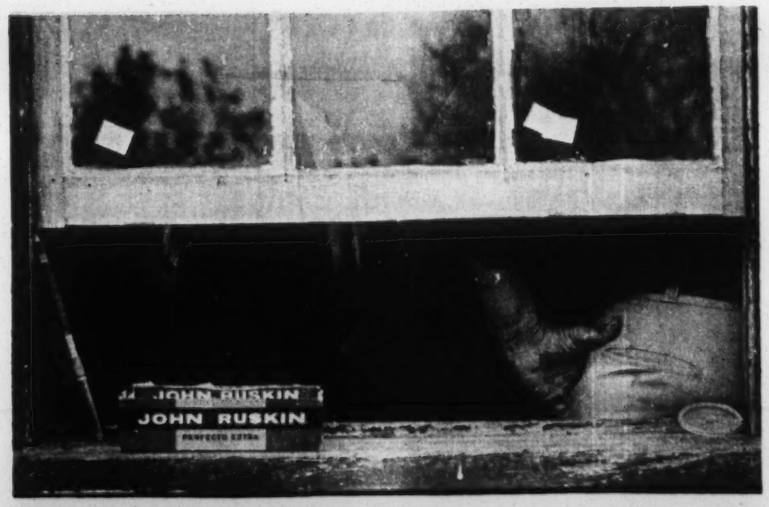
Montgomery

The sight of boys raking leaves outside Loveless Junior High School during school hours raised some eyebrows here last Monday. But principal Rawls H. Dobbins said "the boys volunteered their study period to get the leaves cleaned up, and we had no objection."


On the Doorstep

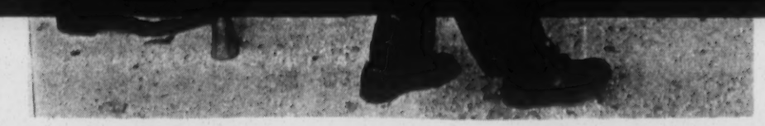
Not as it used to be

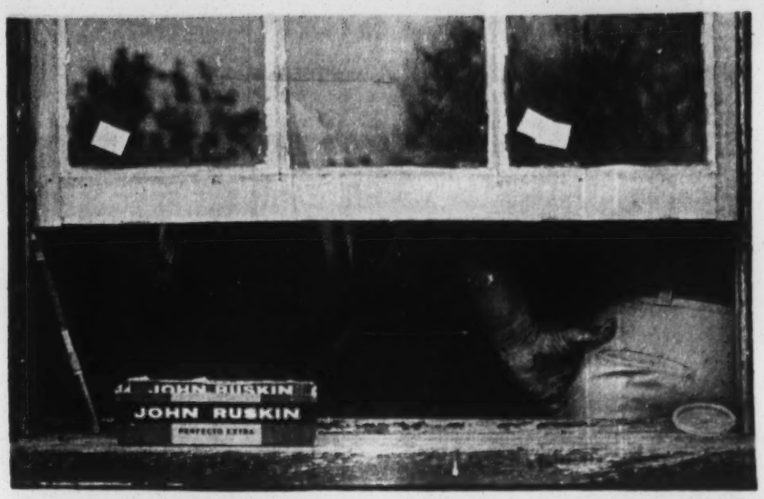
Taking school with him



At the Country Polling Places

RURAL ELECTION DAY





At the Country Polling Places

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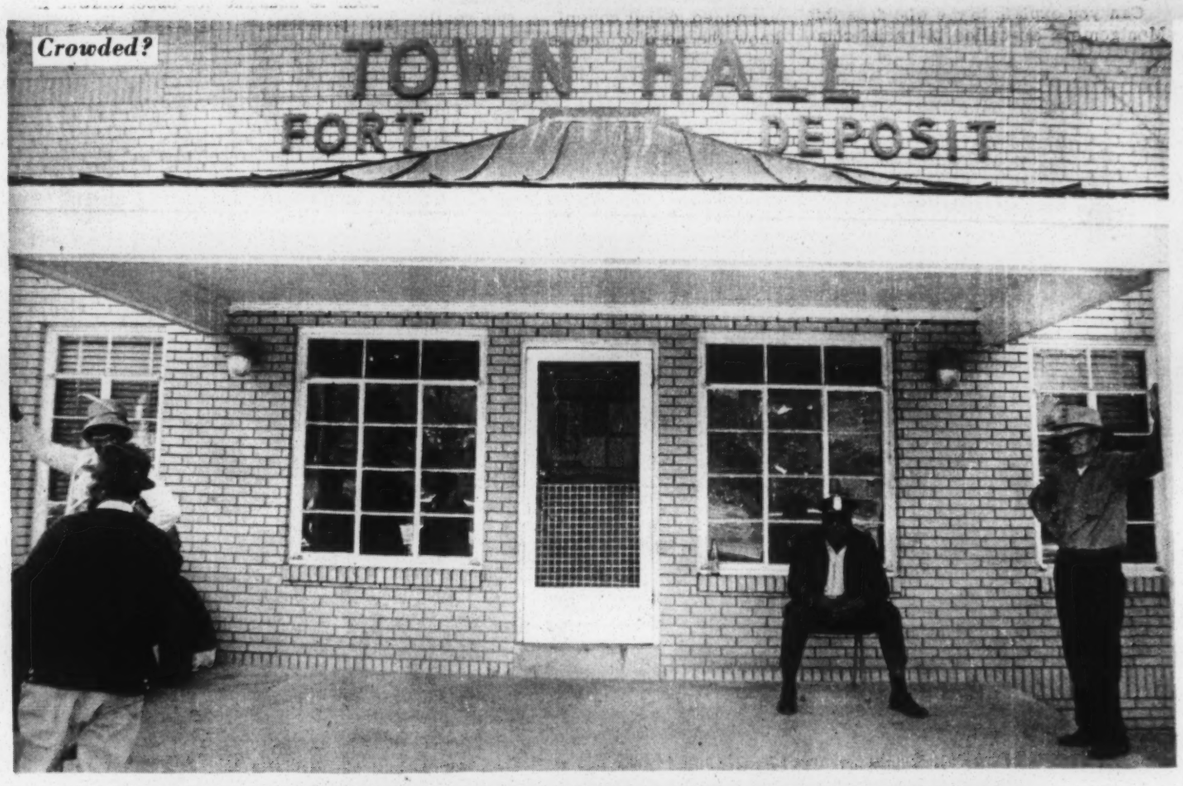
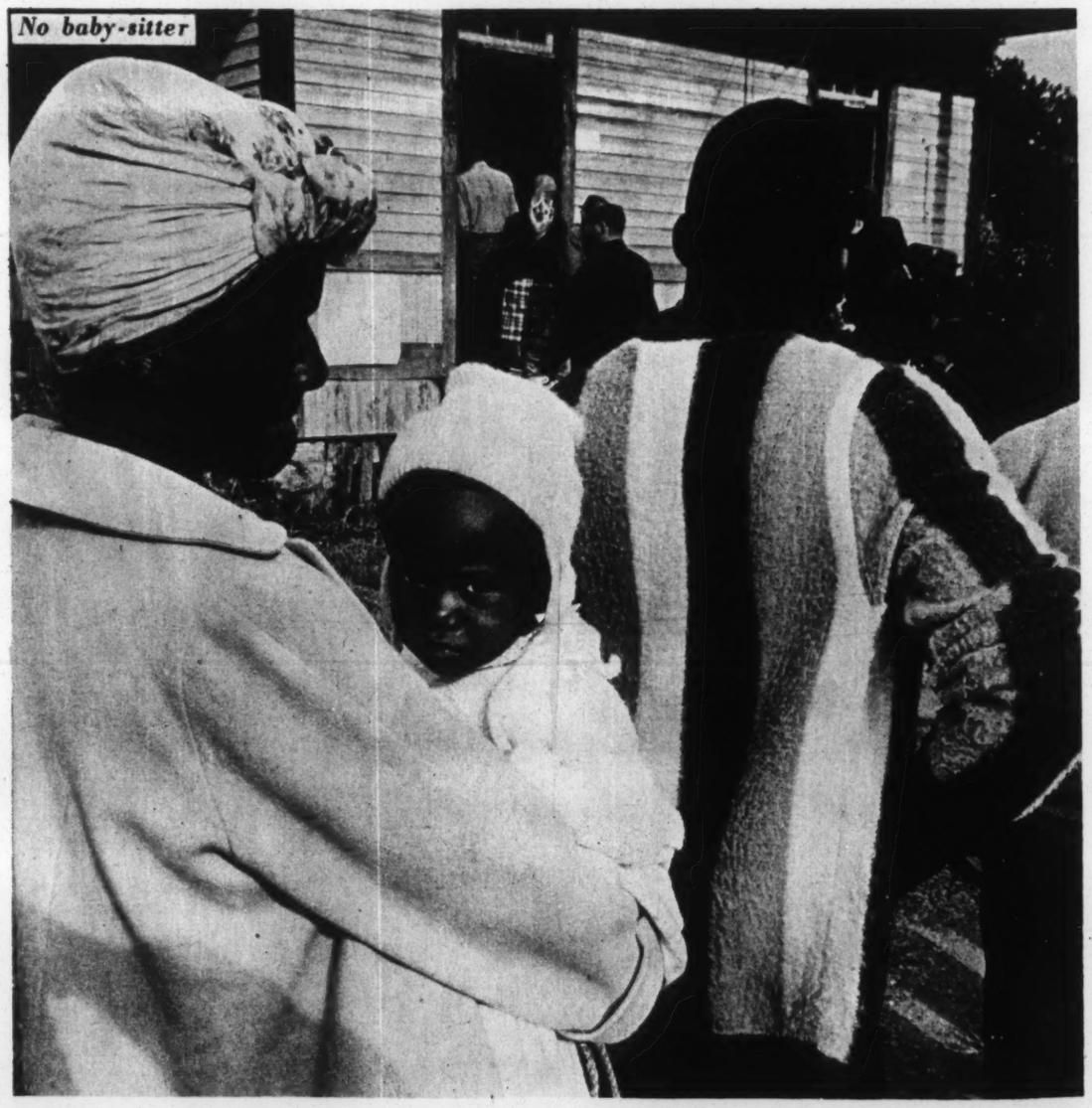
Crowded

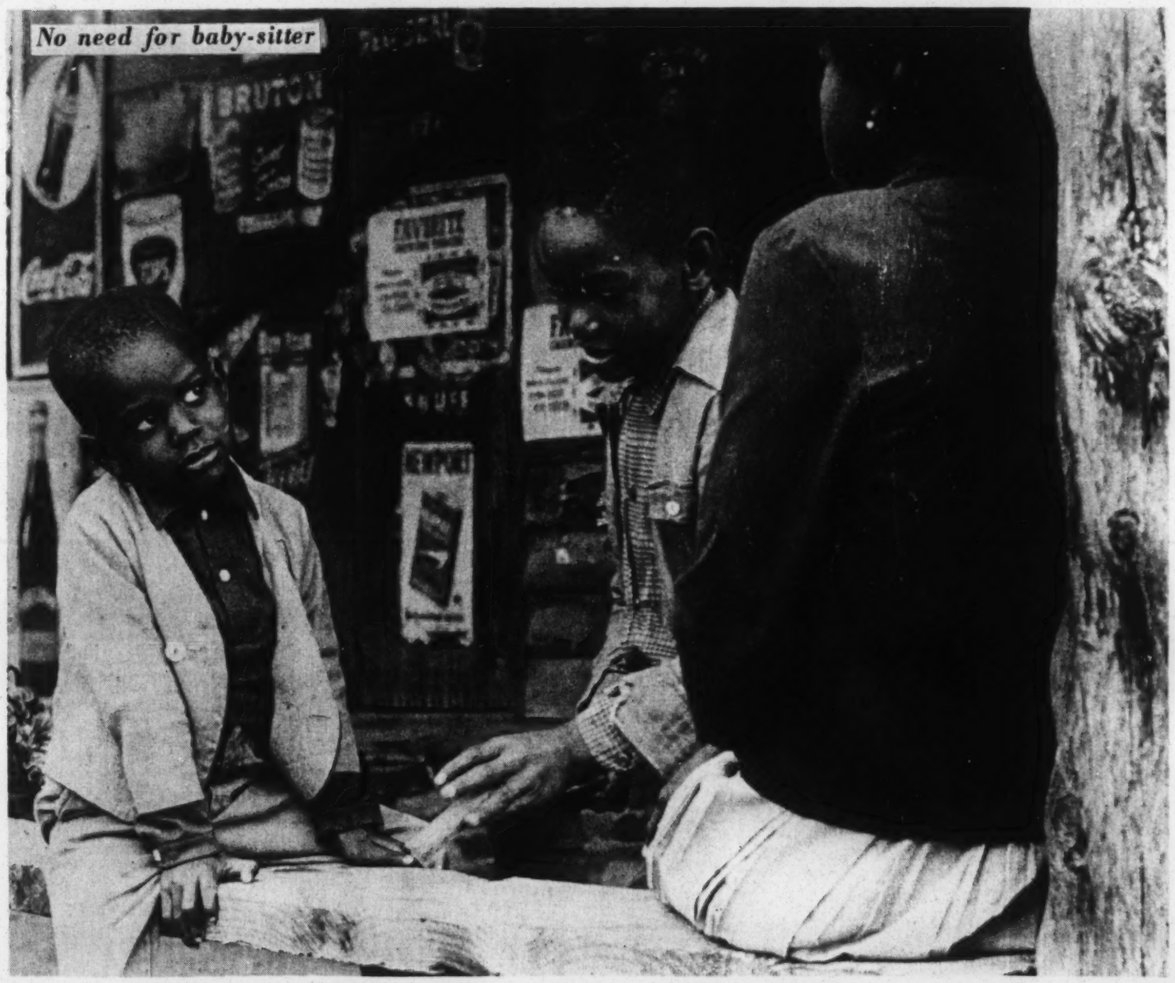


Crowded?

Photographs by Jim Peppler



No baby-sitter



No need for baby-sitter

NEGROES GET MYSTERIOUS SAMPLE BALLOT

Mobile Election: Who Did What--and Why?

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--"If I don't vote this time, it'll be that I'm fed up," said a Prichard housewife a week before the election. "You got the candidates campaigning, but they ain't campaigning facts; and our supposed to-be-leaders is talking voting, but they don't talk about any candidates. It's like a big private conversation been going on, and it's been going on too long."

"There really isn't nobody running," said another voter. "Except in circles," added a third. "Everybody's confused and a little bit scared."

The confusion during election time in Mobile is nothing new. It's been going on for years.

In the past, a flood of conflicting "sample ballots" poured into the Negro community on the eve of an election.

Some of the ballots were distributed anonymously, in defiance of Alabama law. Nearly all of them claimed to endorse the candidates who would do the most for Mobile Negroes.

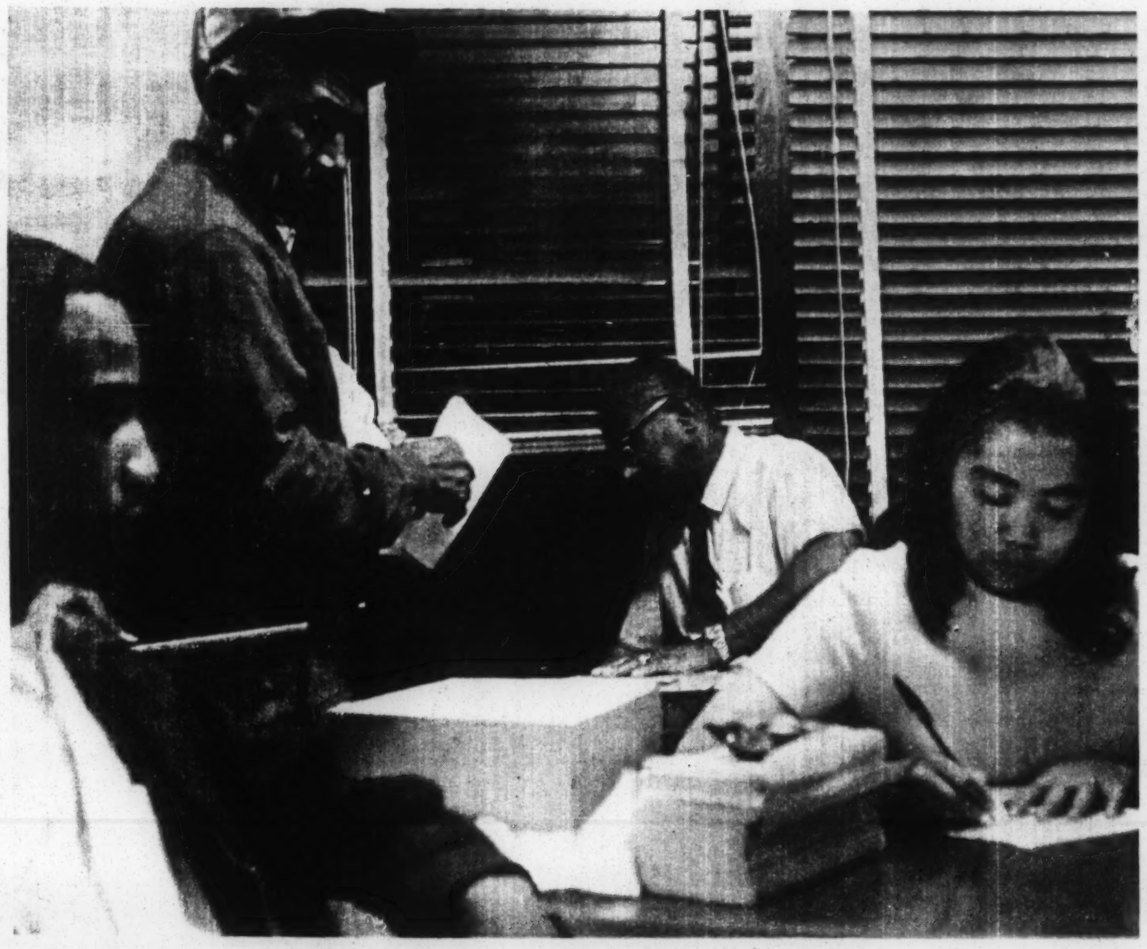
But only one sample ballot appeared before the general election this time.

All fall, when Mobile civil rights groups talked about getting out the vote, many people replied that they were "going fishing" on election day. And on Nov. 8, slightly less than 40% of Mobile's registered Negro voters bothered to go to the polls.

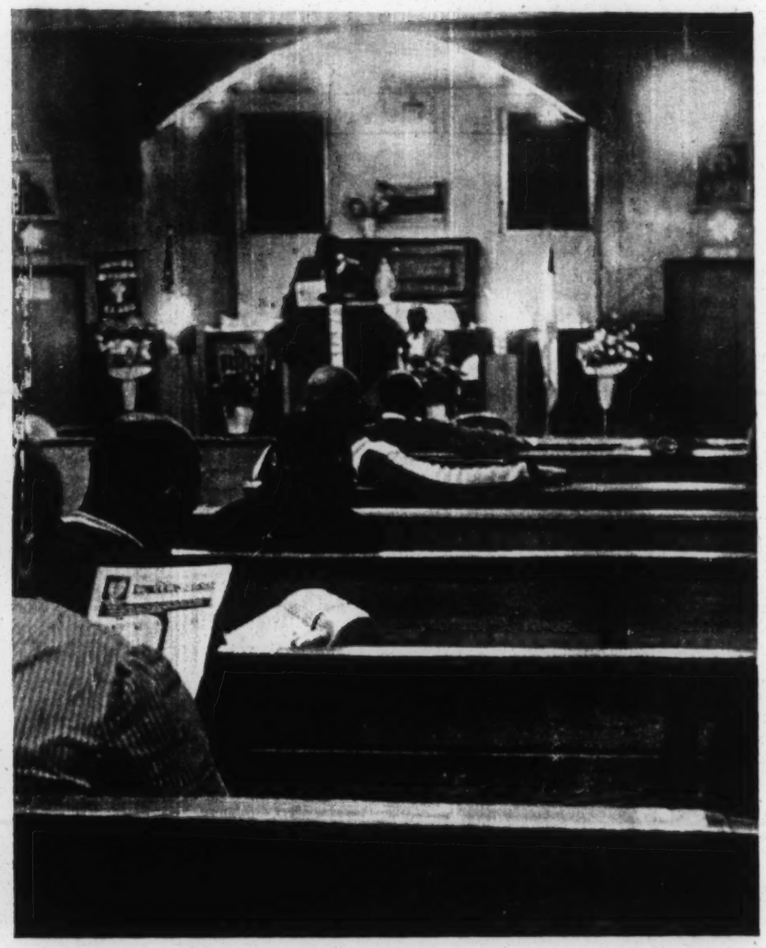
The Negro leaders had their own ideas about the small turn-out. "There was serious disappointment in the Negro community when the Negro vote didn't prove to be a potent factor on May 3," said John LeFlore of the Non-Partisan Voters League.

In May, over 50% of the voters came out in an effort to deliver a meaningful "bloc vote". They failed to elect any candidates. As a result, LeFlore said, many voters were too discouraged to want to try again.

But some people, like the Prichard



AT WORK IN THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE OFFICE



THE REV. A. R. RAY TEACHES PEOPLE HOW TO SPLIT THEIR VOTES

slow since May.

"It appears Negro civil rights groups have rolled over and played dead in the last few months when it came to registering voters," LeFlore said.

"It was a mistake on all our parts," agreed Montgomery. "Get together as a oneness to educate the people," Montgomery, an unsuccessful candidate for the State House in the May primary, urged Negro leaders before the general election.

Many Negro voters wanted most to learn how to vote for candidates of different parties on one ballot.

But the three major civil rights groups in Mobile failed to get this instruction to large numbers of people.

3, 10, and 23--gave Mrs. Lurleen Wallace 2,629 votes and Republican candidate James D. Martin 2,009 votes. Independent Carl Robinson got only 1,162. Attorney General-elect MacDonald Gallion beat Republican Don Collins, 2,999 to 1,498, and U. S. Sen. John Sparkman won re-election over John Grenier, 4,249 to 1,278.

wasn't enough of it to matter very much, or enough organization behind it to make the politicians pay much attention to it.

As usual, there were charges that the Negro vote was up for sale, and angry replies that it wasn't.

"Negroes are tired of back-door patty-patty," according to Ray. "No man can come out in the dark and pat me

going to give you the program, and we're going to vote together."

"This is one of the most crucial elections in the history of Alabama," Montgomery said the weekend before the election, "not so much for the candidates, but for you to show your appreciation for what the Coordinating Committee has been doing."

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But the Coordinating Committee, which is largely Democratic, raised enough money from somewhere to install a bank of telephones the Friday night before the election. The telephones were used to urge people to vote and to deny that the Coordinating Committee had put out any sort of ballot.

Almost every civil rights group in Mobile refrained from sponsoring a ballot. But there was one exception.

The NPVL first sent out a letter to teachers, stressing the importance of

Important to the Voter

This Is an URGENT ELECTION MESSAGE For Your Immediate Information

election.

Some of the ballots were distributed anonymously, in defiance of Alabama law. Nearly all of them claimed to endorse the candidates who would do the most for Mobile Negroes.

But only one sample ballot appeared before the general election this time.

All fall, when Mobile civil rights groups talked about getting out the vote, many people replied that they were "going fishing" on election day. And on Nov. 8, slightly less than 40% of Mobile's registered Negro voters bothered to go to the polls.

The Negro leaders had their own ideas about the small turn-out. "There was serious disappointment in the Negro community when the Negro vote didn't prove to be a potent factor on May 3," said John LeFlore of the Non-Partisan Voters League.

In May, over 50% of the voters came out in an effort to deliver a meaningful "bloc vote". They failed to elect any candidates. As a result, LeFlore said, many voters were too discouraged to want to try again.

But some people, like the Prichard housewife, said the Negroes were tired of election campaigns directed only at their leaders. They wanted to meet the candidates themselves, and make up their own minds.

"If you go fishing on election day," warned C.H. Montgomery, of the Alabama Coordinating Committee, before the election, "it'll be the most expensive fish you ever caught."

But many Negroes didn't even bother to register. Voter registration has been slow since May.

HENRY WILLIAMS OF THE NPVL

AT WORK IN THE NON-PARTISAN VOTERS LEAGUE OFFICE

THE REV. A. R. RAY TEACHES PEOPLE HOW TO SPLIT THEIR VOTES

"It appears Negro civil rights groups have rolled over and played dead in the last few months when it came to registering voters," LeFlore said.

"It was a mistake on all our parts," agreed Montgomery. "Get together as a oneness to educate the people," Montgomery, an unsuccessful candidate for the State House in the May primary, urged Negro leaders before the general election.

Many Negro voters wanted most to learn how to vote for candidates of different parties on one ballot.

But the three major civil rights groups in Mobile failed to get this instruction to large numbers of people.

"They don't want you to know too much about the machines -- and I'm inclined to believe one of the big parties is behind this -- because we just haven't been able to get ahold of the machines," the Rev. A. R. Ray of the Neely Street Civic Club told an audience in Prichard.

But only 40 people were present on the two occasions that Ray explained how to split a ticket, using an imitation ballot marked with a giant arrow. (The ballot came from Jack Edwards, a Republican Congressional candidate, who was re-elected in the First District.)

Only 45 people showed up to hear Montgomery and the Coordinating Committee tell them how to split a ticket, using ballots clipped from the newspapers.

When LeFlore and the NPVL got a machine from the county, it was advertised a week late. So few people showed for the demonstration that one man said, "that was money the county should have saved." Dr. Robert Gilliard, president of the Mobile NAACP, said the problem was "that you can't do an effective job of educating persons about a split vote in two-three weeks."

On Nov. 8, the Negroes who did go to the polls voted the straight Democratic ticket, with few exceptions. The four major Negro wards in the city--2, 3, 10, and 23--gave Mrs. Lurleen Wallace 2,629 votes and Republican candidate James D. Martin 2,009 votes. Independent Carl Robinson got only 1,162. Attorney General-elect MacDonald Gallion beat Republican Don Collins, 2,999 to 1,498, and U. S. Sen. John Sparkman won re-election over John Grenier, 4,249 to 1,278.

Important to the Voter

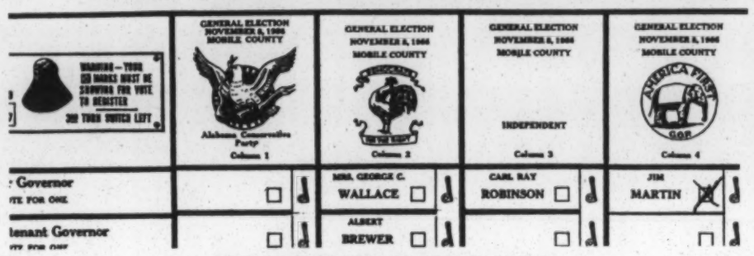
This Is an URGENT ELECTION MESSAGE For Your Immediate Information

THE NPVL PINK SHEET CAME IN THIS ENVELOPE

Important to the Voter

This Is an URGENT ELECTION MESSAGE For Your Immediate Information

General Election, Mobile County, Ala. Nov. 8, 1966



THE ANONYMOUS WHITE BALLOT

Although Congressman Jack Edwards, the only successful county-wide GOP candidate, beat Mobile Judge Warren Finch by a margin of more than two to one, the Negro voters preferred Democrat Finch, 3,005 to 2,331. And the rest of the Democratic slate merely increased their county-wide margins in the four Negro wards.

All in all, the Negro vote didn't make a dent in the county returns. There just wasn't enough of it to matter very much, or enough organization behind it to make the politicians pay much attention to it.

As usual, there were charges that the Negro vote was up for sale, and angry replies that it wasn't.

"Negroes are tired of back-door patty-patty," according to Ray. "No man can come out in the dark and pat me on the back, and get my vote." Yet Carl Booth--the Democratic nominee for district attorney--rolled up a three-to-one margin in the Negro wards after he was the only candidate to show up at a "county-wide mass meeting" that drew about 35 people.

"I don't want to serve as in-between. I want you to get it straight," Ray told a meeting one night. A few moments later he said, "Next Monday night we're going to give you the program, and we're going to vote together."

"This is one of the most crucial elections in the history of Alabama," Montgomery said the weekend before the election, "not so much for the candidates, but for you to show your appreciation for what the Coordinating Committee has been doing."

At another meeting, he said, "We're tired of being planned for -- we want them (the politicians) to plan with us. Whichever one gets elected, we expect him to be the representative of all the people."

But Montgomery admitted that it doesn't really happen that way. "Not one white member (out of 105) of the county Democratic Executive Committee voted for my try as vice-chairman; yet they ask us (the Negroes) to stand up and support the ticket."

Nevertheless, he said, "It isn't fair to expect candidates to stand out and stand up for our people because it's morally right -- I don't go along with that; we've got to go out and help the Lord get the job done."

There was little discussion and no criticism at the Neely Street and Coordinating Committee meetings. But the Non-Partisan Voters League leaders didn't get off so easily.

"Non-partisan means we pick no slate -- only recommend the best persons for the job," O.B. Purefoy told a NPVL audience. The voters responded noisily.

"We in Alabama are a sick people," shouted one. "I'm sick of this junk."

"What does non-partisan mean? others murmured angrily.

All three civil rights groups attracted few voters younger than 40. "You know young people wouldn't stand for that nonsense," one man explained.

These groups raise only a few dollars at their weekly meetings, scarcely enough to wage full-scale campaigns at election time. "If we'd had enough ballots, we would have marked them," said Montgomery, to explain why the Coordinating Committee didn't put out a sample ballot this year. "But we wouldn't go to a candidate and ask for $2-3,000 to make up ballots."

But the Coordinating Committee, which is largely Democratic, raised enough money from somewhere to install a bank of telephones the Friday night before the election. The telephones were used to urge people to vote and to deny that the Coordinating Committee had put out any sort of ballot.

Almost every civil rights group in Mobile refrained from sponsoring a ballot. But there was one exception.

The NPVL first sent out a letter to teachers, stressing the importance of voting and promising further information. On the Monday before the election, a "pink sheet" was distributed. In the past the sheet has been a sample ballot.

This year the 25,000 copies resembled a letter, explaining how to split a ticket, and urging that the voter first pull the Democratic master lever, before choosing any other candidates.

But did the two letters reflect the thinking of all NPVL leaders? Henry Williams, NPVL board chairman, said he never heard of either until he discovered a pile of them in a vacant lot next to his house.

Finally, late Monday night, an anonymous white ballot appeared. It endorsed Republican candidates Martin, Collins, Edwards, and two local GOP state House contestants, Bert Nettles and Emmett Gaston.

The white ballot was delivered to the NPVL office late Monday night with some Edwards ballots. Several residents claimed that the same people gave them the pink sheet and the white ballot.

In Ward 10, the NPVL's home ground, two Republicans ran ahead of the straight Democratic ticket originally recommended by the pink sheet. Martin beat Wallace, 782 to 556, and Collins won over Gallion, 720 to 501. In Ward 3, where all NPVL literature was widely distributed, both Martin with 595 votes and Robinson with 441 beat Wallace's 380.

Many people assumed the white ballot had come from the NPVL because the ballot carried a message to the voters exactly like that used on the envelope in which the NPVL pink sheets were delivered. "That's just one of the things people will do," LeFlore said. "Anything that goes out from the NPVL has the NPVL's name on it."

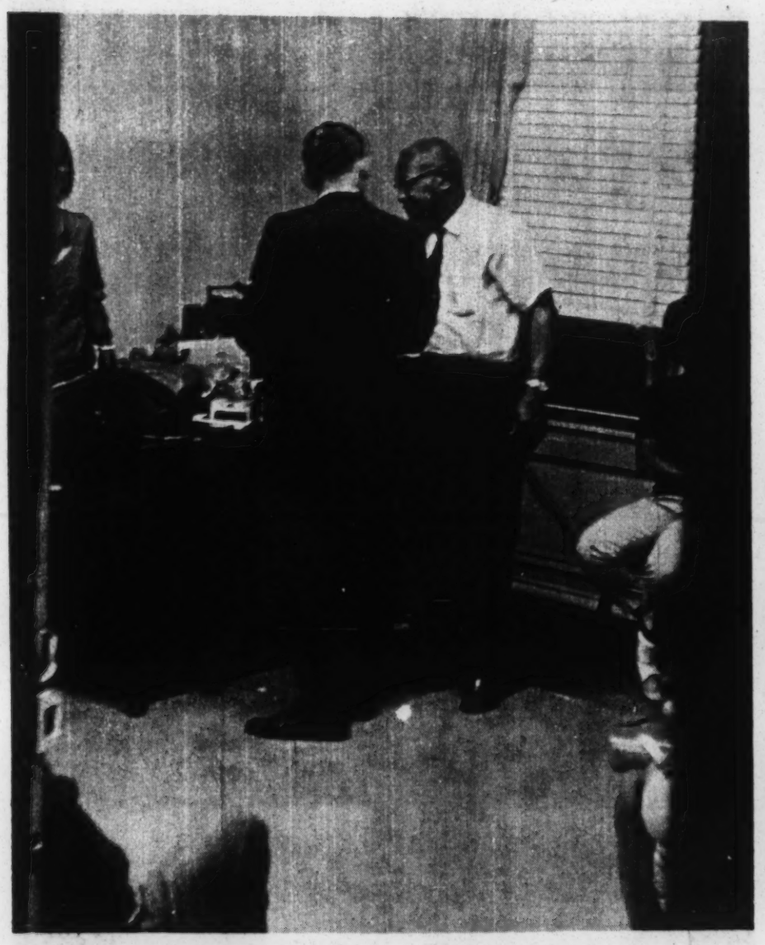
As the election drew closer, some white men paid visits to the NPVL office. Among them were Juvenile Court Judge J. T. Strickland, and the son of Emmett Gaston, Republican contender for House place 6.

LeFlore said he had no idea what Gaston's son wanted at 10:30 the night before the election, but explained that Strickland was an old friend, and was handling a case for him. "Judge Strickland comes up here eight or nine times a year on personal business," LeFlore said.

After the voting was over Nov. 8, Vernol Jensen Jr., federal district attorney, said, "It apparently was a good clean election at the polls."

But long before all the votes were counted, some politicians were claiming victory in Mobile's Negro wards.

Bill Grayson, the Democrat who won House place 10, spoke confidently at 8:30 on election night. He wasn't acknowledging congratulations yet, but he wasn't worried. "I'm waiting on Ward 10 and Prichard," he smiled. "That's the niggers."



JUDGE STRICKLAND AND LEFLORE IN NPVL OFFICE

ONLY 40% OF MOBILE'S NEGRO VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS NOV. 8

Stokely Carmichael in Boston

From the College to the Ghetto

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BOSTON, Massachusetts -- Stokely Carmichael's trip to Boston began with a talk at Harvard University.

Eight hundred people, most of them white, turned out to hear the SNCC chairman, who was dressed in a gray

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

suit, yellow button-down shirt, and the kind of brightly-colored tie that the most fashionable college students wear.

Carmichael talked about black power ("We're saying we're anti-racist, not that all whites are racists"); the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (it "now represents a threat to the Democratic Party of Alabama, thank God"); and the draft ("We don't think any man has the right to make another man a hired killer for two years").

Television floodlights glared, the audience clapped happily, Carmichael spoke calmly and softly. And after less than an hour of it all, he left.

Then it was off to Roxbury, the Negro section of Boston. The rally there was free, and the audience mostly Negro. A TV camera crew began taking pictures, and Carmichael asked them to stop. They didn't.

"Now I asked you once about those lights," Carmichael snapped. "I was nice. Now turn 'em off." The lights went off, and the cameramen looked puzzled about what to do next.

"You fellows got your shot," said Carmichael. "Now can you split?" As a couple of teen-aged boys started over to them, they did.

"Black power," Carmichael said softly, as he clenched his fists and grinned. The audience laughed and clapped.

The Roxbury rally lasted twice as long as the Harvard speech. During the rally, Carmichael took off his coat, loosened his tie, and tore into the draft, the Viet Nam war, and white people who own stores in Negro neighborhoods.

"They (white merchants) charge us high prices for rotten goods," he stormed. "They loot us every day of our lives. White people ought to run out of the ghetto lock, stock and barrel."

But Carmichael made it clear that he thinks the Viet Nam war is the most pressing problem facing Negroes.

"Black people have got to get black power to stop that war in Viet Nam," he said. "The only power we've got is to say 'Hell, no,' to the draft, and I will say 'Hell, no.' "

The federal government, Carmichael charged, is "moving now to get rid of all those young cats who won't take nothin' from no cop. Talk about drafting 30% of us and put us on the front line. Tell us that's where we get good pay."

The war, he said, is "a white man's racist war."

"A Viet Cong ain't never called me no nigger," he said, as the audience nodded and clapped. "A Viet Cong ain't never hit me up side the head with a billy-club. A Viet Cong ain't never put me in jail for 'inciting to riot.' "

That was the charge on which Carmichael had been jailed in Selma, Ala., a few days before he came to Boston. His appearance here was the first stop on a nation-wide speaking tour that will take him as far as Hawaii.

His talk in Roxbury seemed to stir people to action. By the time the rally there was over, people had given money for the buses that carry Negro children from Roxbury to near-by white schools.

Some people had signed up to organize picketing at schools they didn't think were doing a good job. Others decided to visit a Negro-owned store, to see whether the owner would lower his prices if Negroes got together and shopped there rather than at white stores. And one youth got up and said he had already told his draft board, "Hell, no."

Afterwards, the boy walked over to Carmichael and said he wasn't going to let himself be drafted, but he was afraid.

"I'm scared, too," said Carmichael. "But we still got to say, 'Hell, no.' "

KEMPER BEATING CASES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

field pulling corn. The field was "right close" to the house, said Griffin, but the officer just drove off.

A hearing on the civil suit was set for last Thursday, but it never really got started. First, lawyers for the Negroes challenged the jury.

Then lawyers for the Breckenridges asked Judge John Greene Jr. to require a $200 cash bond from each of the five Negro plaintiffs, and the judge agreed. Circuit Clerk James Palmer explained that cash bond is sometimes required to guarantee payment of court costs if the plaintiffs lose.

Lawyers for the Negroes then asked Greene to continue the case while they appealed his ruling on the jury to the Mississippi Supreme Court, and Greene set a 60-day deadline for the payment of cash bond.

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5. YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON Supremes (Motown)
6. KNOCK ON WOOD Eddie Floyd (Stax)
7. I'M READY FOR LOVE, Martha & the Vandellas (Gordy)
8. NEVER LET ME GO The Vandykes (Mala)
9. MUSTANG SALLY Wilson Pickett (Atlantic)
10. IT TEARS ME UP Percy Sledge (Atlantic)
11. I'M LOSING YOU Temptations (Gordy)
12. TOO MANY TEARDROPS, Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
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In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the Christian principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.

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LOOK FOR INDIAN HEAD SIGN IN FRONT OF HER HOME

HELP-HELP-HELP

REV. ROOSEVELT FRANKLIN

of Macon, Ga.

DIVINE SPIRITUAL HEALER

Jesus is truly giving victory to many, many people's problems. SUCCESS CAN BE YOURS. See or write me

In Montgomery, Ala.

Mrs. Isaac Dickson

of the First CME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my

Southern Courier Subscription Drive

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WETUMPKA ROAD
LOOK FOR INDIAN HEAD SIGN
IN FRONT OF HER HOME

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Black people have got to get black

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Across the country, many cities and towns are facing, some for the first time, the necessity of solving their complex racial problems. And the results are encouraging.

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If you want to know how to set up a Commission, or how an existing one can be more effective, write for the Community Relations Service booklet, "How To Turn Talk Into Action." Address: ACTION, Washington, D.C. 20537.

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Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
9:30-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

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WANT ADS

PUPPIES FOR FREE--I have three puppies to give away to anyone who wants a good little yard dog. The puppies are five months old. See Hattie Bailey, Rt. 3, Box 6, Marion, Ala. (on Jefferson St.)

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FRENCH CLASS--Classes being organized in Meridian for students who want to catch up or get ahead in French. Call 483-6757.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

Game of the Week

Carver of Montgomery Heads for Title

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

MONTGOMERY--The mighty Wolverines of Carver High School, with a perfect 9-0-0 season behind them, are now waiting to see who their opponents will be in the state championship game next month.

Carver trampled its cross-town rival, Booker T. Washington High School, 45 to 6, last Saturday in Cramton Bowl. It was the 18th annual Capital City Classic, and Carver's third straight victory over BTW.

The Wolverines will probably meet Mobile Central High School or Mobile County Training School for the title. The two Mobile teams face off in their traditional battle on Thanksgiving Day.

In last Saturday's romp, the Wolverines were sparked by Archie Robinson's four touchdowns. The wild game featured numerous fumbles, interceptions, and blocked punts.

On the second play from scrimmage, Carver took the lead with an 80-yard pass from quarterback Oscar Belser to end Robert Randell. Thomas Mitchell's extra point made it 7 to 0.

But the Yellow Jackets of BTW came right back with a touchdown of their own. Quarterback Clinton Drake--a stout figure in defeat--tossed an eight-yard pass to end Leon Martin for the score, but the try for the PAT was smothered.

Then BTW had its first instance of the punting troubles that bothered the team all afternoon. Carver end Donald Vinson blocked Phillip Sims' kick, picked up the loose ball and ran 24 yards for a touchdown.

After that, it was all Carver. Claude Talley of Carver intercepted one of Drake's passes, and shortly thereafter Robinson ran two yards for the TD. Then, after Sims was trapped behind the line of scrimmage while trying to punt, Robinson charged ten yards to another score.

It was 25 to 6 at halftime. And it got worse.

In the third period, Belser hit Willie Arrington on a 23-yard scoring pass, and Robinson scored again, this time from the one. Mitchell's point-after made it 38 to 6.

Vinson intercepted another Drake pass early in the fourth quarter, and that led to Robinson's fourth TD of the game. He punched over from the two, and Mitchell added the 45th and final point.

The victory--and the entire season--marked a coaching triumph for John Fulgham and William Gary of Carver. The Wolverines lost an outstanding crop of seniors last year, and in their first game this fall, they were a ragged bunch. By last Saturday, though, Carver moved with military precision.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held at 7 p.m. Monday, Nov. 21, in St. Luke AME Church, 28th St. and 21st Ave. N., the Rev. A.W. Thomas, pastor.

WJLD
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Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

BIG D RADIO

Reform School

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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Porter asked the sheriff how he knew these boys were the ones who made the call. Grayson said he could tell because the phone calls stopped after they had been picked up.

Mrs. Thomas said she never saw any white lady at the hearing and was never told the name of the woman who made the charges.

Buckley refused to comment on the case afterwards because he said charges against juveniles were not public information. But he did say the boys had been sent to Oakley until the end of the school term.

Mrs. Thomas said she is worried now, because she was told at the reform school that the boys would lose a year in school unless they got out this month. She said her son had gone to classes regularly when he first got to Oakley, but now he has to work cutting hair during class hours.

COACH WILLIAM GARY CELEBRATES CARVER WIN

ARCHIE ROBINSON SCORES FINAL CARVER TD

TCA's Gomillion Reports

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
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ARCHIE ROBINSON SCORES FINAL CARVER TD

TCA's Gomillion Reports On Macon County Schools

TUSKEGEE--The president of the Tuskegee Civic Association gave a report on public education in Macon County last Sunday without once mentioning school desegregation.

But the subject came up as soon as Charles G. Gomillion, the TCA president, opened the meeting for questions.

Otis Pinkard asked Gomillion, who is also a member of the county board of education, to tell the audience which of the 14 schools were integrated.

"There are more than 130 Negroes at Tuskegee Public School," Gomillion replied, "and a few whites at the Children's House (a mostly-Negro elementary school on the Tuskegee Institute campus). I don't know of any others, or any white teachers in Negro schools. I don't believe there is any Negro teacher at Tuskegee Public."

In his report, Gomillion said the county schools need more money, more long-range planning, more adult education courses, more health care and counseling, an expanded curriculum, and better communication among the school board, teachers, administrators, and citizens.

One questioner wanted to know whether integration was left off the list by mistake, and asked if TCA felt the Macon County schools were desegregated enough.

"No, there is more to be done," Gomillion replied. "For instance, there is no or almost no faculty desegregation. We will work for that, as we have worked to open up opportunities for students to attend schools of their choice."

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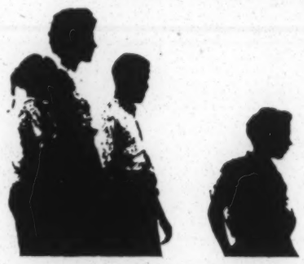

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SOUTHERN COURIER

'What Do You Think of the Klan?'

DR. KING
Head of NAACP?

BY PATRICIA JAMES

MERIDIAN, Miss.-- In my world history class at Meridian Senior High School, there was a debate on which political party each student was in favor of--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. At least, that's how it started out.

Robert, one of the white students in the class, stood before the class and told why he wasn't for either of the major parties. He said he was for a third party led by George Wallace of Alabama. When he finished, the [illegible] to ask questions.

The debate began!

One student asked Robert, "What do you think about the cry of 'black power'?"

"I don't like it," said Robert. "Negroes have got just as much as we have. (A white student shouted "better.") Their schools are better than ours, and I don't know why they have to come over to our schools when their schools are much better than ours. They have what they want and more. I [illegible] what they are trying to do."

A white student, said the [illegible] been investigated. "Is the [illegible] House of Un-American [illegible] asked.

[illegible] laugh at him, because white [illegible] think they know so much about civil rights and then have to ask a silly question like that.

"Martin Luther King's the head of this group, isn't he?" asked Bobby.

The teacher didn't know. He looked over at me and said, "He's the head of--What is he the head of?" I replied, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

"He's the one that's always startin' these riots and demonstrations," said Bobby.

Then the teacher broke in and said, "No, he isn't. He has never raised his hand to hit anyone."

"What do you think of the Klan?" asked Miss Evelyn Gaston, a Negro girl who also attends this class with me.

"I'm not in favor of the bad things they do," Robert answered. "They don't have to wear the white sheets and the masks. There are some good things and bad things about the Klan."

The teacher broke in again and said, "I'm not in favor of the bad things the Klan does and I don't like Stokely Carmichael at all."

"What do you think about the funds being cut off by Sargent Shriver from CDGM (Child Development Group of Mississippi)?" I asked.

"I wouldn't say, 'cause I don't know too much about it. I haven't heard of that," Robert said.

A white student asked Robert what did he think about the anti-poverty program in Mississippi, but just as he got ready to answer, the bell rang for the next class. And that was the end of the debate.

MISS PATRICIA JAMES
"I had to laugh."

EDWIN STANFIELD
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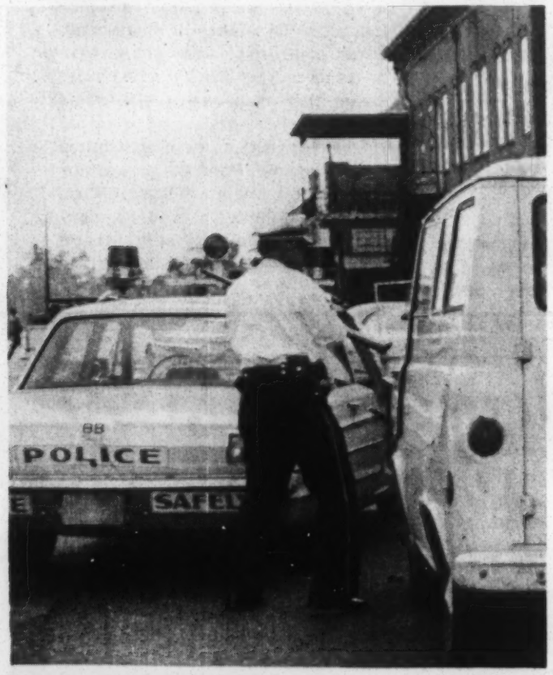

Selma Court Fines SNCC Worker $77

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

SELMA--Tuesday was SNCC day in Recorder's Court here.

SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael and two field workers, William Stuart House and Thomas Lorenza Taylor, were supposed to face charges arising from their arrests last Nov. 5. But as it turned out, only Taylor's case was tried.

As the court session began, Carmichael's name was called. Attorney Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC) appeared as a friend of the defendant and explained why Carmichael wasn't there.

Jelinek had tried twice to have federal courts either take the case away from Recorder's Court, or kill it altogether. Both times, the federal courts refused to act. The final refusal came from the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on Monday afternoon.

Judge E.P. Russell continued the case against Carmichael until next Tuesday.

House's case was also continued until next Tuesday, after he couldn't get a lawyer who satisfied him. His request to be defended by Jelinek was denied, because the judge said Jelinek had not been recognized by the Alabama State Bar Association.

The court appointed Bruce Boynton, a Negro lawyer, to defend House, but the defendant then said he wanted to get his own attorney. Judge Russell said House couldn't have an LCDC lawyer, but "you can get one from Montgomery or

Negro Man Dies in Jail Two Hours After Arrest

JAMES EARL MOTLEY

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

WETUMPKA--At 2 a.m. last Sunday, James Earl Motley, a 27-year-old Negro from Wetumpka, was arrested by an Elmore County sheriff's deputy.

Two hours later, he was dead.

Three eye-witnesses said Motley was struck after his arrest by sheriff's deputy Harvey Conner. One of the witnesses said Conner was aided by two state troopers.

Motley's step-father, William Varner Jr., said no one told him his son was dead until four hours after the body had been taken to the Geeter Funeral Home in Wetumpka. He said Mrs. Katherine Geeter came to his home at 8 a.m. Sunday, and "told us they had him over there and he was dead."

When Varner got to the funeral home five minutes later, he said, an autopsy had already been performed. "I went in there to see the body," he said, "and they wouldn't let me in. They told me it was against the rules to let me see the body."

Wetumpka residents asked the U.S. Justice Department for an immediate investigation of Motley's death.

Elmore County Sheriff Lester L. Holley said he was conducting his own investigation. "I'm running an investigation that's honest and honorable," he said. "I've been sheriff for 20 years, and I've never dodged no issue that's ever come up."

Witnesses gathered in a Wetumpka home Monday to talk about the case. Besides Varner, there were three of the six people who were in a car with Motley when he was arrested.

They said they were driving north on

EUFAULA COUNCIL CHANGES MEETING TIME -- BUT WHY?

BY MARY ELLEN CALE

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The court appointed Bruce Boynton, a Negro lawyer, to defend House, but the defendant then said he wanted to get his own attorney. Judge Russell said House couldn't have an LCDC lawyer, but "you can get one from Montgomery or Birmingham or wherever you want to."

Taylor, however, defended himself against charges of blocking traffic and resisting arrest. Police testimony, presented by City Prosecutor A.T. Reeves, was that Taylor was "double-parked" in a sound truck, and that he was asked to move because he was "blocking traffic."

"When the policeman told me to move," said Taylor, "I was waiting for a car that was coming out of a parking area. Before I could tell him this, he struck me. I rolled up the window, and he went to his vehicle and got a gun."

Taylor said one of the policemen who struck him was Charlie Jones. Jones denied this on the witness stand.

Police testified that Taylor was charged with resisting arrest when "he got a stick out of the truck and was fighting back." Taylor said, "I had an injured ankle, and the stick was used for a walking cane."

Taylor presented pictures of the incident, step by step, as evidence. The trial participants gathered around the judge's bench to view the photographs.

In the end, Judge Russell found Taylor guilty of the charges and fined him $77, including costs. Taylor said he would appeal, and is now out on $200 bond.

OFFICER APPROACHES SOUND TRUCK; HOUSE (BOTTOM, LEFT) PROTESTS

Barbour Farmers Get Adult Education Classes

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

CLAYTON--About 175 Barbour County farm workers will begin adult education classes next month, partly because Mrs. Janie Battle wouldn't take no for an answer.

Mrs. Battle has been trying to bring the program into Barbour County for nearly a year. But she ran into a lot of problems.

When she first talked to George T. Dowdy, head of an adult education program operated from Tuskegee Institute, he told her he didn't have enough money to include Barbour County.

When she brought up the idea this October at a meeting of the new Barbour-Dale-Henry Community Action Program (CAP), CAP director Charles L. Weston told her he'd get to work on it, but that it would take some time.

But, this week, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) gave Tuskegee Institute a second grant of $1,650,000 to run adult education classes for 1,500 people in seven Alabama counties. And Dowdy said that Barbour County will be one of the seven.

The sessions will begin in December and meet five hours a day, five days a week, for six months. There will be four "schools"--in Center Ridge, Spring Hill, the Louisville-Clio area, and either Rocky Mount or Free Mount.

Civil rights leaders did most of the preliminary work, Mrs. Battle said. "Mr. Weston said nothing after the meeting in October so I started going up to Tuskegee. I think I made about nine trips. Then I went door-to-door, church-to-church, and meeting-to-meeting to tell people about the program and get them out to register for it."

David Denard, another civil rights leader, said he didn't think the CAP knew much about the program until the plans were well under way.

But Dowdy and Weston said the CAP and Tuskegee Institute were working together with no difficulties.

Weston said he thought that some whites as well as Negroes would enroll in the classes for farm workers with less than an eighth-grade education.

"It'll depend on where you locate the centers," he said. "There might be some strictly just colored and others that are integrated. I understand there will be staff integration."

Mrs. Battle said that if the CAP was recruiting white students, this was being done through separate meetings. "We have these meetings of the county advisory group," she said, "and there are never more than three or four white people. It's supposed to be 50-50.

"I don't know when they have their meetings, but they're functioning quite well. They come in with a ready-made story--it's all laid out when it gets to us."

But Weston said "the only separate meetings are the ones the Negroes have. . . .A lot of people who co-operate don't come to the meetings, but they're always for us. I'd rather have people who never attend a meeting but give us buildings when we need 'em. You can't tell by attendance. That don't really indicate anything."

Dowdy, Weston, and the civil rights leaders all agreed that Barbour County badly needs the adult education program. "It's one of the lowest counties in Alabama in income and educational level," Dowdy said. "We hope to help people go further in the occupations of their choice by giving them the fundamental tools to build with."

"This will really make a difference," said Denard. "We got so many old people that can't write. That was one of our problems in the May 3 election."

JAMES EARL MOTLEY

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Witnesses gathered in a Wetumpka home Monday to talk about the case. Besides Varner, there were three of the six people who were in a car with Motley when he was arrested.

They said they were driving north on Highway 231, three miles north of the Elmore-Montgomery county line, when Conner stopped their car at about 1:45.

"He asked Earl out," said Miss Gloria Jean Johnson, 16, of Wetumpka. "He told him that he was drunk.... Earl told him he had had two or three beers when he got off work at 6 o'clock."

"Mr. Conner kept telling him to get in (the deputy's) car," said Mrs. Joyce Ann Jackson, 18, of Wetumpka.

Then Conner and Motley "went to the back of (our) car," said Miss Edna Mae Bowman, 16, of Wetumpka. "Three or four minutes after that, we heard a gun fire."

When Motley got back in the car, Miss Bowman continued, "I say, 'Earl, what happened?' and he say, 'He shot at me.'"

Witnesses said the deputy then called for state troopers. "After the troopers got there, Harvey Conner got him out again," said Miss Bowman. "Both state troopers held him by the arms, and Harvey Conner started beating him over the head.

"They beat him down to the ground."

Varner said an attendant at the funeral home told him Motley's body was picked up from the Elmore County Jail at 4 a.m.

Across town last Monday, Sheriff Holley talked about his investigation of the matter. "The state toxicologist already performed an autopsy," he said. "I don't know nothing until I hear from the state toxicologist."

Holley said "it was reported to me that (Motley) was dead. Why he was dead, I don't know." He said Motley had been charged with highway drunkenness, resisting arrest, and interfering with an officer.

The sheriff said he had "no fixed opinion . . .I'll go by what the evidence shows in the case."

Motley's grieving mother, Mrs. Daisy Varner, lay on a couch in her darkened home. "Something has to be done," she said. "I don't know why it had to be me. We have many wonderful white friends here. But in a case like this, something has to be done."

EUFAULA COUNCIL CHANGES MEETING TIME -- BUT WHY?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

EUFAULA--Civil rights leaders and city officials don't agree about the reasons why the Eufaula City Council changed its meeting time from 4:45 p.m. Wednesday afternoon to 10:45 a.m. Wednesday morning.

"They made it earlier because we were asking too many questions," said Mrs. Janie Battle, who used to lead members of the all-Negro Eufaula Voters League to the meeting to demand better city services.

Mrs. Battle, a schoolteacher, said the city council members knew that she --and other voters league members-- have to work all day and can't come to morning meetings.

But Eufaula Mayor E. H. Graves said that embarrassing questions from the civil rights leaders had nothing to do with the change.

"Good heavens, no," he said. "It was just to make it convenient for the councilmen. When we met at 4:45 and we had a long meeting, it would make 'em late for supper. Their wives got to raising cain about it."

Graves said the switch wasn't only meant to keep councilmen's wives happy and their dinners hot. "Most businesses here close at noon Wednesdays. Now we can get the city housekeeping done and still have time to meet with anyone who wants to meet with us.

Mrs. Battle said she had asked Mayor Graves to have the councilmen vote on changing their meeting time back to 4:45 p.m., but hadn't heard from him since.

"I don't recall that request," Graves said. "But we're glad to have people come to our meetings. If any situation needs extraordinary attention, we'll call a special meeting for people who can't come to the regular meeting."

The Richest Kid In Greenville

BY HENRY CLAY MOORER

GREENVILLE--Willie J. Cheatham, a senior at Southside High School, is one of the most prosperous young businessmen in Greenville.

Cheatham, who is 17 years old, is employed at George Gaffney's New White Way Barber Shop as an evening and Saturday barber. He has been a barber for four years.

"I wanted to start early and learn the basic functions of barbering at a growing-up age," Cheatham explained, "so when I go to trade school or college to further my studies, this course wouldn't be a blank."

Cheatham said his salary is in the neighborhood of $40 to $50 per week when business is good. "I earn enough to carry myself through high school and help my family," he said. "Also, I am trying to save a little money for the future."

Cheatham is a C-plus student at SHS, and is very good in the school's cosmetology course. He said he plans to continue his studies at the H.C. Trenholm Vocational School in Montgomery.

Cheatham, son of Mr. and Mrs. George Cheatham of Greenville, said he hopes to finish trade school and open a modern barber shop, with the largest and most modern equipment he can get.

Why did he take up barbering?

"I always wanted a career in which I can be my own boss," Cheatham said. "I also believe in the beautification of skin and the neatness of hair."

At A&P

Mobile Protest Begins

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--The Mobile NAACP last week unanimously decided to support a "selective buying campaign" against the A&P food chain. The action followed extended discussion of the employment situation here.

MOBILE PICKETING

"We've got to stop accepting all these excuses that Negroes are not qualified," said Dr. Robert Gilliard, president of the Mobile branch of the NAACP. "The stores have an obligation to go out and recruit people. One way to make them is to throw a picket line around them. It's Christmas time, and we ought to bust this thing open right now."

By mid-day last Monday, two of the five NAACP members who had volunteered to picket were on duty at the A&P branch in the Michigan Ave. Shopping Center. One picketer marched on the sidewalk, with about 70 yards of parking lot between him and the A&P store.

"We know the rules about private property," explained his companion, observing three police cars that appeared briefly when the picketing began.

Gilliard would not say how long he expected the picketing to continue. He said he had sent a letter to A&P's district manager, asking for "Negro employees above bag-boy level" in all A&P stores.

Shot Meredith, Gets 2 Years

HERNANDO, Miss. -- The man whose shots turned the Meredith march into a massive demonstration was sentenced to two years in prison here last Monday.

James Meredith and a few followers had just begun their "march against fear" from Memphis, Tenn., to Jackson, Miss., when Meredith was gunned down by Aubrey James Norvell, 40, of Memphis.

While Meredith was in a Memphis hospital, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. of SCLC, Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, and Floyd McKissick of CORE came to Mississippi to resume the march. Thousands of people joined them.

Norvell was caught shortly after the shooting. On Monday, a day before his trial was to begin, Norvell pleaded guilty to assault and battery with intent to kill. Judge Curtis M. Swango of DeSoto County Circuit Court sentenced him to five years in prison, with three years suspended.

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Lawyers Say New Court Decision Threatens Future Demonstrations

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY -- Two Negro lawyers and an Alabama assistant attorney general said Tuesday that civil rights demonstrators are going to have a tough time in federal courts from now on.

"The court is declaring that the forum for protest has moved from the streets to the courts," said Walter Turner, the assistant attorney general, about the U. S. Supreme Court ruling last week against demonstrators prosecuted for trespassing in Florida.

Attorneys Solomon S. Seay and Charles S. Conley agreed with Turner. But they also said they didn't like the court's decision.

"I am really appalled . . . ."Conley said. "Orderly picketing is protected by constitutional law."

"This is a severe blow on the human rights movement," added Seay. "The federal courts have decided they aren't going to be bothered with all these demonstration cases. But demonstrations are the only way to shock people out of their fear and apathy, into taking advantage of the new civil rights laws."

The discussion took place at a conference on "dual justice" co-sponsored by the Fellowship of the Concerned (a group of Southern women), the Southern Regional Council, and the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The 35 people who showed up were supposed to discuss ways of bringing equal justice to Southern courts. But they also spent a lot of time telling each other about the problems the civil rights movement is facing, in and out of court.

"I don't believe in demonstrations for demonstrations," said Seay. "I do believe in demonstrations as a last resort. Here in Montgomery, quite a lot of things can be done by going to responsible public officials. But we have lost control. We have people running around like wild Indians and not accomplishing anything."

SOLOMON S. SEAY DISCUSSES JUVENILE COURT SYSTEM

But Conley said "there is no need to scale down any form of protest so long as it's peaceful."

Both civil rights attorneys agreed that state jury systems should be revised to end racial discrimination. Seay said it would take more than the recent letter from state Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers to the jury commissioners, urging them to put Negroes as well as whites on their jury lists.

"In Elmore County, if they pull a Negro's name out of the jury box by mistake, they just don't subpoena him," Seay said. "He doesn't find out he's been called for jury service until the chance for service is gone."

"The jury system might be cleaned up some time in the next 500 years," Seay said. "Trouble is these people just don't want soul brothers sitting on their juries."

The only solution, he said, is for Negroes to get the names of qualified Negroes in their counties, "and take 'em down to the jury commissioners. If they don't add 'em to the list, get in touch with me or Mr. Conley."

"The whole state judicial process needs to be standardized the way the federal courts are," Seay said.

"Several attempts have been made through the legislature, but every time there's some guy from North Alabama who says, 'The Negro lawyers know the federal rules and we don't--why should we play into their hands?' "

As for the state juvenile courts, Seay, said, "the whole thing probably needs to be junked. In a lot of cases, judges have misused their discretion to try children without a lawyer and without publicity.

"Everything is supposed to be in the interest of the child, but the judge can use the rules to dispose of demonstrators. Because a juvenile is not even entitled to bond, the judge can keep a child until he decides to let him go."

One questioner wanted to know how to change the system, to give children a choice about whether to have an open trial with a lawyer. "It can only be done by private pressure groups convincing the legislature," Seay said.

Conley said most state judges have been treating Negroes fairly, but Seay reported that there were still some problems.

"I was trying a case in Chilton County," he said, "and the prosecutor kept calling my client a 'nigger.' When I objected that the term was derogatory and prejudicial, the judge said, 'That's not derogatory--that's just the word we use.' "

Editorial Opinion

Jury Service for All

In the past two weeks, Montgomery attorney Solomon S. Seay has filed suits attacking the Montgomery County and Lee County jury systems.

Unlike most of the jury suits now pending, these complaints do more than challenge the exclusion of Negroes from jury service. Instead, they challenge jury systems that exclude all people who are not socially, politically, or economically successful.

This type of discrimination is just as serious, and just as unfair, as discrimination against Negroes alone. A defendant in a criminal case, for instance, may suffer at the hands of rich, overly righteous jurors.

"Blue ribbon" juries, if they do in fact exist in these counties, should be done away with.

Letters to the Editor

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Dr. Rosey E. Pool
Department of English and Foreign Languages
Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College

I ask where is the rest room. I was informed it was in the basement of the courthouse. As I went in the basement, I saw a sign on the door of the rest room at the Luverne Alabama Courthouse say white men and another say Colored men.

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A.D.S. Harris
Montgomery

* * * *

To the Editor:

Teachers in Bullock Raise Rights Issues

For Lowndes, Wilcox

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Dr. Rosey E. Pool
Department of English and Foreign Languages
Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College
Normal

(Following are three poems by one of Dr. Pool's students, Billie C. Cooper, a senior English major.)

THE MIND PUT ME ON THE MOVE
My mind is a funny old thing
It keeps me moving,
It makes me sing.

My mind tells me to speak my piece
And shed my armor of docility
And break out of my cage of
Submissiveness like a beast.

So I'm coming white man,
Heading straight toward you;
Not with the mind of Booker T.
But with the vigor, vitality, intellect
And cunning of W.E.B.

I'M A NIGGER TOO
Look up,
Take a good stare at me,
Call me nigger,
Call me black dog,
Tell me to isolate myself completely
From your existence;
Do this, and I'll be on my way.

Give me my discharge and
I'll be on my way;
Leaving you to fight roaches, gnats
Rats and Viet Congs
All by yourself.

I'll dance to the rock 'n' roll
While your belly lies on the turbulent
Sands of unacquainted hell!

COMMENT
Congratulations!
You're the governoress.
Not the governess.
Cling!
Yes, cling to your husband like
A babe in search of milk.
He'll still the hunger of your life--
Leaving you to face the public
For his hit-and-run.

* * * *

To the Editor:

I am enjoying The Southern Courier very much. Thanks for making it possible for us to read and see pictures of many wonderful things. Keep up the good work.

May God and Our Holy Mother bless you.

G.E. Pate
Selma

* * * *

To the Editor:

I was in Luverne, Alabama, with my wife and mother, paying tax on property . . .My wife handed the tax collector the money, and he counted the change and throwed it on the counter to her.

I ask where is the rest room. I was informed it was in the basement of the courthouse. As I went in the basement, I saw a sign on the door of the rest room at the Luverne Alabama Courthouse say white men and another say Colored men.

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Montgomery

* * * *

To the Editor:

Your issue of Nov. 19-20, 1966, showed me a ugly sight. Some of Loveless Jr. High School students raking leaves.

In your article, principle Rawls H. Dobbins stated that the boys volunteered to do this type work during their study period.

I am wondering: during the first and second weeks after school had opened, when I saw 15 or 20 boys using swing blades to swing down weeds and grass that had grown up over the campus during the summer--Principal Dobbins, were those volunteers, too?

Seem to me since our children are so far behind, every moment they have to study, they should be encouraged to do so. Instead of doing what our foreparents was force to do.

My reason for knowing that our children needs to study at all of their leisure moments--I had the privilege of driving two of the first students to and fro to Lanier Sr. High School. After listening to their conversation, I determined there was so much that they had not had before they entered Lanier. In order to help those students, we had to set up secret private tutoring classes.

I am also wondering if it wasn't some of the same children who would have like to volunteer to join the march from Selma to Montgomery against injustice, along with other people who were here from all over the world. This is a fact because a lady stop with me from Liverpool, England.

Will this volunteer work make principal Rawls H. Dobbins principal of the year?

Principal Rawls H. Dobbins, what kind of volunteer work is being done on the inside?

Mrs. Idessa Williams
Montgomery

'GOOD FAITH'

MONTGOMERY--The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and SCLC have sent a letter to J.C. Spikes, manager of the downtown S.H. Kress & Co. dime store, praising his "good faith" response to Negro demands for equal employment opportunities.

In a statement issued this week, the MIA and SCLC noted that four Negroes have already been hired at the Kress store, "and others are expected to be hired during the Christmas holidays."

The MIA-SCLC joint committee on equal employment opportunities said it has given "serious thought" to the job situation at other stores, "particularly" H.L. Green Co. From Nov. 14 to Nov. 19, the committee said, 26,546 Negroes and 6,946 white people entered the Green store--indicating that Negroes give the company 81% of its business.

laws."

The discussion took place at a conference on "dual justice" co-sponsored by the Fellowship of the Concerned (a group of Southern women), the Southern Regional Council, and the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The 35 people who showed up were supposed to discuss ways of bringing equal justice to Southern courts. But they also spent a lot of time telling each other about the problems the civil rights movement is facing, in and out of court.

"I don't believe in demonstrations for demonstrations," said Seay. "I do believe in demonstrations as a last resort. Here in Montgomery, quite a lot of things can be done by going to responsible public officials. But we have lost

Both civil rights attorneys agreed that state jury systems should be revised to end racial discrimination. Seay said it would take more than the recent letter from state Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers to the jury commissioners, urging them to put Negroes as well as whites on their jury lists.

"In Elmore County, if they pull a Negro's name out of the jury box by mistake, they just don't subpoena him," Seay said. "He doesn't find out he's been called for jury service until the chance for service is gone."

"The jury system might be cleaned up some time in the next 500 years," Seay said. "Trouble is these people just don't want soul brothers sitting on their juries."

The only solution, he said, is for Ne-

Teachers in Bullock Raise Rights Issues

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--"They're threatening to get me fired because I've been active in civil rights," a Negro teacher in the Bullock County schools said this week.

"I'm not the only one. There's about half a dozen of us they want to get rid of."

The teachers--who didn't want their names used--admitted they weren't sure exactly where the pressure is coming from.

A civil rights leader blamed the Negro principals. But one Bullock County teacher said he didn't think it was the principals' fault. "They got jobs to hold onto like the rest of us," he said. "I feel like they'd be with us if we give them the chance.

"I think the real pressure is coming from higher up. If the principals are bothering people, that's because they're being told to bother them. One way or another, it comes down from the school board."

Bullock County Schools Superintendent Edward M. Lindbloom said the board of education doesn't take any stand for or against civil rights activity by teachers.

"It's not our policy" to fire teachers for civil rights work, he said.

But the complaints became loud enough that the all-Negro Bullock County Teachers' Association (BCTA) took a step to protect its members.

Rufus C. Huffman, BCTA president, appointed a new welfare committee "to seek active teacher participation in the shaping of school policy" and "to see that each teacher is free to teach."

Huffman didn't mention civil rights. But, a teacher said, five of the seven committee members have supported the county's civil rights movement in the past.

The other two members of the committee are Fred Chambers, principal of Merritt High School in Midway, and Theodore White, principal of Carver High School in Union Springs. Both of them said they did not oppose civil rights work by teachers.

"A teacher's personal life is hers," said Chambers. "If she wants to engage in anything, that's her decision."

"I have never said a person could not participate," said White. "I think all teachers know what their civic responsibilities are. How could you live in a society and not be concerned with your civil rights? "

The county's other Negro high school principal, Albert Lancaster of Bullock County Technical High School in Inverness, said, "I don't have an opinion about that. I just run a school."

Job security was only one of the civil rights issues in the county schools.

Several teachers said they felt a federal-court desegregation order was being ignored. They said an in-service training meeting Nov. 10 was planned for Negro teachers only, although the order says such meetings should be for all teachers.

The meeting was held in South Highland Elementary School, which enrolls only Negro students. Superintendent Lindbloom and several co-ordinators and supervisors--mostly white, a few Negro--sat at the front of the room. More than 100 Negro teachers attended the meeting. There were no white teachers present.

Lindbloom said the meeting "looked integrated to me. We're following the order as we understand it . . . . I'm not going into that until we're told what to do."

The teachers also complained that the county school system has bypassed qualified Negroes to hire whites for administrative positions. Lindbloom said he has employed only one new man, to run federal projects.

The teachers charged that Negroes and whites are riding on different sides of a school bus to Midway, under the bus driver's orders. "I haven't heard this," Lindbloom said. "Of course, we do ask all bus drivers to maintain discipline."

Judge Rules On Church Question

MOBILE--A local congregation that disagrees with the policies of the parent church may not withdraw from the denomination and keep the church property.

That was the ruling made by Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas last week, as he ordered Prichard's Northside Bible Church (formerly Trinity Methodist Church) to return the church property to the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference.

Judge Thomas struck down Alabama's Dumas Act, which says that if 65% of a local congregation disagrees with the social policy of the parent body, its members can withdraw from the denomination. And, it says, they can keep the church property, even if it is owned by the parent church.

Most disagreements over social policy arise when local churches resist the denomination's integration requirements.

R.L. Hoaglund Jr., Mobile Methodist district superintendent, said he didn't know if the Prichard dispute began over integration or some other issue. But, he said, Judge Thomas' decision "is significant because of the legal basis on which it was made . . . .The basic issue was the right of any church group . . .to establish a form of (self) government."

needs to be standardized the way the federal courts are," Seay said.

not derogatory--that's just the word we use.' "

For Lowndes, Wilcox

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The money will be used for adult basic education classes and family development services for migrant farm workers in the two counties. These programs will attempt to teach new skills to tenant farmers who are in danger of losing their present jobs.

When the grants were first announced last June, Governor George C. Wallace loudly objected, saying the federal government was financing "the revolutionary 'black power' movement." Wallace said the Lowndes County Christian Movement was closely tied to the Lowndes County Freedom Organization--the black panther political group.

The next day, OEO Director Sargent Shriver said the grants to Lowndes and Wilcox would be held up while Governor Wallace's charges were investigated.

But last week, in releasing the money, Shriver said he had found "no basis for any longer witholding funds."

There were some conditions, however.

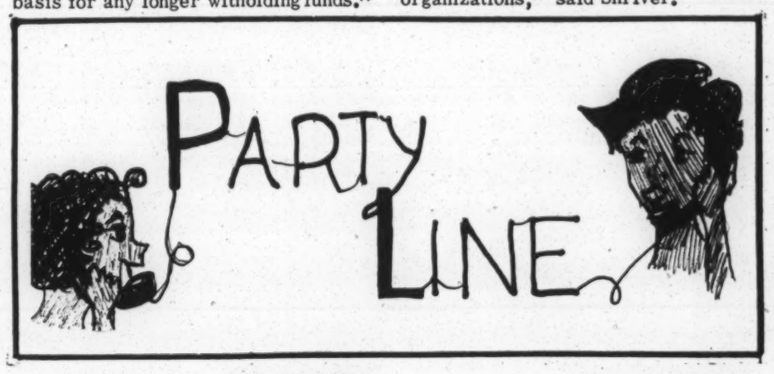
One was that both groups must get OEO approval of their staff directors. The Lowndes group has nominated retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel McDawson Burton to be director, and the Wilcox group has named Willie R. Stephens, a science teacher at South Macon High School. Neither Burton--who now works in the office of the Tuskegee Institute dean of men--nor Stephens has been approved by OEO.

Another condition was that both groups agree to have their books set up and supervised by an accounting firm. And a third was that the two groups' board members could not be officers or candidates of any partisan political organizations.

OEO said that Robert Strickland, an officer of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, resigned his party post so he could work with the anti-poverty program.

OEO said that two white people have agreed to serve on the nine-member governing board in Lowndes County, and five whites have accepted places on the 18-member board in Wilcox.

"The two grantee agencies have made and are continuing to make every attempt to involve the entire community, both white and Negro, in their organizations," said Shriver.



Spring Hill

The Rev. and Mrs. David Denard Sr. celebrated their golden wedding anniversary last month. The guest list of 100 people included ministers from Montgomery, Ozark, Phenix City, Eufaula, and Columbus, Ga. Among the gifts were a new gas range, a television set, a baby bottle, and telephone calls from relatives in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and New York.

Meridian, Miss.

The first Head Start classes under the new Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP) board began here last Monday, at Mt. Zion Baptist Church and the Newell Chapel Methodist Church. By the end of the week, a total of 21 units were to be operating at the two churches, with 15 children per unit.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, of Chicago, has been appointed director of special projects and economic development for SCLC. He will head a new SCLC department for stimulating the development and expansion of Negro businesses and services, improving job opportunities for Negroes, and raising funds for SCLC programs. Jackson will maintain an office in Chicago, where he has headed the Operation Breadbasket job-producing operation of the Chicago Freedom Movement.

New York City

The NAACP said this week that a federal court order in an Alabama case was "a historic advance in the struggle for economic equality." The order, handed down by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La., required a local labor union in Gadsden, Ala., to handle Negro members' complaints about racial discrimination. The legal action was begun four years ago by Negro members of Local 12 of the United Rubber Workers at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Gadsden.

Washington, D.C.

Sixteen young scholars have been named National Teaching Fellows at six Mississippi colleges. Under the federal National Teaching Fellowship Program, they have received up to $6,500 a year to teach at small, financially-limited institutions. Fellows include Miss Zelma R. Califf, Charles A. Clark, and Charles W. Garraway at Delta State College; William T. Douglas, Larry A. McFarlane, and Miss Nell A. Pickett at Hinds Junior College; Miss Dorothy Jane Cameron and William I. Peltz at Millsaps College; Henry E. Conerly, Michael A. Knippers, Robert A. Lott, Mrs. Eleanor C. Rawls, and Nathaniel V. Robbins III at Pearl River Junior College; Frank Edward Moorer and Jeffrey H. Nolte at Rust College; and Miss Jeanette Redford at Southwest Mississippi Junior College.

UPPER LEFT: JOAN BAEZ AND JAMES ORANGE. ABOVE, MIDDLE: MIKE BIBLER. UPPER RIGHT: IRA SANDPERL LEANING ON LECTERN, JIM LAWSON POINTING. BELOW, RIGHT: DR. KING AND RALPH ABERNATHY JOIN IN "WE SHALL OVERCOME."

FROGMORE RETREAT

FROGMORE, S.C.--Weary from a year of laboring in the movement, the staff and executives of SCLC retreated for three days to Penn Community Center in Frogmore.

By plane, car, and bus they journeyed from the ghettoes of Chicago, the black belt of Alabama, the Delta of Mississippi, and the home office in Atlanta, Ga.

Special guests at the retreat were folk-singer Miss Joan Baez; the director of her Institute of Nonviolence, Ira Sandperl; and her secretary, Miss Susan Sandperl.

Over 90 SCLC workers participated in aggressive debates and spirited seminars to find answers to the questions: Where have we been? Where are we? Where are we going?

Despite the seriousness of the task, a jovial mood of reunion prevailed. Many of the staff members hadn't seen each other for more than a year.

Do you remember the Rev. James Orange, Mike Bibler, the Rev. James Lawson, the Rev. Martin Luther King, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Winters Knox, J. T. Johnson, the Rev. Andrew Young, Stoney Cooks, Miss Debra Frankl, the Rev. James Bevel, and Ben "Sunshine" Owens? They are in the photos.

Photos by Bob Fitch (SCLC)

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ABOVE: BEN "SUNSHINE" OWENS AND JAMES BEVEL.
BELOW: WINTERS KNOX, J.T. JOHNSON, ANDY YOUNG, STONEY COOKS, UNIDENTIFIED MEMBER, AND DEBRA FRANKL.

Election Splits Birmingham Negro Leaders

THE LOSERS: ROBINSON (FAR LEFT); MARTIN AND HIS WIFE

BY MARY WISSLER

BIRMINGHAM -- In Jefferson County, the Nov. 8 election did more than guarantee that Alabama will be Wallace country for another four years. It divided Negro leaders into two camps which are likely to oppose each other in many future elections. It proved that most Negro voters will not automatically pull the Democratic lever when another candidate looks better. And it showed that Republicans will have to do more than out-Wallace Wallace to get many Negro votes in the future.

For anyone who agreed with either the national Democrats or the national Republicans, there was no attractive candidate running in the gubernatorial election. Governor George C. Wallace (husband of the Democratic nominee) had fostered a bill opposing federal school desegregation guidelines, Republican James D. Martin said he didn't want the Negro vote, and Independent Carl Robinson probably couldn't win.

The older Negro Democratic organizations--the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc., and the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council--deliberated a long time and finally decided to endorse Mrs. Wallace and the rest of the Democratic ticket. To endorse a split ticket, they thought, would confuse the voters. If Wallace was a demagogue, they reasoned, at least he was a first-class demagogue, and his segregationist stands often brought the federal government straight in to Alabama.

But the seven-month-old Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations (COAPO) didn't like those arguments. COAPO endorsed Martin for governor and Republican Don Collins for attorney general. In letters sent to leading citizens a week before the election, COAPO leaders admitted that Martin was no better than Wallace, and that they didn't like voting for "republicanism." But they thought that the most important thing was to get Wallace out of office.

Some independent clergy, led by the Rev. Joseph Lowery of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, tried to bring Negro leaders together in a state-wide "summit conference" two weeks before the election to agree on one candidate. Some leaders showed up for the meeting, but many didn't, and no agreement was reached.

The result on election day was that the Negro vote split wide open -- wider than in any previous election--and that lot of people just stayed home. In Jefferson County as a whole, slightly under 70 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls on election day. But in some solidly Negro precincts, more than half the registered voters went fishing instead.

The votes of those who did go to the polls reflected more independent thinking than in any previous election. Most voters in heavily Negro precincts rebelled against the Wallaces and against the traditional Negro Democratic endorsing organizations, and crossed party lines to pull the lever for Martin or Robinson.

Most of the voters then voted a straight Democratic ticket for other officers. In these precincts, Wallace tallied about 40 per cent of the vote and Robinson and Martin split the remaining vote roughly in half.

COAPO workers believe that their efforts gave Martin what votes he got. "Voting for Martin was the last thing most Negroes thought of doing," explained Pastor Joseph Ellwanger, chairman of the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. "Without COAPO's endorsement, Martin's Negro votes would have gone about half for Wallace and half for Robinson."

Why? Because Wallace was Democratic and was endorsed by the organizations Negroes were used to listening to, while Robinson had spoken to more Negro organizations than any other candidate and was the only contender that Negroes could believe in.

But COAPO, new and poorly financed, also made some tactical errors that compromised its influence. One lesson that all Negro groups learned from the primary was that effective endorsements would have to be a game of underworld politics for a long time to come. COAPO's plan of action for the Nov. 8 balloting was to canvass neighborhoods a week before the election, persuading voters to support COAPO's slate of candidates, whatever it turned out to be. Then the word on endorsements would go out by way of community meetings and printed letters the night before the election.

Even COAPO's supporters admit, however, that their campaign turned out to be no more than a last minute, desperate attempt to unseat Wallace. Canvassers worked hard only the last two or three days before the election and the number of voters they could reach in that time was naturally limited.

The day before the election, when the Democratic organizations sent out ballots clearly marked for a straight Democratic ticket, COAPO stapled together letters from Martin and Collins asking for the support of every Alabamian, stamped "endorsed by COAPO" on the bottom, and circulated them in Negro neighborhoods.

Outside of Birmingham, according to the Rev. T. Y. Rogers, of Tuscaloosa, COAPO president, the organization spread the word at 75 mass meetings the night before the election.

After the voting was over, Rogers blamed the low Negro turn-out on fear and on the quality of the candidates. "Many Negroes did not vote at all because they did not see a clear-cut choice in the two men running for governor," Rogers said. "Many Negroes did not support Negro candidates because of fear of retaliation, fear of physical reprimands, fear of economic reprisals."

Rogers promised that COAPO will continue working. One specific goal, he said, was teaching people how to write-in the candidate of their choice.

In Birmingham, the election sharpened the differences between the Negro groups. The "old-line" Democratic leadership and the "new-line" or "progressive" leadership now represent two clusters of Negro political opinion. Their competition for followers is likely to be a part of any election in the near future.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

THE WINNERS: WALLACES CAMPAIGNING IN BIRMINGHAM

Brooke of Massachusetts

A SENATOR FOR 'ALL THE PEOPLE'

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Brooke of Massachusetts

A SENATOR FOR 'ALL THE PEOPLE'

BY PETER D. HOUGHTELING

BOSTON, Massachusetts--Edward W. Brooke is a surprising politician. He seems to win elections because he is not what people expect him to be.

Brooke, a Negro, is a Republican. He is the new United States senator from Massachusetts.

He is the first Negro ever elected to the Senate by popular vote. When he takes his seat next January, he will also be the first Negro senator since Reconstruction.

One surprise about Brooke is that his racial background did not play much part in his recent victory or in his past political successes. Race has not been an issue in any of his campaigns.

When Brooke ran for the Senate this year, some of his supporters feared that "white backlash," which was expected to affect elections all over the United States, would hurt him. But the results show that only a few people voted against him because of his race.

One reason is that Massachusetts has had little racial violence for several years. There were no riots to frighten white voters.

Another reason is that neither Brooke nor his Democratic opponent made any mention of Brooke's race.

And, finally, Brooke was well-known to Massachusetts voters from four years as the state's attorney general. In these years, he made his reputation by uncovering and prosecuting more than 100 cases of corruption in the state government.

But that doesn't mean that Brooke's race helped him win the election. Only two per cent of Massachusetts voters are Negroes, and their heavy support of Brooke did not make much difference. He may have been helped by "white frontlash"--white liberals who voted for him because he is a Negro--but not very much.

EDWARD W. BROOKE

Brooke sees himself as a successful politician who happens to be black. Although he is intensely proud to be a Negro, he says, he doesn't feel that he was elected to represent Negro interests.

As attorney general, he once said: "I see myself as attorney general for all peoples; the moment I become a specifically Negro attorney general, I cease to do justice to my office and, in fact, I squander whatever effectiveness I might have in advancing civil rights."

He feels the same way about being a United States senator.

Brooke is also a surprise because, as he has said himself, he is not a leader in the field of civil rights. His position on these issues is moderate, and hard to pin down.

He has openly supported all federal civil rights legislation, and he has called for more effective enforcement of the recent civil rights laws and court decisions. But when a bill came up in the Massachusetts legislature to allow the state to withhold money from racially-imbalanced school systems, Brooke made no public statements.

He says he is in favor of nonviolent demonstrations, especially as a way of testing laws and bringing injustice to light. But when Boston civil rights groups announced a school boycott and a sit-in to protest the city's practice of segregating schools by the way district boundaries are drawn, Brooke tried to persuade them to give up their demonstrations.

He has also spoken strongly against any kind of violent protest.

According to one of Brooke's assistants, the attorney general approves of black power, "if it means political and economic solidarity to pull Negroes up by their bootstraps."

At the same time, Brooke has said he doesn't want to see the civil rights movement drive away its white friends. "I believe the Negroes must win allies, not conquer adversaries," he says.

Brooke has been critical of the militant civil rights groups, especially SNCC and its chairman, Stokely Carmichael. In his victory speech two weeks ago, the attorney general told Massachusetts voters that Carmichael was "one of those who would divide us."

As a result, Brooke is unpopular with some civil rights leaders. He has been called an "Uncle Tom" by Boston groups. And, on a trip to Boston shortly after the election, Carmichael laughed mockingly when he said to a Negro audience:

"They tell me you've got a Negro

REPUBLICANS GET TOGETHER: SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSEN (ILL.), SENATOR THRUSTON B. MORTON (KY.), GOVERNOR-ELECT RAYMOND P. SHAFER (PA.), AND SENATOR-ELECT EDWARD W. BROOKE (MASS.)

senator."

Brooke's personal background may help explain why he is not a militant supporter of civil rights activity, and why he has never chosen to run for office as a Negro spokesman.

He grew up in Washington, D. C., where his father was a lawyer for the government. Unlike many Negroes in the city, he was not poor. He met with segregation and prejudice as he was growing up, but he says that these experiences never made him bitter.

Brooke was graduated from Howard University in 1941, and then served in the army in Europe for five years. He was honored for his work behind enemy lines with the Italian Underground. While he was working in Italy, he met a young Italian woman, Miss Remigia Scacco-Ferrarri, who later became his wife.

After law school and three unsuccessful campaigns for state office, Brooke was elected attorney general of Massachusetts in 1962. At that point, he became America's highest elected Negro official.

According to his press secretary, "At first the newspapers played up the fact that Brooke was a Negro. After a few months, everyone forgot about it, because Brooke was making his name as an effective attorney general."

In 1964, Brooke ran again for attorney general. But he refused to support his party's candidate for President, Senator Barry Goldwater, the Arizona conservative. It was one of many occasions on which Brooke has refused to go along with the party when he thought the leadership was wrong.

While most Republican candidates were swamped in 1964 by the Democratic landslide, Brooke surprised the political observers once again. He won by a two-to-one margin.

Now that he will be a senator, he is expected to be a leader in the GOP's liberal wing, along with Michigan Governor George Romney and others.

Despite the victories of some conservative Republican candidates this fall, Brooke does not think his party's future belongs to men like California Governor-elect Ronald Reagan or former Senator Goldwater. Brooke believes that the 1968 elections will make the whole Republican Party more liberal.

By the time Brooke decided to run for the Senate earlier this year, he was a veteran politician and a very popular figure in Massachusetts. His opponent was almost as popular and just as well-known -- former Governor Endicott Peabody, a liberal Democrat.

The differences between Peabody and Brooke were not remarkable. Both men supported the liberal legislation of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Both had spoken out in favor of the war on poverty, federal aid to education and to cities, and federal civil rights laws.

But there was one major difference between the candidates. Peabody completely supported the Johnson administration on the war in Viet Nam. Brooke, displaying his usual independence from the Republican Party, called for greater efforts to get a peace settlement. He also demanded an end to the gradual stepping-up of the war. "I think the American people want this war ended," he said in his victory speech the night of Nov. 8.

Brooke's stand was surprising because nearly all the leaders of the Republican Party have criticized the liberal Great Society legislation and urged a tougher policy in Viet Nam. Brooke did just about the opposite.

The attorney general won the election for the Senate seat with a healthy 60% of the votes. A large part of his success was probably due to his skill as a campaigner. Brooke is a good speaker--some people think him the best among the state's politicians. And he has a warm, friendly manner that draws crowds and keeps them listening to whatever he has to say.

Brooke also has a quick sense of humor. As he was announcing his victory to a jubilant crowd, someone asked him which national leaders had congratulated him already.

"I've heard from George Wallace," he answered. Then he explained that he was referring to George Wallace of Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

Now Brooke is in the national spotlight, as one of the GOP's few new faces in the Senate. He has even been mentioned as a possible candidate for vice president in 1968.

Wherever his career may lead, Brooke says, he hopes that it will not be because he is a Negro. One sign that America is making progress in solving its racial problems is the election of a Negro to represent all the people, says Massachusetts' new senator.

Phila. Victim Pleads Guilty

PHILADELPHIA, Miss.--After Willie Jay Johnson got out of jail last week, he told about his encounter with Negro policeman Willie "Tripp" Windham.

He said he and his brother, Eugene, were walking home the night of Nov. 12, when "a police jumped out from behind a post. He had a .38 in his hand, and started shouting, 'I got y'all. Y'all

WILLIE JAY JOHNSON

under arrest. Y'all drunk.' "

Johnson said the policeman, Windham, called another Negro officer, Charles "Steve" Huddleston, and "mentioned I had shot at him." But, said Johnson, "I didn't have no gun with me."

Then, said Johnson, there was a struggle. "They drug me down to the road, picked me up, and throwed me in the truck," he said. "In the truck, they kicked me in the eye." He said he gave the officers "no cause" for such treatment.

Last Monday, though, Johnson pleaded guilty to charges of drunkenness and resisting arrest. Mayor Clayton Lewis fined him $28. A more serious charge of assault and battery with intent to kill was dropped.

In National Achievement Program

82 May Win Scholarships

EVANSTON, Ill.--Eighty-two students from Alabama and Mississippi have been named finalists in the National Achievement Scholarship Program for outstanding Negro students.

These students--now seniors in high school--have a chance to win four-year scholarships to the colleges of their choice.

Across the nation, 1,150 Negro high school seniors have been named finalists. They were chosen from more than 30,000 candidates. More than 250 scholarships, worth from $250 to $1,500 per year, will be awarded in March.

The National Achievement Scholarship Program is under the direction of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

Alabama and Mississippi finalists, and the schools they attended as juniors:

ALABAMA

ANNISTON: Jacqueline Ann Render (Cobb Ave.). AUBURN: Howard Parker (Drake).

BIRMINGHAM: Martha M. Bracy (Carver), Brenda J. Burton (Ullman), Ransey C. Clark (Western Olin), Barbara A. Giles (Holy Family), Rufus E. King (Carver), Wayne Mixon (Carver), Alfreda Rutledge (Wenonah), Ronald Washington (Parker), Bernadette E. Weston (Ullman), Beryl A. Williams (Western Olin).

BRIGHTON: Annie R. Eubanks (Brighton), Rhonda Nunn (Brighton). BRUNDIDGE: Cynthia M. Smith (Hillcrest). CAMP HILL: Belinda Burns (Edward Bell).

FAIRFIELD: Frank C. McCaslin (Fairfield Industrial School). FLORENCE: Lemon E. Cooper (Burrell Slater), Katrinia S. Scruggs (Burrell Slater). GOSHEN: Evie L. Bradley (G.H. Stringer).

HUNTSVILLE: Bobby J. Anderson (S. R. Butler), Lillie M. Holloway (Councill), Marjorie L. Wilkins (Councill).

MOBILE: Elizabeth Grace (Central), George R. Horn Jr. (Murphy), Jeffrie R. Robinson (Central).

MONROEVILLE: Clement B. Nettle (Union), MONTGOMERY: Jacqueline E. Rogers (St. Jude), Francine J. Smith (St. Jude).

MOUNDVILLE: Theolester McGinnis (Moundville Public School). NORMAL: Thelma J. Fuqua (Council Training School). OPELIKA: Clarence Hugley (J.W. Darden).

PELL CITY: Norma J. Holt (St. Clair County Training School). PLATEAU: Gwendolyn Ayler (Mobile County Training School), Willie L. Green (Mobile County Training School).

SELMA: Glenda A. Fort (Hudson), Quentin L. Lane (Hudson), Edward A. Maddox III (Hudson).

TUSCALOOSA: Ruth M. Louie (Druid). TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE: John W. Hines Jr. (Tuskegee Institute). WARRIOR: Gwenetta Moon (North Jefferson).

OUT OF STATE: Elaine Robertson of Selma (Holy Rosary Institute, Lafayette, La.), Gwendolyn W. Goodloe of Tuskegee Institute (St. Clara Academy, Sinsinawa, Wisconsin).

MISSISSIPPI

BAY ST. LOUIS: Glenda M. Singleton (St. Rose De Lima). BILOXI: Gloria O. Fields (M.F. Nichols). BROOKHAVEN: Monroe B. Brock (Alexander).

CANTON: Aden Luckett (Holy Child Jesus). CLARKSDALE: Robert Burton (Immaculate Conception), Willie L. Pernell (Coahoma Agricultural), Clifton E. Shaw (Higgins).

COLUMBIA: Janice B. Wilson (Jefferson). GREENWOOD: Edwina E. Ankton (Threadgill), Darryl L. Brownlow (Threadgill), Alton T. James (Amanda Elzy).

HAZLEHURST: Gloria E. Jefferson (Parrish), Robert W. Smith (Parrish), Troy J. Stewart (Parrish). HOLLY SPRINGS: George O. Caldwell (St. Mary's), S.T. Tidwell (St. Mary's).

JACKSON: Frances J. Bass (Lanier), Patricia A. Bass (Holy Ghost), Christine Brown (Jim Hill), Earline Butler (Jim Hill), Gladys M. Caldwell (Brinkley), Ruth G. Cunningham (St. Joseph), Jennifer C. Daniels (Lanier), Aaron M. Fowlkes (Brinkley), Margaret L. Harris (Holy Ghost), Jeanne M. Middleton (Jim Hill), Gwendolyn Myers (Jim Hill), LaVergne P. Randolph (Lanier), Lynda C. Robinson (Lanier), Marion E. Roots (Lanier).

LAUREL: Wilborn P. Nobles (Oak Park). McCOMB: Gerald D. Jones (C.D. Higgins). UTICA: Alvin F. Stamps (Hinds County Agricultural), LeRoy Stamps (Hinds County Agricultural).

VICKSBURG: Ralph B. Lassiter (Rosa A. Temple), George L. Regan (Rosa A. Temple), Jacqueline B. Stewart (Rosa A. Temple). YAZOO CITY: William N. Nelson (St. Francis).

OUT OF STATE: Wilburn Williams Jr. of Greenwood (Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire).

BIRMINGHAM POLITICS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

Many leading citizens have already taken sides. Three days before the election, a group of local leaders including the president of Miles College, the president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the vice-president of the Alabama Christian Movement, and the head of Birmingham's COAPO publicly declared that it was "absolutely incredible thay any responsible Negro leadership would ask Negro citizens to vote for the Wallaces."

Only one thing seems certain--that hostility will increase between the group that doesn't want Negro political endorsements tied to any one party, and the traditional leaders whom COAPO supporters are beginning to call the "blacklash."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. Monday, Nov. 28, in St. John Baptist Church, 1300 12th Ave. North, the Rev. L.N. Craig, pastor. Guest speaker will be the Rev. C.H. George.

Mrs. Isaac Dickson

of the First CME Church in Montgomery says: "I was able to purchase music for the choir with the money I made from my

Southern Courier Subscription Drive

CHURCH GROUPS! CLUBS! ORGANIZATIONS! Would you like to make money, too? Are you having a fund drive, or is there something you would like to buy?

Have a subscription drive for The Southern Courier, and join the many other groups who are raising money this way. Sell subscriptions to your friends and members, and share in the profits.

Call us at 262-3572 in Montgomery, or write us at 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104, for full details. Don't wait--DO IT TODAY!

WJLD

1400 on Your Dial

Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

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THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

810 29th Ave.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

CHRISTMAS SPECIAL of The Freedom Quilting Bee

Patch work quilts (complex and difficult designs)	$25.00
Patch work quilts (less complex designs)	$20.00
Sun bonnets	$ 3.00

We will try to appoximate your requests for size, color and design if you wish.

ORDER BLANK

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Item	Quantity	Price
		Total

Postage or freight charges will be paid by The Freedom Quilting Bee. Please enclose check or money order with mail order.

Madam Choctaw

INDIAN HEALER & ADVISOR

Are you sick? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to MADAM CHOCTAW today and be rid of them tomorrow.

4 MILES FROM BOYLSTON ON LOWER WETUMPKA ROAD

LOOK FOR INDIAN HEAD SIGN IN FRONT OF HER HOME

WJLD

1400 on Your Dial

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6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

BIG D RADIO

***Radio Station* WAPX**

HAS INSTITUTED **The Pastor's Study**

BROADCAST DAILY

MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

THE PASTOR'S STUDY is a daily devotional prepared under the auspices of and in conjunction with the Montgomery Ministerial Alliance. Listen to your favorite minister in our Pastor's Study.

Also, for your continuing listening, our GOSPEL PROGRAMS, 4:00 to 6:00 AM and 9:15 to 11:00 AM, and with Gretchen Jenkins from 11:00 AM to 12 Noon, Monday thru Friday.

WAPX Radio

1600 k.c. on your dial

WMOO

50,000 Watts **Top Dial 1550**

Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM

6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM

6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
9:30-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

THE GOODWILL GIANT
MOBILE, ALA.

WANT ADS

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--The next meeting will be Tuesday, Nov. 29, at 7 p.m. in the Westminster Presbyterian Church, 20 Sixth Ave. South. Emphasis during December will be placed on action. All residents of the area are invited. Lionel Williams, president.

KRISTEE FOUR-YEAR BULBS---Guaranteed to do away with frequent burn-outs, replacement buying, and bulb-snatching. And they do away with the harsh, irritating "hot spot" of ordinary bulbs. Call 265-0390 in Montgomery.

PUPPIES FOR FREE--I have three puppies to give away to anyone who wants a good little yard dog. The puppies are five months old. See Hattie Bailey, Rt. 3, Box 6, Marion, Ala. (on Jefferson St.)

JOB OPENINGS--The Southern Courier will soon be interviewing applicants for four positions on its business staff. Two people are needed to work on circulation and subscriptions, and two are needed to work on advertising. High pay, generous expense accounts. Applicants must be honest, responsible, and willing to work long hours, and they must be experienced or interested in business. A car is required. If interested, call 262-3572 in Montgomery to arrange an interview, or write to 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

RECEPTIONIST--Glamorous position for African-oriented young lady in AFRICAN cultural center. Requirements: typing, high-school diploma, willingness to pursue further business training. Write M.B. Olatunji, 875 West End Ave., New York, N.Y. 10025.

CAR FOR SALE--1954 Ford sedan, V-8 engine, air-conditioned, overdrive. $225. Phone 262-7010 in Montgomery, in the morning or before 7:30 p.m. in the evening.

EASY MONEY--The Southern Courier needs local distribution agents in Huntsville, Selma, Mobile, and Dothan. For organizing and supervising newsboys and news-stands, you can earn up to $50 in a few hours each week. Requirements are honesty and dependability--no experience necessary. If interested, call The Southern Courier, 262-3572 in Montgomery, or write to the Courier at 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

LET FREEDOM RING--Interested in freedom, civil rights, the United Nations, self determination, or other aspects of "the movements"? Then you will enjoy the use of our free "Let Freedom Ring!" telephone service. If you would like to become an informed citizen, simply dial our number for a new message each week. In Birmingham dial 322-7665, in Huntsville 539-1984, and in Anniston 236-5686.

ABOUT THE ABOVE AD--The above ad is a form of racist propaganda that the John Birch Society is using to try to cause disillusionment among Negroes and anyone else who will fall prey to their racist attitudes. Lawrence Williams, Birmingham.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. WHISPERS-- Jackie Wilson (Bruns.)
2. YOU CAN'T HIDE A HEART-ACHE-- Z.Z. Hill (Kent)
3. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
4. DON'T BE A DROPOUT-- James Brown (King)
5. NEVER LET ME GO-- Van Dykes (Mala)
6. I'M READY FOR LOVE-- Martha & Vandellas (Gordy)
7. STAY WITH ME-- Lorraine Ellison (W.B.)
8. MUSTANG SALLY-- Wilson Pickett (ATL.)
9. LOVE IS A HURTIN' THING-- Lou Rawls (Capitol)
10. TIME STOPPED-- Marvin Smith (Bruns.)
11. YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON-- Supremes (Motown)
12. I'M LOSING YOU-- Temptations (Gordy)
13. I'M YOUR PUPPET-- James & Bobby Purify (Bell)
14. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. St.)

SEND $1.00 FOR EACH 45 RPM--NO C.O.D.

Music Center One-Stop
P.O. Box 1041
Birmingham, Alabama

GUARANTEED DELIVERY

In Montgomery, Ala.

You Can Depend on WRMA

WRMA News airs racial, civic, and social information.

Do you have adequate street lights? Proper police protection? For a public complaint or a note of praise--call Norman Lumpkin, WRMA News, at 264-6440.

WRMA--950 on Your Dial

So Who's the Governor?

BY JIM SMITH

ATLANTA, Ga.--Although almost 1,000,000 Georgians voted Nov. 8, they couldn't elect a governor. And now three federal judges have ruled that the Georgia legislature can't elect one, either.

The federal court decision probably means that Georgia voters will have to go to the polls again, but nobody knows when or how. And anyway, the decision is being attacked by Georgia Attorney General Arthur K. Bolton. He is asking the U.S. Supreme Court to give the election back to the state legislature.

This confusion all came about because, for the first time in Georgia history, no candidate got a majority of the votes for governor in the Nov. 8 election.

Republican Congressman Howard "Bo" Callaway had 47.2% of the vote, and segregationist Democrat Lester Maddox got 46.8%. A determined write-in campaign gave former Governor Ellis Arnall, a racial moderate, 6% of the vote, and kept either major-party candidate from winning.

WILL THEY HAVE TO VOTE AGAIN?

The state constitution says that if no candidate gets a majority, the legislature should elect the governor, by a voice vote. But two lawsuits--one filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and one by a group of private citizens --said this would violate the U.S. constitution.

Last week, three federal judges agreed that an election by the state legislature would be unconstitutional. But the judges didn't say exactly what Georgia should do.

The next question that comes up, then, is whether write-in votes will be allowed if there is a new election. The citizens' suit, filed by Callaway supporters, asked the court to limit the next election to Callaway and Maddox. (Callaway, meanwhile, was trying to win over the write-in voters--mostly Negroes and liberals.)

But the ACLU--joined in its suit by supporters of the Arnall write-in--said limiting the election would "deprive the voters of Georgia of their right to vote for whomever they please by write-in ballot."

This is why Attorney General Bolton wants the legislature to pick the governor. He said he fears an endless series of elections without a winner, causing "a breakdown in the process of government."

Meanwhile, it looks as though the present governor, Carl Sanders, is going to be in office even after his term expires. Sanders will serve until the nation's most mixed-up election can be finally untangled.

HELP-HELP-HELP

REV. ROOSEVELT FRANKLIN
of Macon, Ga.
DIVINE
SPIRITUAL HEALER

Jesus is truly giving victory to many, many people's problems. SUCCESS CAN BE YOURS. See or write me today. I have a special message for every troubled soul. Last week many, many people were helped by my special selected Bible reading, to be read on Special Days. If you want to be delivered quickly, Send $1.00 and stamped, self-addressed envelope to:

REV. ROOSEVELT FRANKLIN
630 MORROW ST.
Macon, Ga., Phone SH. 5-6475
You will get these
SPECIAL SELECTED BIBLE
VERSES BY RETURN MAIL

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the Christian principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.

Game of the Week

Homecoming Win for SHS

BY HENRY CLAY MOORER

GREENVILLE--Greenville's Southside Rams celebrated homecoming last week with a solid 15-0 victory over the Chilton County Lions.

Early in the game Nov. 17, the Rams took a 2-0 lead when they caught a Chilton County back in the end zone for a safety.

Two touchdowns then iced the game for Greenville. Jimmy Fanning Jr. of the Rams ran for one score, and captain Bennie Betton made the other. After Betton's TD, Benjamin Daniels went over for the Rams' final point.

The Rams, coached by Rainey Varner and John Ogletree, have won four games and lost three.

The homecoming festival started Nov. 15, with the crowning of Miss Southside High School by the principal, the Rev. A.G. English. Miss SHS was Miss Bettye J. Holston, and her attendants were Miss Gloria Rudolph and Miss Dorothy Wilson.

Before the game two nights later, there was a homecoming parade down Main St. Captain Betton crowned Miss Homecoming--Miss Verna Hall--on the field before the game. Miss Hall's attendants were Miss Mildred Payne and Miss Gloria Lowery.

Earlier, the Robert L. Austin Bulldogs also scored a homecoming win over Chilton. The Bulldogs came up with a smashing 21-0 victory Nov. 11 in Georgiana.

Before the game, Austin had its first parade downtown. The small and smart R.L. Austin band performed at halftime.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

Effective Dec. 1st

the price of Haircuts

in Montgomery, Ala.

You Can Depend on WRMA

WRMA News airs racial, civic, and social information.

Do you have adequate street lights? Proper police protection? For a public complaint or a note of praise--call Norman Lumpkin, WRMA News, at 264-6440.

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NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

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Montgomery Barbers Association

SAY

Merry Christmas

with

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

CHRISTMAS SPECIAL--$1 OFF!!

Buy a $3.50 subscription for yourself, and send a year's subscription to a friend for only $2.50!!

FOR YOU:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

☐ $3.50 for one year ($10 in North, $25 Patron)
☐ $2 for 6 months (South only)
☐ $1 for 3 months (South only-paid in advance)

☐ BILL ME

☐ CHECK OR MONEY ORDER ENCLOSED

FOR A FRIEND:

Name _____

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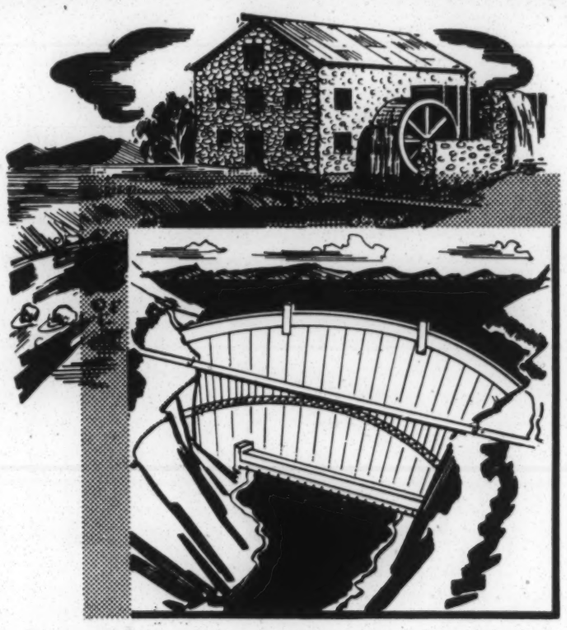

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL II, NO. 49 WEEKEND EDITION: DECEMBER 3-4, 1966 TEN CENTS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

JOE SMITHERMAN

City of Selma vs. Carmichael: A Wild Day in Recorder's Court

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

SELMA--The big question around the city early last Tuesday was whether or not SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael was going to show up for his trial. He did--a few minutes late, but he was there.

Cameramen had gathered outside the courtroom hours before the trial was to take place. Inside were spectators, mostly friends of the defendants--Carmichael and SNCC field secretary William S. House, both charged with inciting to riot. On the outside peeping in were some members of the police force and some white Selma citizens.

Many people had come to see just how Carmichael would handle his own case. Carmichael's attorney, Donald [illegible] Defense Committee, was barred last week because he is not licensed to practice in Alabama.

"Because the trial is supposed to be held in a dignified manner," Recorder's Court Judge E.P. Russell warned the spectators against whispers, giggles, or any sudden outburst. Although the people in the audience knew they could be held in contempt if they did giggle, sometimes they couldn't help it. They chuckled anyway, and the judge would raise up from his bench to see who it was.

House, neatly dressed in dark jacket, dark pants, and tie, also acted as his own lawyer. He asked Selma police Lieutenant Cotton Nichols, "What did you see that indicated that a riot could have started?"

"I saw some Negroes aroused who wouldn't usually get aroused on Saturdays," Nichols said.

House argued that the people on the [illegible] of his arrest, never reacted riotously. But he was found guilty, fined $100 plus court costs, and sentenced to 30 days' hard labor.

Carmichael was wearing blue jeans, a pin-striped shirt, boots, and sunglasses as he rose to defend himself.

When police Captain W. M. Hare testified that one of the reasons for Carmichael's arrest was his "advocating black power," Carmichael asked the officer to define black power. He didn't.

Another arresting officer, Captain F.R. LaPorte, said Selma Mayor Joe T. Smitherman ordered Carmichael's arrest. At that point, Carmichael asked that Smitherman be brought to the witness stand.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

4 Judges Hear Big School Case

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--The biggest school desegregation case of them all began last Wednesday before a panel of four federal judges. But it didn't get very far.

The first witness, State Schools Superintendent Austin R. Meadows, spent nearly five hours on the stand, testifying that Alabama's local school boards have the final say on the way their school districts are run.

But he also said that the state board of education thinks the desegregation guidelines laid down by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare last spring violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Meadows' testimony was round one of a mammoth hearing on suits attacking the state's anti-guidelines law and its policy of paying tuition grants to private school students. The federal court is being asked to order complete desegregation of the Alabama schools.

One motion heard Wednesday was filed by attorney Fred Gray. He charged that the anti-guidelines law passed by the state legislature this fall violated a 1964 court order telling Governor George C. Wallace and state school officials to stop interfering with local efforts to end racial discrimination in the schools.

The NAACP and the U.S. Justice Department presented suits of their own, attacking the anti-guidelines law and the tuition grants. Then attorneys for Wallace and the state school board added their suit, charging that the 1966 guidelines are illegal.

Most of Meadows' testimony was no surprise. He and Governor Wallace have repeatedly spoken out against the guidelines. But there were some new features.

Asked by Gray if he understood that the 1964 court order required him to promote school integration, Meadows said: "I approach the matter from the viewpoint of non-discrimination. Title VI (of the 1964 Civil Rights Act) does not mention segregation or desegregration. I have recommended that the local school boards not discriminate."

"Have you recommended or encouraged any superintendent of education to abolish segregation in his particular school system?" Gray asked.

"No . . . .I don't remember," Meadows said. Gray then read to the court a letter sent by Meadows to local school superintendents. It said in part:

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

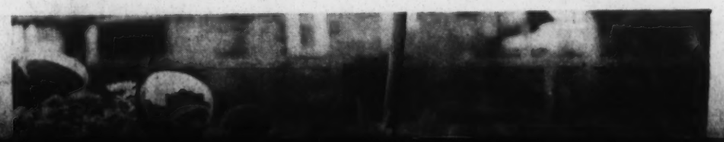
Motley Buried in Wetumpka

'TIME TO HAVE JUSTICE'

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

WETUMPKA--James Earl Motley was buried in the rain last Sunday, one week after he died in the Elmore County Jail.

The undertaker's artistry could not



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(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

County MFDP Leader's Daughter Loses Eye in Shooting Incident

ANGUILLA, Miss.--A shot fired by a night-rider put out Miss Jennice Joyce Willis' eye Thanksgiving night.

The girl's mother, Mrs. Lilly Willis, said her 13-year-old daughter went to the door as a car sped by the house. Miss Willis "poked her head out and got shot," her mother said.

Mrs. Willis was county MFDP chairman for 22 months before stepping down in November.

The injured girl was taken to Mercy Hospital in Vicksburg, Miss., where her right eye was removed last Friday morning. Eighteen other squirrel-shot pellets were found in her body. This week, Mrs. Willis said her daughter was at home and "getting along pretty good," although the eye "still pains a good bit."

Mrs. Willis, who was returning home at the time of the shooting, said she saw a white man driving the car the shots came from. She said she told Sharkey County Sheriff Johnny Cooper that the car was an old-model black and white Ford.

But last Wednesday morning, Deputy Sheriff J. K. McNeil said he didn't have any idea who did the shooting. "We didn't have nothin' to go on," he said.

Mrs. Willis said she took her daughter down to register at the previously all-white school last September, but was told eighth grade wasn't being desegregated. She said she and Jennice have marched together in several demonstrations, including the Meredith March.

"All I wanted was for her to have a better chance than I had," said Mrs. Willis after the shooting. "We weren't meaning to hurt any white people. We just wanted to put ourselves in shape, so we could meet with white people and know how to meet with them."

Motley Buried in Wetumpka

'TIME TO HAVE JUSTICE'

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

WETUMPKA--James Earl Motley was buried in the rain last Sunday, one week after he died in the Elmore County Jail.

The undertaker's artistry could not completely hide the bloody gashes on Motley's head. These wounds, witnesses say, were inflicted by the sheriff's deputy who arrested Motley two hours before his death.

"It is time for injustice to cease, time for people to stop taking the law into their own hands," said the Rev. C.B. Croskery at Motley's funeral in the Second Baptist Church.

"It is time for us to have justice. One good way to have justice is to pray to the man who has power over those rendering injustice."

Croskery said someone had told him before the service to "be careful what you say." But, said Croskery, "you don't have to be careful, preacher, because it's all over the world today. You don't have to be careful, preacher, because somebody knows what happened."

At least three eye-witnesses said last week that Elmore County sheriff's deputy Harvey Conner beat Motley after arresting him about 2 a.m. Nov. 20. Motley's body was taken from the jail to a funeral home at 4 a.m.

"Brother Motley can't hear me today," said Croskery at the funeral.

MISS GLORIA JEAN JOHNSON AT MOTLEY'S GRAVE

"I'm talking to you who are living--you who can do something about it .... Get ready to stand up for your rights."

"Watch, watch where you go," Croskery told the hundreds of mourners jammed into the church. "Watch your step. Watch your enemies. They all along the highways.

"Wait on the Lord and keep on praying, keep on hoping and keep on trusting . . . .Stay with God and everything will be all right."

Among the mourners for Motley, a 27-year-old Negro, were his mother, Mrs. Daisy Varner; his step-father, William Varner Jr.; three sisters, and two brothers. Miss Edna Mae Bowman and Miss Gloria Jean Johnson, two witnesses to the alleged beating, were flower girls.

Meanwhile, several agencies were investigating Motley's death. At midweek, none had made its findings public.

Dr. Joseph Benson, Elmore County coroner, was conducting a "preliminary inquiry" in the case. Benson said he would make a report to District Attorney U.G. Jones, and "a determination will be made at that point on any further inquest or presentation to a grand jury."

Benson said the investigation was "very involved, particularly because of the publicity the case has received, and the implications that may come out of it. We have to handle it very carefully."

Miss Bowman and Miss Johnson said they gave the coroner the same account they had given earlier--that Conner, aided by state troopers, had beaten Motley "down to the ground."

Miss Johnson said they were treated courteously during the coroner's inquiry, except that they were "locked up" for 12 hours, and only given "two pops" for food.

"They tried to make me say the state troopers weren't holding (Motley's) arms," said Miss Bowman. Miss Johnson added, "They did me the same."

'Not Guilty' In Colston Death

CAMDEN--James T. Reaves, a white man accused of killing a Negro after a minor traffic accident, was found not guilty last Tuesday by an all-white Circuit Court jury.

Reaves, a 46-year-old farmer, had been charged with murder in the Jan. 23 death of David Colston, 40, a carpenter and one of the first Negroes to run in ASCS elections.

Colston's widow, Mrs. Cassie Colston, was the chief witness for the prosecution. She was in the car with her husband last winter when Reaves' auto nudged theirs in front of the Antioch Baptist Church. Colston was shot while looking to see if his car was damaged.

After the trial, Mrs. Colston had praise for prosecutor Virgis Ashworth. "The state man talked up for me," she said.

Civil rights leader Albert Gordon said several Negroes were on the jury list called for the trial.

Citizens Raise Questions About Tuscaloosa Head Start Decision

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--Thirty members of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (TCAC) and the NAACP met last Saturday to try to figure out why Tuscaloosa's anti-poverty agency wasn't applying for a Head Start program for next summer.

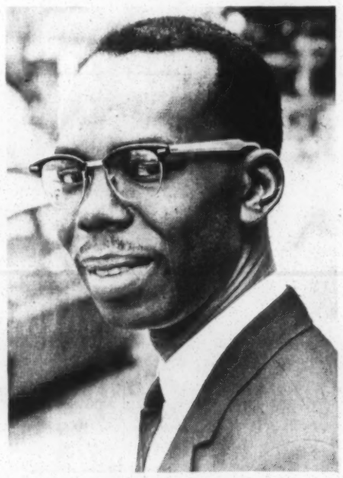
Two of the people at the Saturday meeting were on the board of the Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program (TOP), the local anti-poverty agency. Nine others were on TOP's mostly-Negro policy advisory board, which is supposed to represent the poor.

But the advisory board members said they didn't know any more than anyone else about why there would be no Head Start. They said TOP administrators had made the decision without asking their advice.

Last week, TOP director Jerry Griffin explained that TOP isn't applying for Head Start because it is applying for Daycare, a similar but less well-known program.

"In Daycare," Griffin said, "you get all the advantages of Head Start, and the advantages of what you can do with parents." Both summer and year-round Head Start take only children entering school the following September, he said, but Daycare accepts children from 2 1/2 to five years old. Daycare will free more mothers for work and for job training programs, he said.

A committee formed at Saturday's TCAC meeting met last Monday with



REV. T.Y. ROGERS

TOP officials, and won one of its major demands. Daycare and other planned TOP projects will be "re-run" through the advisory board for discussion.

But there was still some bitterness over Head Start. The Rev. T.Y. Rogers, president of TCAC, said his group had wanted to apply for a Head Start program, but was told that TOP would apply instead.

"We were going to apply for Head Start," Rogers said. "They definitely told me that we were going to get Head Start in September. They lied. We could have gotten Head Start."

Griffin said TOP never told anyone it was going to apply for Head Start.

But H.D. Nelson, superintendent of Tuscaloosa city schools, said TOP "had told us that if we were not going to file (for Head Start), they were."

Nelson said the school board decided not to apply for Head Start "largely because we're already involved in a lawsuit about integration. We're being sued by the NAACP and Negro parents, and I don't know why."

Some questions remained, too, about the rights and functions of the policy advisory board. Mrs. Minnie Thomas, one of the 11 Negro members of the board that runs TOP, said, "It was my understanding that the policy advisory council would make the final decisions."

A TOP official said the policy advisory board can only "advise." Its advice then goes to the TOP board, which makes the decisions, he said.

Muhammad Ali

The Champ Comes to Tuskegee

BY LEON S. WHITE

TUSKEGEE--The heavyweight champion of the world, Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay), spoke before Tuskegee students and fans last week in Logan Hall on the campus of Tuskegee Institute. The champ also attended the Alabama State-Tuskegee football game Thanksgiving Day in Montgomery.

Ali, wearing a blue suit, addressed the Logan Hall crowd with jokes, serious comments, and his views on the Muslim cult. He said the leader of the Muslims, Elijah Muhammad, "took black men off the street and gave them something to live for." The champ said a great number of Muslims underwent a reformation when they joined the organization.

The audience roared with laughter as Ali described some of the comments made by fighters who lost to him. According to Ali, "When a reporter asked Sonny Liston what he thought about a rematch with the champ, (Liston) said, 'If I dreamed such a thought, I apologize.' "

After Ali's speech, the champ met people informally in the auditorium of the College Union. Here, he was asked how whites fit into the program of the Black Muslims.

"We cannot tell YOU that YOU don't own any factories, because YOU own factories," the champ replied. "What we (Black Muslims) have to say applies only to black people."

MUHAMMAD ALI AND ADMIRER

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Vol. II, No. 49 December 3-4, 1966

Editorial Opinion

James Earl Motley

James Earl Motley's death poses a test for all of us.

Several eye-witnesses say Motley was viciously beaten by the sheriff's deputy who arrested him.

Now everyone from Elmore County Sheriff Lester L. Holley to the Alabama NAACP is "investigating" Motley's death. For all these investigators, Motley's death is a test of their effectiveness and their good will. Sheriff Holley often says how proud he is of his record over 20 years in office. When he leaves in January, will he still be proud?

There are other questions. Will the federal government take some meaningful action in the Motley death, or will the case become just another open-end Justice Department investigation? What, for that matter, is all the investigating about? There was nothing subtle about Motley's death. His friends have given their version of what happened; if there is another version, when will it be told?

The test for people not directly involved in the case is this: how soon will we forget the death of James Earl Motley? Already, after two weeks of official silence about the case, people's minds are turning to other matters. If another month goes by and still nothing has happened, will anyone remember that a defenseless man died in jail?

Most of all, Motley's death provides a measure of how far the civil rights movement has come. If a tragedy like his can occur without anyone's being brought to justice, then all the so-called progress of the past decade has been an empty illusion.

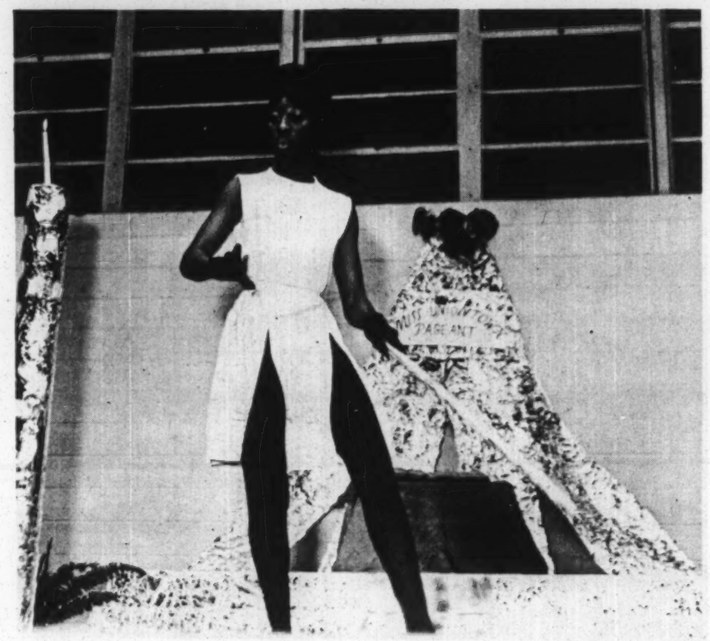
Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Robinson in 1949, 13 of the 17 MVP awards have gone to N. to players

Civic & Business League Contest

There She Is--'Miss Uniontown'



UNIONTOWN--Miss Emma Robinson was selected "Miss Uniontown" for 1966-67 in the Uniontown Civic & Business League's first annual beauty pageant last Friday night.

Miss Robinson dazzled the audience in the Robert C. Hatch High School gymnasium with her appearance in a bathing suit (above, middle) and with her dramatic reading of a scene from the play "Macbeth" (above, right).

All five entrants were judged on their appearance in the talent competition, and their ability to answer impromptu questions.

Other contestants, in order of finish, were Miss Viola Anderson, Miss Geneva Johnson (above, left, in a creative dance to "Walk on the Wild Side"), Miss Melnee Washington, and Miss Anna M. Simington.

"The civic league has long been aware of the need to provide the type of experience gained by our youth by participating in a pageant of this type," said pageant chairman D.B. Moore.

Segrest's Trial Starts Dec. 7

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--Marvin L. Segrest, a white man accused of killing a Negro civil rights worker, goes on trial here next Wednesday in the Lee County courthouse.

The trial will begin less than two weeks before a federal court hears charges that the Lee County jury commission discriminates against Negroes.

Segrest, charged with second-degree murder, was indicted by a Macon County grand jury in October for fatally shooting Samuel L. Younge Jr. last January in Tuskegee.

Circuit Judge L.J. Tyner moved the trial to Lee County after Segrest's attorneys argued that Segrest could not receive a fair trial in Macon County. But the judge's order, issued Nov. 5, did not set a date for the trial.

Early last week, Montgomery attorney Solomon S. Seay filed a federal court suit charging that Lee County has a "blue ribbon" jury system.

Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. set a Dec. 20 hearing on Seay's request that the Lee County jury box be emptied and then refilled with the names of a fair proportion of Negroes and ordinary citizens, as well as prominent white

SCHOOLS HEARING

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

"'Segregation' is a perfectly good word. It has been practiced down through the ages for good results .... Segregation is one of the principles of survival throughout the animal kingdom. . . . the beautiful blue birds mate with other blue birds, and so on through bird life.

"There can be segregation without immoral discrimination against anyone. Integration of all human life and integration of all animal life would destroy humanity and would destroy the animal kingdom. . . ."

Meadows conceded that he sent the letter. But he said it was "editorial comment," not official policy.

St. John Barrett, a Justice Department attorney, asked Meadows whether the state's 26 predominantly white trade schools and five predominantly Negro trade schools covered over-

ministration and finance for the state school board, testified that his department was "phasing out" racial records. But under questioning by Henry M. Aronson, an attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Layton admitted that, in Aronson's words, "instead of using different maps to locate Negro and white schoolchildren, (we) use one map with different colored dots."

The Tuscaloosa city and county school boards had been named as defendants at the request of the NAACP, which claimed that state officials hindered the boards' efforts toward desegregation.

But at the start of the hearing, U. S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives announced that the NAACP was in contempt of court for failing to answer questions from Wallace's attorneys.

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Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

With Frank Robinson winning the Most Valuable Player award in the American baseball league and now Roberto Clemente winning the MVP citation in the National League comes another proof of democracy in sports. Among the 30 players nominated for the prize, 18 were Negro players. Seven of the first ten were Negroes--Clemente, Willie Mays, Richie Allen, Felipe Alou, Juan Marichal, Henry Aaron, and Matty Alou. Since Jackie Robinson in 1949, 13 of the 17 MVP awards have gone to Negro players.

Most of these boys have been seen in action on Southern playing fields, and applauded for their skills and sportsmanship by Southern spectators. We predict it will not be long before Negro athletes will be playing in most of the colleges in our Southland, which will go a long way towards eliminating traditional attitudes in race relations.

E. B. Henderson
Tuskegee Institute

'Nothing Left to Sing About,' Chaplain Says of CR Movement

BY GAIL FALK

MEMPHIS, Tenn.--"I haven't heard anyone in the movement really sing in Mississippi since 1964," said the Rev. Ed King, chaplain of Tougaloo College.

"We don't have anything left to sing about. There isn't enough to praise."

King spoke last weekend at a Southern Student Organizing Committee Conference on the role of Southern students in the civil rights movement. Now that the hope-filled, song-filled days of the early 1960's are past, he said, it isn't easy to see what the students' role should be.

Back in 1961 or 1962, recalled King, the choice for the student was a simple one. Nobody in the movement doubted that sit-ins and freedom rides would do some good. The only choice was whether a student would risk his chances for a good job and comfortable future by getting involved in civil rights activity.

But now, said King, even if a student decides he is willing to take the personal risk, he can no longer be sure that demonstrating or organizing a community or going to jail will do any good. In fact, said, King, it probably won't.

The faith that once kept people singing in the South, even when they were suffering, began to die when President Kennedy was assassinated, King said. "If they could kill that man," King said, "we began to see that anything else we did could be destroyed."

But even if times are discouraging now, King said, students should not turn away from the movement. He said they must get ready to be leaders "when the track turns up again."

in a bathing suit (above, middle) and with her dramatic ... Viola Anderson, Miss Geneva Johnson (above, left, ... said pageant chairman D.D. Moore.

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Last Friday, Macon County Circuit Clerk Hunter Slaton turned over the records of the Segrest case to Lee County Circuit Clerk Ed E. Johnston Jr. That same day, Judge Tyner ordered Segrest to appear for his pre-trial hearing and trial on Wednesday, Dec. 7.

Employees in the Lee County circuit clerk's office said that the Segrest trial jury will be chosen from the venire (jury list) of 100 men called this week to hear criminal cases in Lee County Circuit Court.

The employees said that there were "several nigras" on the list, and that some of them had served on juries this week. But a man who has kept a fairly close watch on Lee County juries for 25 years said that, so far as he knows, no Negro has ever served on a state jury in a criminal case.

Santa Snubs Mobile Boy

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Seven-year-old Lajuan Rose went to see Santa Claus last Sunday at Gaylord's Discount Store in Chickasaw.

"Santa had just finished talking to a group of white kids. He let them sit on his knee, and gave them candy," said the boy's aunt, Miss Shirley Parker. Then Lajuan's turn came.

"I told him I wanted an express truck, and some other things," Lajuan said this week. "He wouldn't look at me. Then I asked him for a piece of candy."

According to Miss Parker and the boy, Santa replied, "I can't give you any, because I have to have enough for everybody else."

Miss Parker said that "when some other Negro kids came up, Santa pushed them away."

Another aunt who accompanied Lajuan, Mrs. M.J. Davis, said store manager John Arnold telephoned her on Monday to apologize. "I told him I'd accept the apologies for myself, but not for the child," she said. (Arnold said later that he "needed sufficient time to check all the facts" before taking any action.)

"Lajuan didn't understand it," said Miss Parker. "You can't apologize for a thing like that. It sticks in a child's head forever."

WIN $10!

The Southern Courier is looking for a new design for the headline over the Party Line column.

The Courier is offering a big prize for the reader who designs the new headline. First prize is $10, plus a one-year subscription. In addition, 15 runners-up will each win a year's subscription to the paper.

Designs should be approximately the same size as the present headline, drawn in dark ink on clean white paper. Entries should be sent to The Southern Courier, 1012 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104, by Jan. 1, 1967.

SEND YOUR IDEA TODAY!

SCHOOLS HEARING

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

"'Segregation' is a perfectly good word. It has been practiced down through the ages for good results .... Segregation is one of the principles of survival throughout the animal kingdom. . . . the beautiful blue birds mate with other blue birds, and so on through bird life.

"There can be segregation without immoral discrimination against anyone. Integration of all human life and integration of all animal life would destroy humanity and would destroy the animal kingdom. . . ."

Meadows conceded that he sent the letter. But he said it was "editorial comment," not official policy.

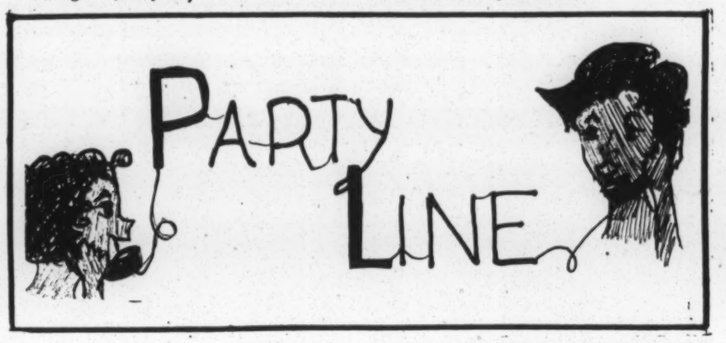
St. John Barrett, a Justice Department attorney, asked Meadows whether the state's 26 predominantly white trade schools and five predominantly Negro trade schools covered overlapping areas. "They overlap the areas but not necessarily the bus routes," Meadows replied.

George L. Layton, director of administration and finance for the state school board, testified that his department was "phasing out" racial records. But under questioning by Henry M. Aronson, an attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Layton admitted that, in Aronson's words, "instead of using different maps to locate Negro and white schoolchildren, (we) use one map with different colored dots."

The Tuscaloosa city and county school boards had been named as defendants at the request of the NAACP, which claimed that state officials hindered the boards' efforts toward desegregation.

But at the start of the hearing, U. S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives announced that the NAACP was in contempt of court for failing to answer questions from Wallace's attorneys.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. upheld the contempt order at a late afternoon hearing. He said the NAACP could not present testimony until it answered the questions.



Abbeville

Several Abbeville residents visited relatives for Thanksgiving: Mrs. R.G. Jones and Mrs. Eula Hutto spent Thanksgiving with their mother and father in Mobile. Mr. and Mrs. Orange Hamilton and their son, Sergeant George Hamilton, spent the holiday in Cleveland, Ohio, with the Hamiltons' daughter, Laura. And Miss Dorothy Baker, a student at Tuskegee, spent Thanksgiving in Miami, Fla., with a friend. Other people came here for the weekend: Miss Margaret Cochran, a student at Alabama A&M, spent Thanksgiving with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Levi Cochran. Miss Maggie Hamilton, a student at Alabama State, stayed with her mother, Mrs. Ruth Hamilton. Miss Patricia Dozier, a student at Tuskegee, and her friend, Miss Margaret Hopkins, spent Thanksgiving with Miss Dozier's grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Pet Dozier. And Mason Gordon and sister Peggy, of Montgomery, visited relatives here. (From James J. Vaughan)

Troy

The Rev. K.L. Buford, state field director of the NAACP, presented an official charter to the local NAACP branch last week. He stressed unity as one of the main objectives of the organization. "I'm not interested in black power or white power, but the one power on earth besides the power of God, and that's the power of unity," he said. Officers elected were Mrs. Juanita Farrow, president; Mrs. D.B. Maddox, vice-president; Q.W. Paul, third vice-president; Mrs. Johnnie Money, secretary; Joseph Money Jr., treasurer; Miss Betty Pennington, assistant secretary; Mrs. Madelyn Curry, chairman of the membership committee; and Mrs. Johnnie M. Warren, chairman of the political action committee.

Montgomery

Miss Janice Caple and Miss Delores Boyd were among 70 sophomores and juniors inducted into the National Honor Society last month at Sidney Lanier High School. (From Barbara Flowers)

Abbeville

The Rev. L.R. Womack passed this life Nov. 20 at 9 a.m. in the John Andrew Hospital in Tuskegee. (From James J. Vaughan)

Greenville

The Mt. Zion Baptist Church held a meeting Nov. 20 to announce its new pastor, the Rev. Charlie Mack Stencil of Garland. The church had been without a minister since the death of the Rev. D.B. Bennett, who had served for more than four decades. (From Henry Clay Moorer)

Mobile

Twelve volunteers from the Catholic Youth Organization of St. Peter Clavier turned out last weekend to lend a hand to the Head Start center and headquarters at St. Vincent School. They painted offices, cut the lawn, and swept and groomed the building and grounds. But Mrs. Kay Hoffman, director of the center, said more repairs were needed. The budget would have to be stretched, she said, to replace the cafeteria flooring, as required by the city health inspector.

Montgomery

Alabama State College has been accepted into the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Henry Spears, director of public relations at the school, said, "This means that the institution is accredited. . . .Students who graduate from here and wish to do graduate work at other schools will not be penalized by having to take tests because they did not graduate from an accredited school. It also means that students who graduate from State and wish to find a job out of the state, will find it much easier to do so."

Sheriff Lee Blocks Gilmore

Greene County Vote Case Tangled

BY ROBIN REISIG

BIRMINGHAM--The lawsuits and counter-suits over the Greene County election seem likely to go on forever.

Federal Judge H.H. Grooms ruled last Tuesday that lawyers for the Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore and the Rev. Percy McShan could inspect the absentee ballots cast in the May 3 Democratic primary.

Gilmore and McShan, Negro candidates for sheriff and tax assessor, claim that some people voted twice in the May 3 primary--once at the polls and once by absentee ballot. They hope to prove this by checking the signatures on the absentee ballots against the voting records kept by the county board of registrars.

Judge Grooms' ruling was the latest in the complicated legal battle to get Gilmore's and McShan's names on the ballot in Greene County. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, La., stopped the election for sheriff and tax assessor last month, to give the two Negroes a chance to prove they belong on the ballot.

But Judge Grooms did not rule on the most recent complication in the long fight--a state court decision that Gilmore's candidacy is illegal.

Bill Lee, the present sheriff, won that ruling in Greene County Circuit Court on Nov. 22. Circuit Judge Emmett F. Hildreth ordered Probate Judge Dennis Herndon not to put Gilmore's name on the ballot.

Hildreth said this was due to Gilmore's "failure to comply with the corrupt practices law of the state,"--not naming the manager of his campaign funds within five days of announcing his candidacy.

Gilmore contended that he named himself as campaign-fund manager on Sept. 9, the same day he filed as a candidate for the November election. Hildreth said this should have been done in May.

In federal court Tuesday, Gilmore's lawyer, Fred Wallace, called the campaign-funds case "one of the most outrageous things I've ever seen." He said it amounted to "getting relief in a state court against relief granted in a federal court."

During the circuit court hearing last month, Sheriff Lee (the plaintiff) and Judge Herndon (the defendant) sat together and chatted like old friends.

Herndon had been told about the suit in advance, and brought written answers for the questions he was asked. Gilmore was technically a defendant along with Herndon, but he said he didn't know about the case until the day before the trial.

Neither did his lawyer, Orzell Billingsley Jr. Although Billingsley was delayed on a case in Mobile, the circuit court went ahead without him. When he arrived, he asked for postponement, so he could prepare a defense and summon witnesses. The request was refused.

Lawyers differed on whether Hildreth's ruling would keep Gilmore's name off the ballot, if a federal court ordered it put on. But the new decision undoubtedly means further delay in the election.

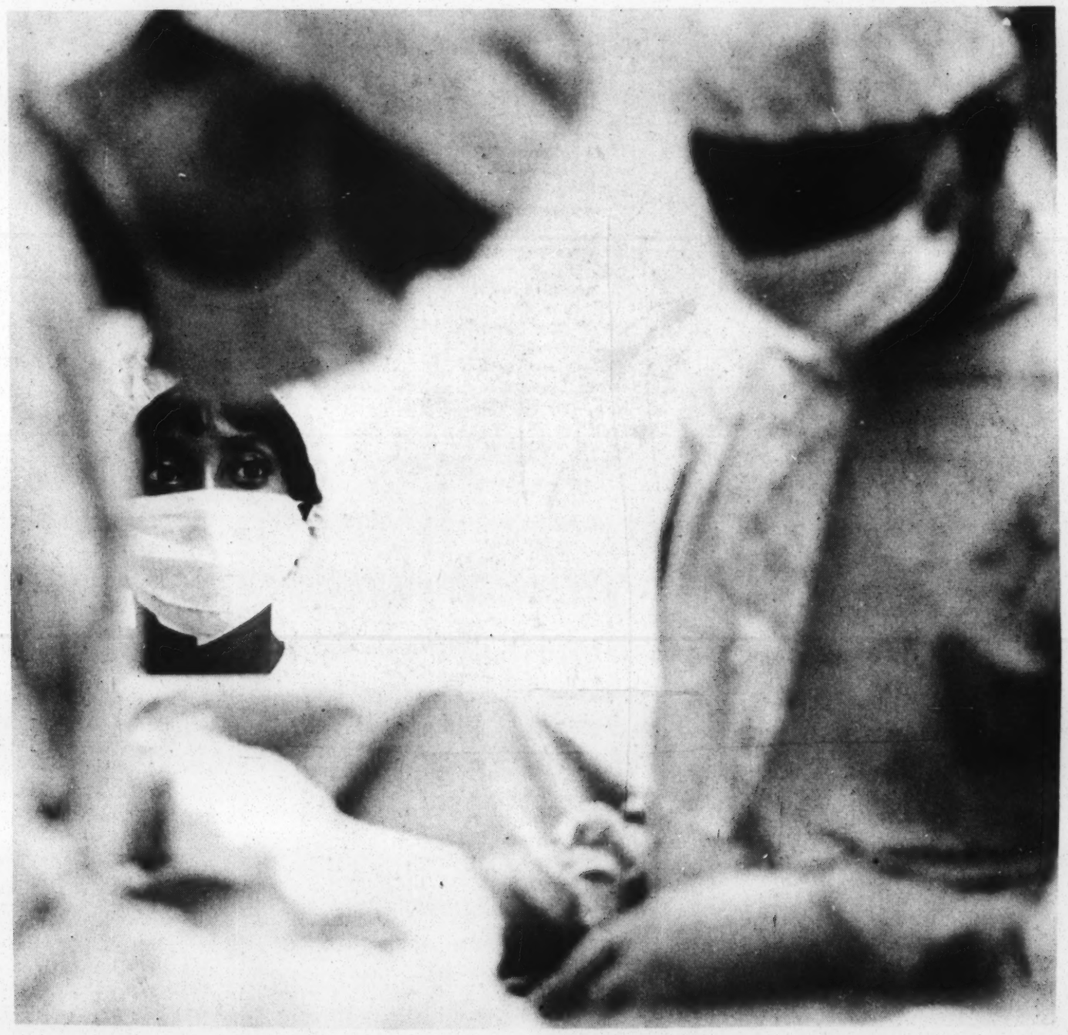
Inside an Operating Room

Scalpel, Clamp, Suture

Scalpel, Clamp, Suture

Photographs by Jim Peppler

(Photos were taken at Taborian Hospital Mound Bayou, Miss.)



Negro Artists in 19th-Century America Struggled Against Prejudice and Poverty

BY CARROLL GREENE JR.

The civil rights movement has focused attention on all aspects of the life of Negroes in the United States. But, although Negro-Americans have been here longer than many other immigrants, they are still among the least well-known.

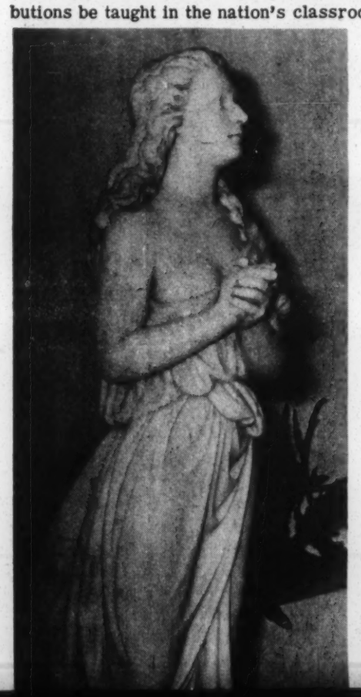
The reason is not hard to find. Negroes have been systematically excluded from participation in the mainstream of American life. Segregation is only part of the story.

When I was a student in a large Eastern university, a white student in an American history class asked our professor, a Ph.D., if any American Negroes had fought in the American Revolution.

The learned prof seemed stumped. He thought for a moment, ran his hand through graying locks, and finally said, "Not that I know of."

But the fact is that at least 5,000 Negroes fought for America's independence. This incident illustrates another fact--that few Americans, white or black, know much about Negro history and Negro contributions to our national and world culture.

Today, the Negro is asking himself the question, "Who am I?" This search is causing him to look backward as he moves forward. Negro-Americans are becoming aware that they have made important contributions to American life and culture. They are also insisting that their history and contributions be taught in the nation's classrooms.



The United States began adding important works to world art in the 19th century. Among the first American artists was a tiny band of Negro-American painters and sculptors.

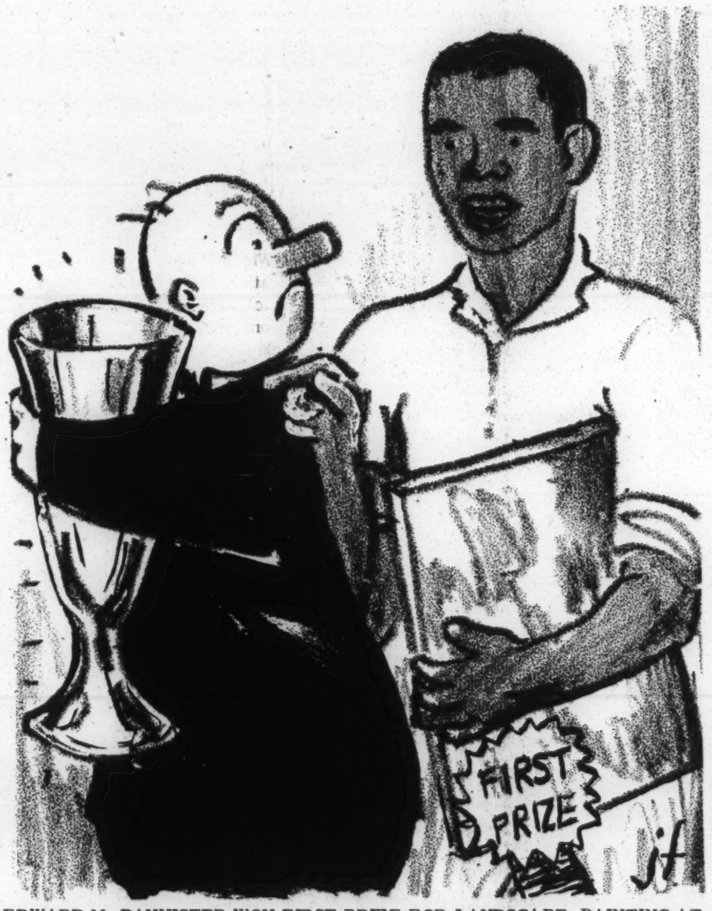
These artists, who dared to claim a place for themselves in white America, are now almost forgotten. But many of them were outstanding artists of their day.

In the 1800's, America did not expect Negroes to express themselves as artists--except as singers, dancers, or story-tellers. Poetry in Negro dialect was acceptable, but once a Negro poet wrote in standard English, he had gone beyond his place in the eyes of white society.

The 19th-century Negro artists had to face not only poverty, but also overwhelming racial and social prejudice.

Yet some Negroes dared to be artists. One of the first was Edward M. Bannister of Providence, Rhode Island. Bannister, a gentle and scholarly man, wrote about an incident in his life that shows the kind of problems Negro artists had to overcome.

The year was 1876, and the place was Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The city



EDWARD M. BANNISTER WON FIRST PRIZE FOR LANDSCAPE PAINTING AT THE PHILADELPHIA EXPOSITION OF 1876. BUT THE JUDGES DIDN'T WANT TO GIVE HIM THE AWARD WHEN THEY LEARNED HE WAS A NEGRO.

"'What is this Negro doing in here?' and other remarks were heard. Finally I reached the desk and tried to get the attention of the official in charge. He was insolent. Without raising his eyes, he said shortly, 'Well, what do you want here? Speak lively.'

"'I want to inquire concerning Number 54. Is it a prize winner?'

"'What's that to you?'

"Controlling myself, I said, 'I am interested in the report that it received a prize. I painted the picture!'

With Longworth's money and help, Duncanson became a landscape painter and portrait artist. He traveled all over Europe, and was admired by some of the leaders of English society.

Duncanson, whose life spanned the Civil War, told his friends that he was not interested in the race problem. What mattered to him, he said, was the chance to paint.

His feelings were typical of 19th-century Negro artists. Although most of them wanted an end to slavery, they whose Holcombe Memorial, a huge column crowned with a cross, still stands in a New Orleans public square.

Like many Negro artists, Warbourg left America to escape racial prejudice. At the age of 27, he went to Paris, France, and Rome, Italy. He died in Europe nine years later, just as the Civil War was breaking out, without ever returning home.

Warbourg specialized in portrait busts and religious statues. Some of his sculptures are displayed in churches in Europe and Louisiana.

America's first Negro woman sculptor was Miss Edmonia Lewis, a fiery opponent of slavery who made portraits in stone and clay of people she admired. Among them were John Brown, the Abolitionist leader, and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, who led the first all-Negro regiment formed during the Civil War.

Miss Lewis, an orphan at 15, attended Oberlin College in Ohio on an Abolitionist-sponsored scholarship. But she was expelled after someone accused her of trying to poison two of her white classmates.

She then went to Boston to study sculpture, and by the age of 20 she was in Rome. Like Bannister, she entered one of her best works in the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876. She became a popular sculptor and, for a few years, had as many commissions as she could handle.

She met Frederick Douglass, the Negro Abolitionist orator, editor, and statesman, in Rome in the 1870's. Douglass recalled that she followed him and his wife all over Rome in her eagerness to talk with people who shared some of her feelings.

Miss Lewis' statues, which were modelled on those of the ancient Greeks, eventually went out of style. She died forgotten.

Henry Ossawa Tanner, the son of a bishop in the AME church, was the most famous Negro-American painter of the 19th century. He developed his skill while studying with another well-known painter, Thomas Eakins, in Philadelphia in the late 1800's.

Eakins urged Tanner to stay in America and "peer deeper into the heart of American life." One of Tanner's Miss Lewis.

Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller studied in Paris with one of the world's great sculptors, Auguste Rodin. Because of his praise and help, and because of her own talent, she was very successful. The critics called her an artist of "power and originality" and "a delicate sculptor of horrors."

Although her style was like Rodin's, she concentrated on the expression of suffering. Her works had titles like "Secret Sorrow," "Death on the Wing," and "The Wretched." Most of her work was destroyed by a fire in 1910.

The other sculptor from Philadelphia, Mrs. May Howard Jackson, stayed in the United States. She was the first Negro-American artist to choose Negro subjects.

In ignoring the tradition that American artists must make their names in Europe, Mrs. Jackson helped other American artists see their own country as a place to work and live. In selecting Negro subjects, she led the way for other Negro artists to take pride in themselves and their race as material for works of art.

Shortly after 1900, African art made its way to Europe and America. The discovery showed artists a new way of looking at the world. African art gave them new techniques and new ideas. Suddenly, artists everywhere were interested in Africa, and in Negroes and their art.

This change meant something special to Negro-American artists. They were spurred to look inward and to give expression to feelings and thoughts which they had seldom dared to express in the past. The way lay open for Negro artists to play a new and proud role in the 20th century.

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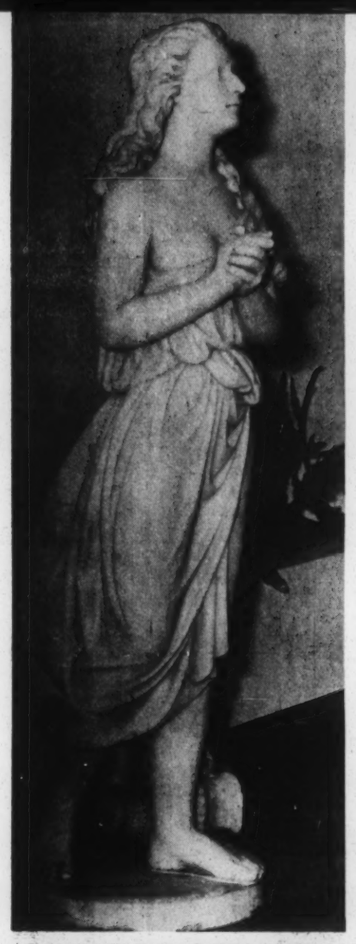
The year was 1876, and the place was Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The city was celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with a huge exhibition of American art. Bannister, then 48 years old, entered a painting entitled "Under the Oaks" in the landscape division. It won first prize.

This, Bannister wrote, is what happened when he appeared at the exhibition to claim the award:

"I learned from the newspapers that Number 54 (his painting) had received a First Prize Gold Medal, so I hurried to the committee rooms. There was a great crowd ahead of me and as I jostled among them, many resented my presence.



"HAGAR" BY EDMONIA LEWIS
Photo by Warren Marr II of sculpture to be given to the new Frederick Douglass Institute in Washington, D. C.

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"An explosion could not have made a more marked expression."

Bannister was able to claim his prize only after other artists insisted that he get it. But, later, a rich man from Boston, Massachusetts, bought the painting at a high price.

Another Negro artist of the time was Robert Duncanson, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Born in New York in 1817 and educated in Canada, Duncanson earned his living for some years as a printer of photographs. Then Nicholas Longworth, a prominent man from Cincinnati, hired Duncanson to paint landscape murals on the walls of the Longworth home (now the Taft Museum).

With Longworth's money and help, Duncanson became a landscape painter and portrait artist. He traveled all over Europe, and was admired by some of the leaders of English society.

Duncanson, whose life spanned the Civil War, told his friends that he was not interested in the race problem. What mattered to him, he said, was the chance to paint.

His feelings were typical of 19th-century Negro artists. Although most of them wanted an end to slavery, they did not put their opinions into their work. They avoided Negro subjects. American society did not allow them the freedom to explore artistically the legitimate concerns of a Negro artist in America.

And there was another, related problem. White people would not buy paintings of Negroes, unless the Negroes were portrayed as "uncles," "aunties," or "plantation darkies." The small, struggling communities of free Negroes could not support artists.

Eugene Warbourg of New Orleans, Louisiana, was the first known Negro-American sculptor. He shared a stonemason's shop with his brother Daniel, sculpture, and by the age of 20 she was in Rome. Like Bannister, she entered one of her best works in the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876. She became a popular sculptor and, for a few years, had as many commissions as she could handle.

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Eakins urged Tanner to stay in America and "peer deeper into the heart of American life." One of Tanner's best paintings, "Banjo Lesson" (now in the Hampton Institute Collection), was a poignant study of Negro life in his native country.

But Tanner preferred to paint scenes from the Bible, and went to Paris to continue his work. He also was fascinated with the Holy Land, and traveled to Jerusalem to paint masterpieces of composition, light, and color.

William Harper, born in 1873, was the last of the Negro-American painters of the 19th century. He experimented with dreamy, poetic landscapes.

Just before 1900, two Negro woman sculptors, both born in Philadelphia in 1877, became even better known than

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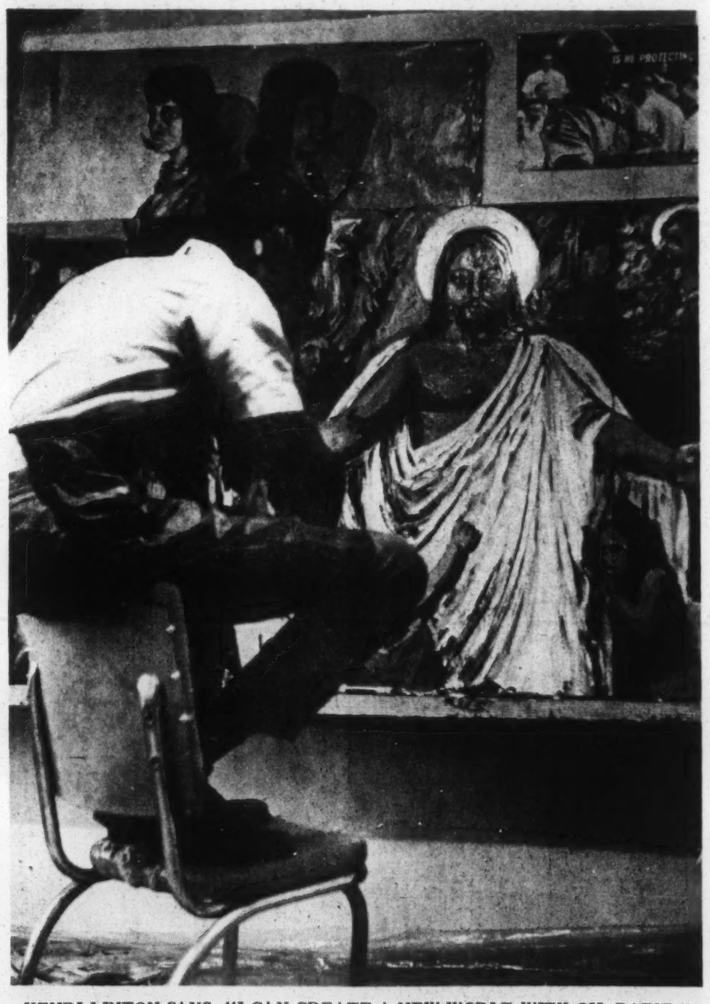
CARROLL GREENE JR.

Carroll Greene Jr., of New York City, assistant ecumenical officer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is a former college English teacher and a collector of works by 19th-century Negro artists.

His article is reprinted by permission from the October 1966 issue of the Journal of the United Church of Christ Council for Higher Education.

PORTRAIT OF A MODERN ARTIST

Henri Linton of Tuscaloosa Paints as He Pleases



HENRI LINTON SAYS, "I CAN CREATE A NEW WORLD WITH OIL PAINT."

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--Prints, paintings and sketches practically paper the room. Drawings of nudes cover one wall. Facing them is a huge, multi-colored oil mural showing part of the life of Christ.

Huge patches of wet paint -- bright red, blue, green -- cover a board in the corner. The paint is waiting to be carefully rolled onto carved pieces of wood. Then the wood will be stamped on paper to "print" works of art.

The room is the studio of Henri Linton, a young artist. All week he has been chipping wood into different shapes, searching for patterns he likes, to prepare a show of graphics and drawings which opens this Sunday in the Stillman College Student Center.

To "print" each color on the paper, Linton uses a different block of wood. As he tries out a new block with a brilliant pink, the paint comes out unevenly. He shakes his head and grins. "You never know what you're coming up with with woodcuts. You get a lot of 'happenings.'"

The happenings are all right with Linton because he thinks woodcuts should be "spontaneous and very expressive." Besides, he says, "My big secret is I do quite a bit of experimenting. This is my first series of woodcuts. I don't have a fixed style yet. I'm still looking. I'm still searching. I'm still experimenting."

At age 22, Linton has already experimented -- and accomplished -- quite a bit. Last spring he won first place for portrait or figure painting, and first place for graphics in Atlanta University's nationwide competition for Negro artists. He has had exhibits in many galleries, including the Columbus (Ohio) Gallery of Fine Arts. He has already sold about 50 paintings -- a few major ones bringing as much as $700 or $800.

His new show will go from Stillman to Druid High School in Tuscaloosa, where, Linton hopes, "It'll be a new visual experience for the students." When Linton was a Druid student, he won a nationwide competition for a scholarship to the Columbus (Ohio) College of Art and Design, which he attended for the past four years.

This year he is taking all academic courses at

ONE OF LINTON'S WOODCUTS

the University of Alabama ("It's friendlier than I expected," he says) to finish his Bachelor of Fine Arts degree.

School work doesn't allow him much time to paint, he says, but "Whether I'm thinking, or observing, or actually at the easel, painting's a full-time occupation. I work all day, even all night, until I come up with what I really want."

Painting has always been a part of Linton's life. "There's no such thing as man," he says. "You can't separate man from art. Man by nature is a creative being."

Linton paints mostly with oils. As he brushes a few more strokes onto a huge canvas to surround Christ with a halo, he beams, "I feel I can create a new world with oil paint. I can take oil paint and feel I can build a new house with oil paint. There's nothing I feel I can't do with oil painting."

Linton uses large brush strokes and brilliant colors on large flat surfaces. He thinks of himself as a "figurative painter" of the "California school." "I deal with the human figure, exploring the human condition," he says.

One of his most striking paintings, which was sold at the Atlanta University Exhibit, shows a scarlet-red nude woman, sitting on an American flag. She carries a peace dove and an olive branch. "She is mourning a dead loved one and saying to the world, 'Viet Nam, I too weep and mourn.'

"This is actually a protest against the war in Viet Nam," Linton explains. "In all my paintings, I'm trying to get a message across."

A couple of his works have civil rights messages. One collage of newspapers and photos pasted together shows a young Negro with an American flag and pictures of civil rights victims branded across his forehead.

"I don't think of myself as a Negro artist," Linton says. "I'm a Negro in art. I'd be a painter if I were Chinese, Indian, or white. I've never really connected my art with being a Negro, or, say, the civil rights movement. Not that I'm not involved with the civil rights movement -- but there's something more immediate to me."

The something is the swirls of lines and colors; the small, careful etchings of people; and the trial "proofs" of large woodcut designs ("Which way is up? Whichever way you like ..."). They all hang side by side. And the crowded walls are not yet filled.

Linton wants to continue to study art, and to teach it to college students. "I want to live my life free," he smiles, "and paint as I please, complete expression of myself."

Mayor's Order Starts Dispute

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Sergeant Edward Stallworth, the top Negro officer on the city police force, lost his rank and got it back again last week in the space of six days. But the controversy about what happened--and why it happened-is still going on.

Mayor Charles M. Keever issued the Nov. 17 order that changed Stallworth from desk sergeant to patrolman. "The police force is all chiefs and no Indians," the mayor explained this week. "We don't need a desk sergeant. We need men out in the street where the crimes are committed."

Otis Pinkard, a civil rights activist, led 30 citizens to a three-hour city council meeting last week to protest the move. The next day, Stallworth had his old job back.

"I'm satisfied with the results, but I'm not satisfied with the explanation," Stallworth said this week. "A lot of questions were posed that are still unanswered."

But some civil rights leaders supplied answers of their own. "We think it was directed against Amerson," said Pinkard, who is an officer of the local NAACP. (Lucius D. Amerson, the first Negro ever elected sheriff of Macon County, takes office in January.)

"We assume it was meant to make Stallworth and other Negro policemen quit," Pinkard said. "With Stallworth on the desk, the white officials know he will cooperate with the sheriff's department. But they don't want to cooperate.

"And if some Negro officers leave, there will be room for white sheriff's deputies that are going to be looking for new jobs in two months."

Mayor Keever and Tuskegee Public Safety Director Alton B. Taylor denied having any such motive. "Nothing like that was even a thought," said Keever.

"It's the first time I heard that idea," said Taylor. "I have no animosity toward anyone. It was my recommendation that made Stallworth a sergeant."

Mayor Keever changed Stallworth's duties one day after a private meeting between the mayor and city council, and several police officers. According to one of the people who was there, "the grievance was that for two or three weeks, the public safety director and others had been chipping away at the desk sergeant's authority.

need to hire more."

Keever's order was not limited to Stallworth. It also reduced Captain Hiram R. Finney, a white policeman, from officer-in-charge to part-time patrolman.

"Neither man would have lost one penny in salary," Keever said. "So long as no money was lost, I don't see why there's all the fuss."

City Councilman Stanley H. Smith said that part of the fuss was over the mayor's failure to discuss his order ahead of time with Tuskegee's bi-racial city council. "Any reorganization of the police department should be with the approval of council," Smith said.

Mayor Keever agreed that the council had the final word on the police department. He said he restored all of Stallworth's duties and some of Finney's because "some council members insisted--but not a majority."

Victim's Brothers Tell Of Helicon Shooting

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

HELICON--Mrs. Bedlie Matthews' son, Harvey Gipson, 26, was killed early Thanksgiving morning. The next day, Mrs. Matthews still didn't know exactly how or why her son had been killed. All she knew was what she had read in the newspaper. "Nobody told me anything," she said. "Nobody been here to explain anything."

The official version is that Gipson was shot by John Lunsford, a state liquor agent who tried to stop Gipson's car on the highway near Helicon. Crenshaw County Sheriff Roy Horn said three liquor agents chased Gipson's car until it went off the road into a ditch.

According to Horn, Gipson jumped out of the car and pointed a shotgun at the agents, and then Lunsford shot him. Gipson died later in a Troy hospital as a result of the shot.

L.D. Matthews and Jimmie Whatley, Gipson's brothers, were with him when the incident occurred. Whatley said later, "We were riding on the highway when we recognized a car following us. We didn't know who they were. It could have been someone to kill us.

"They didn't have no siren on, or nothing--no kind of signal." He said this is why they sped up to get away.

Matthews said the brothers' car "couldn't make a curve, and the car went off the road. When this happened, they (the agents) got out of their car shooting."

Matthews said the agents didn't identify themselves. "They didn't say a word," he said. "I ran into the woods, and (agent Roy) Free ran after me. Jimmie rolled out of the car, and neither one of us could tell what happen after that."

But Whatley added, "I'd been hunting--that's why I had the gun in the car. It was not loaded. The shells were in the glove compartment, and Harvey was on the back seat. And I'm sure he couldn't have gotten the gun and pointed it at them that quick."

Matthews and Whatley were charged with possession of illegal liquor.

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Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM

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Sun bonnets	$ 3.00

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Item	Quantity	Price

Macon County, takes office in January.)

"We assume it was meant to make Stallworth and other Negro policemen quit," Pinkard said. "With Stallworth on the desk, the white officials know he will cooperate with the sheriff's department. But they don't want to cooperate.

"And if some Negro officers leave, there will be room for white sheriff's deputies that are going to be looking for new jobs in two months."

Mayor Keever and Tuskegee Public Safety Director Alton B. Taylor denied having any such motive. "Nothing like that was even a thought," said Keever.

"It's the first time I heard that idea," said Taylor. "I have no animosity toward anyone. It was my recommendation that made Stallworth a sergeant."

Mayor Keever changed Stallworth's duties one day after a private meeting between the mayor and city council, and several police officers. According to one of the people who was there, "the grievance was that for two or three weeks, the public safety director and others had been chipping away at the desk sergeant's authority.

"They were turning it (Stallworth's job) into a trivial thing. They were undermining the only Negro officer with authority. He complained. The next day, they took away his authority altogether."

"There have been insinuations that I was striking back at someone," Mayor Keever said in reply. "It's not true." He described his order as an attempt to save the taxpayers money. "The city is spending $19,000 a year on police desk personnel that we were not spending before this administration took office," the mayor said. "If we don't put some of these men on patrol, we'll

Selma Trial

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Questioned by the SNCC leader, Smitherman said, "You were inciting to riot and you lunged at me and the other officers several times. This is when I ordered them to arrest you."

Carmichael told the judge the reason for his arrest was to "chill the free speech of the student movement." But he, too, was found guilty, and was fined $100 plus costs and sentenced to 60 days' hard labor.

Both Carmichael and House were released on $300 bond, and said they would appeal.

Afterwards, as newsmen tried to talk to Carmichael in a hallway, several policemen continuously interrupted and pushed people aside. "Just typical," Carmichael commented. "As we say in our community, that's white folk showing their color."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. Monday, Dec. 5, in New Hope Baptist Church, 1154 10th Ave. S., the Rev. H. Stone, pastor. Speaker will be the Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth.

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write the Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Aurburn, Alabama.

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6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

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PATRONIZE COURIER ADVERTISERS

WANT ADS

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--The civic league will meet Tuesday, Dec. 6, in the Westminster Presbyterian Church. All citizens of the area are urged to be present. The meeting starts promptly at 7 p.m. The Tittusville Civic League wants you. Lionel T. Williams, president.

KRISTEE FOUR-YEAR BULBS---Guaranteed to do away with frequent burn-outs, replacement buying, and bulb-snatching. And they do away with the harsh, irritating "hot spot" of ordinary bulbs. Call 265-0390 in Montgomery.

PUPPIES FOR FREE--I have three puppies to give away to anyone who wants a good little yard dog. The puppies are five months old. See Hattie Bailey, Rt. 3, Box 6, Marion, Ala. (on Jefferson St.)

JOB OPENINGS--The Southern Courier will soon be interviewing applicants for four positions on its business staff. Two people are needed to work on circulation and subscriptions, and two are needed to work on advertising. High pay, generous expense accounts. Applicants must be honest, responsible, and willing to work long hours, and they must be experienced or interested in business. A car is required. If interested, call 262-3572 in Montgomery to arrange an interview.

WANTED--A manager for the Freedom Quilting Bee Handcraft Cooperative. Should have experience in arts and crafts or design, some business sense, and the willingness to live and work in a rural community. Write Selma Interreligious Project, 810 29th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401, or call 758-2301.

CAR FOR SALE--1954 Ford sedan, V-8 engine, air-conditioned, overdrive. $225. Phone 262-7010 in Montgomery, in the morning or before 7:30 p.m. in the evening.

EASY MONEY--The Southern Courier needs local distribution agents in Huntsville, Selma, Mobile, and Dothan. For organizing and supervising newsboys and news-stands, you can earn up to $50 in a few hours each week. Requirements are honesty and dependability--no experience necessary. If interested, call The Southern Courier, 262-3572 in Montgomery, or write to the Courier at 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

MIA PROGRAM--The Montgomery Improvement Association recognizes its 11th anniversary beginning Sunday, Dec. 4, at 3 p.m. in the Hall St. Baptist Church. Mrs. Coretta Scott King will be the featured guest Sunday, speaking on the theme, "Freedom, A Myth--A Must in 1967." The Rev. Felix E. James is host pastor. On Monday, Dec. 5, the observance will end in the Holt St. Baptist Church, with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as featured guest speaker. The program also includes the annual report of the president, the Rev. Jesse L. Douglas. The Rev. A.W. Wilson is host pastor. The public is invited to both sessions.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

WMOO

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Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
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12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

THE GOODWILL GIANT
MOBILE, ALA.

Game of the Week

Alabama State Batters Tuskegee

MONTGOMERY -- Alabama State College wound up its second straight championship season Thanksgiving Day, with a 35-14 romp over traditional rival Tuskegee Institute.

The win gave the Hornets first place in section B of the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference, with a 6-0 record in league play. Last year, Alabama State also topped the standings with an undefeated record.

The two teams entered their 47th annual clash in Cramton Bowl with identical records--5-0 in the conference and 7-2 overall. But Tuskegee mistakes gave the Hornets two big breaks early in the game, and State was never in trouble after that.

The first break came when James Williams of Alabama State blocked Palmer Sullins' punt on the Tuskegee five-yard line about midway through the first quarter. Hornet Gene Blanchard covered the five yards for the first of his three touchdowns (at right), and Charles Mitchell kicked the extra point.

Tuskegee came right back with a 53-yard touchdown march. Golden Tiger quarterback James Reynolds sneaked over from the one, cutting State's lead to 7 to 6.

But the next Tiger drive was stopped when State's John Pugh recovered a fumble at midfield. The Hornets quickly took advantage of this second big break, getting a touchdown minutes later on a two-yard plunge by Johnny Pleasant. Mitchell again added the point, making it 14 to 6.

In the second half, Blanchard scored his second and third TD's, and Ralph Miller tallied on a 25-yard pass from Harry Scott. Tuskegee got its second touchdown on 55-yard pass from Reynolds to Ralph Jenkins.

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ONE WAY TO FIND OUT

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WETUMPKA ROAD
LOOK FOR INDIAN HEAD SIGN
IN FRONT OF HER HOME

County Tops Central

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Mobile County Training School captured the Southern District and city championships by trouncing Central High, 28 to 6, in the annual Turkey Day Classic. This means that it will be County vs. Carver of Montgomery for the state championship this Saturday at Hartwell Field.

Before a record crowd of 12,677 in Ladd Stadium, Mobile County finished out a flawless 9-0 season by handing the Central Wildcats their second loss in nine starts. The Whippets stifled the passing artistry of Central quarterback Donald "Sugar Man" Bell, and added acrobatic pass completions of their own to a vastly superior rushing game.

Whippet A.C. Moseley grabbed a 28-yard pass from Edward Allen in the last five seconds of the first quarter for County's first TD, and Larry Scheers kicked the extra point.

But Central then dug in, and twice stopped the Whippets just two yards from pay dirt. There was no more scoring in the first half.

The Wildcats continued to hold County off during the third quarter. But the Whippets finally scored in the first few seconds of the fourth quarter, on a five yard run by Scheers.

Three minutes later, Bell went over from the one-yard line for Central's only score of the game. He had passed for 80 yards on the Wildcats' touchdown drive.

That effort seemed to have exhausted the Wildcats, however. Anderson Flynn passed to Moseley for the Whippet's second TD, and 30 seconds later, Moseley snatched a Central pass and galloped 52 yards for another six points.

With time running out, County got its final two points by burying Bell in his own end zone for a safety.

FREE FOOD

JACKSON, Miss.--Operation Help, which has given free food to more than 400,000 poor people in Mississippi since last March, will keep going for at least another month. State Director Paul J. Ussery said the federal Office of Economic Opportunity had approved a new grant for the program.

Ussery said staff workers who were laid off last month when money was short have been re-hired, and the program will continue until Jan. 1.

In any Mississippi county, except the eight with food stamp plans, poor people can get a monthly supply of U.S. government surplus food. Anyone on welfare can get the food. So may thousands of people with low incomes who don't qualify for any other kind of assistance.

SAY
Merry

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HAS INSTITUTED The Pastor's Study
BROADCAST DAILY
MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

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9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
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INDIAN HEALER
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4 MILES FROM
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SOUTHERN COURIER

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 50 WEEKEND EDITION: DECEMBER 10-11, 1966 TEN CENTS

Witnesses Differ

Was Segrest Aiming At Negro Rights Worker?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--The second shot--the shot the state said killed Samuel L. Younge Jr.--was aimed to miss him, according to a man who saw the incident.

W.B. Powell, a Greyhound bus driver, said in court this week that his Atlanta-bound bus pulled into Tuskegee shortly before midnight last Jan. 3.

Just after he climbed off the bus, Powell said, "I heard a shot. I didn't see what at." Then, said Powell, he went into Ed Wilson's Standard Oil service station next door to the bus station, and "had a Coca-Cola."

As he was coming out of the service station, Powell said, he was directly behind Marvin L. Segrest, 67, the white attendant charged with second-degree murder for shooting Younge, a Negro civil rights worker.

"I was looking over his shoulder down the barrel (of a .38-caliber pistol in Segrest's hand)," said Powell, a witness for the prosecution, as he was cross-examined by Segrest's lawyer, Harry D. Raymon.

Raymon asked if Segrest aimed the pistol at Younge.

"No sir," replied Powell. "He (Segrest) waited until he (Younge) was completely out of his line of fire." A few questions later, Powell said it looked as though Segrest was aiming at a post.

The bus driver was the second witness called Wednesday afternoon as Segrest's trial got under way before Circuit Judge L.J. Tyner and a jury of 12 white men in the Lee County courthouse. Earlier Wednesday, Segrest had pleaded not guilty by reason of "self-defense" and "insanity."

The first witness was Joseph David Morris Jr., formerly a Tuskegee Institute student along with Younge. He testified--in direct opposition to Powell--that Segrest held the gun

Morris and Powell also differed about a golf club which police officers said they found under Younge's body. Morris said that after the gun was pull[illegible] Younge grabbed the club from [illegible] bag on the bus station bench.

Powell said that as he drove [illegible] up to the station--before the first [illegible] was fired--he saw Younge taking th[illegible]

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 4)

'Not Going To Africa'

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA--"Don't plan a program based on the collapse of white society," Whitney Young Jr. told a Stillman College audience last Friday. "That's not going to happen. It will change, and accommodate itself to the pressures put on it."

The director of the National Urban League offered alternatives to "black power"--like the power of negotiation and "brain power."

"Power is the green of the dollar bill," he said. "Power is the maroon of the textbook. Power is the white of the ballot."

Young said underprivileged immigrant groups "didn't go around hollering 'Irish power,' 'Jew power,' 'Italian power.' They used brain power instead of lung power."

"We're not going back to Africa," Young said. "Africa doesn't want our welfare load any more than Chicago."

As he met afterwards with a small group of students, they questioned him about his trip last summer to Viet Nam.

Young said he found complete integration in the Army among enlisted men: "They don't talk about being against open occupancy in those foxholes." But on off-duty hours, he said,

Farmers Forced Off Plantation, Sa[illegible]dlord Kept ASCS Money

EDWIN STANFIELD
FOU RES COUNCIL INC
FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA GA. 30303

ARTHUR BROWN AND FAMILY

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

TYLER--The Minter plantation has been home for many Negro farmers in this area. For some, like 57-year-old Arthur Brown, it's the only place they ever called home.

Brown has been living on the land for 55 years, and now he and his nine children will have to move before the end of this year.

Brown and several other farmers said they received a letter from plantation owner J.A. Minter Jr., stating that Minter will not lease them any land for 1967. Brown said he doesn't know exactly why Minter isn't leasing them the land.

"I think it's because of the checks," he said. "Some of us didn't sign our assignment over to him." The checks that Brown referred to are ASCS (Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service) payments provided for landowners, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers under the federal Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

MRS. PEARL MOORER

According to a federal suit filed against Minter last week by Brown and eight other farmers, these checks were supposed to be used to finance planting, cultivation, and the purchase of farm equipment. They were also supposed to be used to support tenant farmers and their families, the farmers said. But, said one, "Minter wants us to sign the checks over to him. A lot of people ain't seen their checks."

The suit, filed in Montgomery by Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, asks the court to order Minter to give the farmers the ASCS subsidy payments they are entitled to. It also asks that Minter be ordered to sign new leases with some of the farmers he is evicting.

The farmers said they wanted the ASCS money so they would not have to depend solely on Minter for land, food, and farm machinery. "Whatever price he (Minter) wanted to give, we had to take, because we couldn't get anything from anywhere else," said Brown.

Otis Hale, a school bus driver and farmer, said, "I didn't sign my checks over to him. I wanted something for myself. Those who signed, he (Minter) let them work land. And those who didn't, he didn't give them land to work for next year."

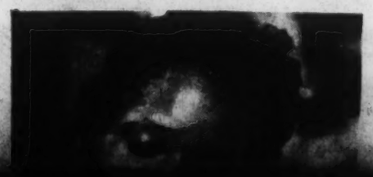
Hale is also a plaintiff in the federal suit, along with Brown, Clemon Barlow,

Mrs. Sylvester Smith of Selma: ADC Rule 'Gives Me the Devil'

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

SELMA--Mrs. Sylvester Smith, mother of four children, works in Walker's cafe six days a week, from 3 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. For this, she is paid $16 a week.

She used to get a welfare check



stitutional Defense Committee, she asks a three-judge federal court to declare the rule illegal and unconstitutional. She also asks the court to restore her welfare payments.

Besides supporting her four children--Ida Elizabeth, 14; Ernestine, 12;

civil rights worker.

"I was looking over his shoulder down the barrel (of a .38-caliber pistol in Segrest's hand)," said Powell, a witness for the prosecution, as he was cross-examined by Segrest's lawyer, Harry D. Raymon.

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The first witness was Joseph David Morris Jr., formerly a Tuskegee Institute student along with Younge. He testified--in direct opposition to Powell--that Segrest held the gun "pointing even--where Sammy was."

Morris said he saw the shot fired as he was sitting in a car parked across Highway 29 from the Standard Oil station, just east of downtown Tuskegee.

After the first shot, Morris said, Younge ducked up and down behind his own car, dashed across the street and spoke to Morris, ran back, and then "just stepped on the bus about a second."

"Then he ran around in front of the bus toward the other side of the cab stand," Morris testified. "This was when the last shot was fired."

"Who fired it?" asked District Attorney Tom F. Young, who prosecuted the case for the state.

"The defendant," Morris replied. He said he turned his head and saw Younge "when he was falling.... He fell in the direction he was running."

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As he met afterwards with a small group of students, they questioned him about his trip last summer to Viet Nam.

Young said he found complete integration in the Army among enlisted men: "They don't talk about being against open occupancy in those foxholes." But on off-duty hours, he said, Negroes segregated themselves by going to separate night clubs.

And while Negroes make up 24% of the men in combat, he said, only 2 1/2% of the Army officers and one-fifth of 1% of the Marine officers are Negro.

The "potential for the cream of the crop" is in Viet Nam, Young said. If they are met on their return by the same rednecks and trouble that met them after the Korean War and World War II, he said, "then what we've seen in Watts is nothing. These are green beret fellows, and they can really mess up the country. Why not make them a force for good?"

Young said the Urban League is working to do just that. He said it has arranged to get the name and interests of Negroes three months before they leave the service, and to have jobs or schools waiting for them when they get out.

ARTHUR BROWN AND FAMILY

MRS. PEARL MOORER

Mrs. Sylvester Smith of Selma: ADC Rule 'Gives Me the Devil'

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

SELMA--Mrs. Sylvester Smith, mother of four children, works in Walker's cafe six days a week, from 3 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. For this, she is paid $16 a week.

She used to get a welfare check every month, under the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program, but her checks were cut off two months ago.

The reason was Alabama's "substitute father" rule, which says that if a man lives in or visits in a woman's home, he is considered to be the substitute father of all her children. And if the children have a substitute father, they no longer qualify for welfare payments.

In October, Mrs. Smith was told that her children were no longer eligible for welfare, because Willie E. Williams was their substitute father.

"That's some kind of mess," said Mrs. Smith this week as she worked in the cafe. "He's not no substitute father. He don't come in regular. 'Substitute father'--it's like he was living there or something."

To challenge the substitute father

MRS. SYLVESTER SMITH

rule, Mrs. Smith is suing Alabama and Dallas County welfare officials in federal court. In her suit, filed in Montgomery last week by the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, she asks a three-judge federal court to declare the rule illegal and unconstitutional. She also asks the court to restore her welfare payments.

Besides supporting her four children--Ida Elizabeth, 14; Ernestine, 12; Willie Louis, 11; and Willie James, 9--Mrs. Smith helps care for Ida Elizabeth's eight-month-old baby.

According to the suit, she has known Williams nearly all her life. In the last five years, the suit says, "he has visited her home with some frequency," but does not live there.

The suit charges that Mrs. Smith's children lost their ADC payments for a "thoroughly arbitrary and irrational"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

their families, the farmers said. But, said one, "Minter wants us to sign the checks over to him. A lot of people ain't seen their checks."

The suit, filed in Montgomery by Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, asks the court to order Minter to give the farmers the ASCS subsidy payments they are entitled to. It also asks that Minter be ordered to sign new leases with some of the farmers he is evicting.

The farmers said they wanted the ASCS money so they would not have to depend solely on Minter for land, food, and farm machinery. "Whatever price he (Minter) wanted to give, we had to take, because we couldn't get anything from anywhere else," said Brown.

Otis Hale, a school bus driver and farmer, said, "I didn't sign my checks over to him. I wanted something for myself. Those who signed, he (Minter) let them work land. And those who didn't, he didn't give them land to work for next year."

Hale is also a plaintiff in the federal suit, along with Brown, Clemon Barlow, Sinnie Blocton, Willie Gilcrest, Elijah Green, Will Moorer, and Will Williams.

Minter said this week, "I know nothing of a suit." He refused to comment on his reason for not leasing the land to the tenants for next year.

Some tenants said they didn't think the checks were the reason for Minter's action. Miss Laura L. Perkins said, "I will say because we joined with the freedom (movement). I'm going to tell it exactly how it is. Because we registered to vote."

Mrs. Pearl Moorer, whose children are the only Negro students in their Dallas County school, said, "I've been working in the movement for four years. As soon as I went to Selma about three years straight to meetings, and to Washington to see about some money, he (Minter) started . . . turning the other way."

"They (the white people) want me to go," said Mrs. Moorer. "I had a chance to go to Kentucky, but I'd rather stay here and worry these white folks."

The problem that confronts the farmers is finding a place to live, a place that can be used for farming, before the year is out. "I have a place picked out on the other side of Selma," said Brown. "There's a white lady who said we could stay on her place and she'll treat us right, and us being registered voters won't make no difference."

Other farmers may not be so lucky. Miss Shirley Mesher, a spokesman for the Dallas County Farmers' Aid Committee, said, "We are appealing for land that could be used, or anything that can be of help."

Where's Poverty Plan For Lee and Russell?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--Nearly two years ago, Lee and Russell county officials started talking about a combined anti-poverty program.

They're still talking--and the poor people in both counties are still waiting.

"We're at a standstill," said a Negro leader from Opelika. "Something needs to be done before this program ends and we miss out on it."

But the Negro leader, who didn't want his name used, admitted that he didn't know what to do.

"The white people know it's supposed to help poor Negroes," he said, "so they don't want it. They're not interested in anything but preservation of themselves. And I don't see how we can get it without them."

But Jack Tatum, the chairman of the Lee-Russell Community Action Committee, said the Negro leader was wrong. Tatum insisted that the committee is trying to get some anti-poverty money to set up a community action program.

"We turned our application in to the state office in Montgomery and they was supposed to put it in to Atlanta for us," Tatum said. "That was around about September. We hope to have some money around the first of the year."

But a spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta, Ga., said this week that the office had never heard from the Lee-Russell Community Action Committee.

Negro leaders in Auburn said they thought the committee had decided not to send in its anti-poverty proposal after a Negro civic group complained to OEO.

Mrs. Mary Brooks, publicity chairman for the Auburn Voters League, said the group wrote to Atlanta to object to the way the community action committee was set up.

"The voters league did not approve of the people chosen," Mrs. Brooks said. "There was a 30-member board for the two counties, but it didn't have enough Negroes on it. And the white people picked them all.

"We told OEO we wanted representation in proportion to our population. We also said the Negro community should be allowed to choose its own representatives. I don't think that was asking too much."

Negro leaders in Opelika had a different complaint about the committee. They said it had ignored them altogether. "I don't know any Negro who was asked to serve," said one of them. "I tried to get on it, but I couldn't."

But Tatum said his committee was "modelled on OEO guidelines." He claimed that white and Negro committee members were working together. "We haven't had any problem," he said. "No problem at all."

But Where's Dr. King Jr.?

King Family's in Town

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

MONTGOMERY--The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. wasn't there, but the King family dominated the Montgomery Improvement Association's 11th anniversary celebration last Sunday and Monday.

The theme of the MIA program was "Freedom a Myth--A Must in 1967 Through Spiritual, Educational, Economical, and Political Emphasis."

Dr. King's wife, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, was the guest speaker at the women's program Sunday evening in the Hall St. Baptist Church. She told an audience of about 300, "Through your bus boycott, you showed other American Negroes that they had something to stand up for."

(The MIA was formed in 1955, at the time of the historic Montgomery bus boycott.)

Mrs. King said freedom will come only through dedication and sacrifice. "Life for the Negro hasn't been a crystal stair," she said. "We must strive harder, so that we can sing a new anthem--'We Have Overcome.'"

During Sunday's program, there were candle-light services for the deceased women of the MIA.

Mrs. King visited with old friends at a reception after the program.

On Monday night, the annual meeting was held in the Holt St. Baptist Church. The first big mass meeting was held there 11 years ago, led by Dr. King.

MRS. KING

But due to an important engagement, the SCLC president was not able to attend last Monday. His father, the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., gave the address instead.

"I'm tired," he told an audience of about 600 people. "But I'm not going to stop." As he walked around in the pulpit, he repeatedly said, "There are a few things that I am through with, and one of them is segregation. I don't even listen to anybody who talk it."

King drew laughter and cheers throughout his forceful address.

DR. KING SR.

He blasted out answers to use "if the white folk ask you what the Negro wants." One was, "Tell them we want freedom by 9:30 in the morning. And if they ask you again, tell them we want jobs by 7:30."

The Rev. Jesse L. Douglas, who recently resigned as MIA president, gave his farewell address Monday night. Douglas has been called to the Thurgood CME Church in Birmingham. Mrs. Johnnie R. Carr, first vice-president, will serve in his place until the election of new officers.

BEATING CHARGED

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

PRICHARD--"I never been kicked before by anyone," said Mrs. Helen Winston. "It's very exasperatin' to be kicked in my face."

Mrs. Winston was arrested Nov. 26 by Prichard policeman T.R. Lee, at the home of her brother, Robert Malone. The arrest grew out of a fight between Mrs. Winston and her brother.

"I told them they wasn't going to arrest me if they didn't arrest him," Mrs. Winston said this week. After being "slugged" in the back, she said, she spit in Lee's face. "It was the only defense I had," she claimed. "He said, 'You black son-of-a-bitch, you're causing a race riot,' and then tried to close the car door on my legs."

Mrs. Winston said in Recorder's Court Nov. 30 that Lee slugged her while she was handcuffed at the police station. "I spit on him again, and he knocked me to the floor and kicked me twice in the face," she said. Lee denied the charges in court.

Mrs. Winston was convicted of drunk and disorderly conduct, assaulting a policeman, resisting arrest, and violating the Prichard knife ordinance. She said she would appeal.

The Non-Partisan Voters League has filed a complaint about the case with the U.S. Justice Department.

MRS. WINSTON AFTER ARREST

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations.

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Editorial Opinion

A Job Well Done

When an Alabama Negro is injured or killed, you usually don't see much about it in local newspapers. And the newspapers almost never take enough interest in the death of a Negro to demand that local officials do something about it. The silence of the press is a major reason for the continuation of racial violence.

But when James Earl Motley was killed last month in Wetumpka, the Alabama Journal decided not to remain silent. Montgomery's afternoon daily has made a crusade out of the Motley case--a crusade that should set a standard for other newspapers, in Alabama and elsewhere.

Journal reporters tried in vain to cover the Elmore County coroner's "preliminary investigation" of Motley's death. The paper ran an editorial criticizing closed-door investigations and official silence in a case of such importance.

The Journal pressed county and state officials to make their findings public. And the paper was the first to learn the contents of the state toxicologist's report--which confirmed that Motley died from massive head injuries. Finally, the Journal uncovered three white men who witnessed some or all of the events leading to Motley's death.

Most importantly, the Journal has kept the James Earl Motley case before the public, day after day. The paper's refusal to let the tragedy be forgotten may yet mean that justice will be done.

The Alabama Journal's crusade has been in the great tradition of public service through journalism.

'For Colored Guests'

Along Highway 80 near Selma, there are signs that

Greenville Debate

Why Stay In Butler Co.?

BY HENRY CLAY MOORER

GREENVILLE--The other day in a public place a group of high school youths and one elderly Negro man were discussing the problems of Butler County.

"Do you all's feel that Butler County needs more men? " the man asked.

Someone replied, "Yes! But what's the use--if one of us went off to Howard University and got a degree in law and came back to Butler County and ran for a public office, I doubt if we'd get 25% of the Negroes' votes."

But the elderly man shouted, "You are the future businessmen, executives, and officals of Butler County, if you stay in school and get it upstairs--and if you can't get it up there, then try and fix your pocket-book."

The man said Negro boys and girls often go North after finishing high school. Those who go to college, he said, usually forget about Butler County and start themselves off someplace else.

"They forget we as parents suffered many days and nights to get them through high school and college, looking to one day that maybe they'll do their best toward trying to improve the living conditions for the old and weary, who once helped them," the man said in a sad voice.

Over the faces of the Negro boys ran lines of great thoughts toward helping Butler County and the veterans of the future.

One boy told the man, "More of the older people like you, sir, should sit down and explain your feelings for us, and what you feel our greatest responsibilities of the future should be."

JURY CASES

MOBILE--There is no question that the jury commissions in Perry, Hale, and Wilcox counties have been discriminating against Negroes, Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas ruled last week.

"The existence of a pattern and practice of exclusion of Negroes from jury service is virtually uncontroverted," Thomas said.

The judge ordered the jury commissioners to throw out their present jury lists, and to re-fill the jury boxes on a non-discriminatory basis within 30 days. If the commissioners fail to obey his order, Judge Thomas said, he will appoint other men to re-fill the boxes.

The suits asking for desegregation of the jury lists had been filed by Albert Turner of Perry County, [illegible]

It's Satan vs. Scripture In Hale County Election

BY ROBIN REISIG

GREENSBORO -- Satan and the Scriptures joined combat in Hale County this week. The Scriptures won, 1,803 to 1,383.

At least that's the way local ministers saw last Tuesday's vote on whether to allow the sale of liquor in the county. The results meant the county would remain "dry."

The political battle of the season was led from the pulpit, as the "wet forces" and the "dry forces" joined in spirited combat.

While some folks were close-mouthed about their sentiments on spirits, others expressed their rage at White Lightning in undiluted terms.

"Naturally I'm a minister. Naturally that means I'd have to vote dry. Naturally ministers couldn't vote for sin," said the Rev. E.R. Samples, pastor of St. Matthews AME Church in Greensboro.

Naturally Samples was carrying the Lord's banner into the liquor fight, because "the world is inflated to a large percent, and it's because of the large number of alcoholics. Reading the Scriptures, you can see every drunkard kills a man."

Preaching on "the long bloody trail of drunkenness" three weeks ago, he cited the Scriptures as saying liquor "bitest as a serpent and stingest as an adder."

"It means poisoning," he said. "That's dangerous."

In the secular world, Hale County Circuit Court Judge L.S. Moore saw a similar--but different--danger in some alcohol. Bootleggers often make liquor so badly, he said, that "they're not selling whiskey. They're selling poison." More than a dozen bootleggers--all of them Negro--were brought before the judge in the court's November session.

Lewis Black, director of the Rural Advancement Project of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, pointed out that a wet county--where liquor sales are legal--might put these bootleggers out of business. He said many white people were for a dry county because "they want to keep the Negroes from buying whiskey legally."

By fining the bootleggers, white officials can "operate the county out of the Negroes' pockets," Black said.

Black said most Negroes want a wet county. "Those who don't want it wet are those who pretend to be religious," he said.

In the white community, the Rev. A.G. Higdon was toting a teetotaling gospel. In his Nov. 27 church bulletin, he quoted the Scriptures: "Better is little with righteousness than great revenues without right."

Ronald Clements, a white Hale County resident, had taken an ad in the local paper showing that the county would gain revenue by taxing legal liquor.

"To think of the broken homes!" exclaimed Higdon's wife before the election. "We have so many alcoholics. We have so many moral problems in the world already. And people will spend their money on liquor instead of groceries."

The "dry forces" met the battle in the local paper with a full-page ad that read, "Don't Subject Your Children to Legalized Whiskey." A total of 40 merchants paid for vote-dry advertising.

But one of the store owners who took the vote-dry ad said, "I didn't even vote. I don't think you can legislate morals. Besides, there are ten taxi cabs running back and forth to Eutaw. They bring liquor lickety-split, day and night."

Expulsions Not For CR Work, Schools Say

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss.--Bennie Ray Batts, Miss Ann Collier, and Ronald Brown have been expelled from schools in Neshoba County this fall.

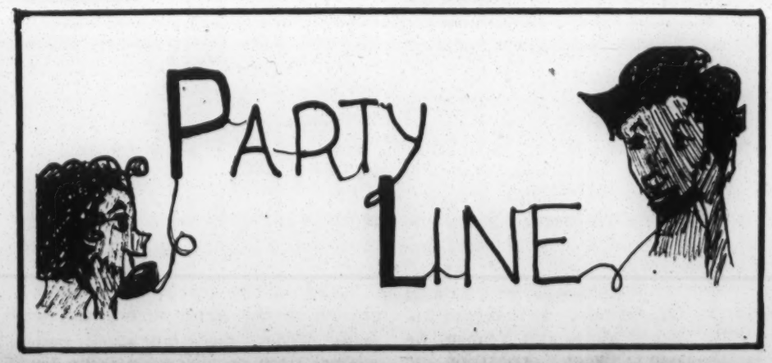
All of their families have been prominent in civil rights activity. But school officials say this had nothing to do with the expulsions.

The most recently expelled was Batts, a senior at George Washington Carver High School. His mother, Mrs. Mary Batts, ran as an independent candidate for the school board last month. His father, McElroy Batts, a county school bus driver for six years, lost his job in September after he and his wife took part in civil rights demonstrations this summer.

Miss Collier is the daughter of the Rev. Clinton Collier, MFDP-backed candidate for U.S. Congress in last June's Democratic primary, and Brown's testimony is part of a federal suit against Neshoba County officials.

[illegible] who are expelled cannot go at the high school stopped sending their children to school because of harassment and attacks by white students.

Brown, a senior at previously all-white Philadelphia High School, was expelled in September after fighting with a white student and refusing to say "Yes, sir," to city Schools Superintendent J.C. Hurdle.



Albany, Ga. -- Ill. The 60-day drive in Chicago's Negro neighborhood will lead up to the

elsewhere.

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The Alabama Journal's crusade has been in the great tradition of public service through journalism.

'For Colored Guests'

Along Highway 80 near Selma, there are signs that say, "Torch Motel--For Colored Guests." You hardly ever see "White Only" signs any more.

Butler County and the veterans of the future.

One boy told the man, "More of the older people like you, sir, should sit down and explain your feelings for us, and what you feel our greatest responsibilities of the future should be."

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The suits asking for desegregation of the jury lists had been filed by Albert Turner of Perry County, Lewis Black of Hale County, Jack McNeir of Wilcox County, and other Negroes.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

Some one came to me and told me this: "I want you to know there is a job for you with the poverty program. I know because you are one of the SHAPE representatives. Your name was call in the meeting. If you had been there you would have gotten one of them jobs making $50.00 a week because this program was gotten thrue SHAPE, the one you work so hard with in order for it to reach the poor."

I thank them; but, I begain to think about the thousands of poverty stricken people living in the ghettoes here in Dallas County. How could I except the $50.00 a week job in order for them to move on with their program, when it is not reaching the poor (Negroes and white) whereas it will benefit all people?

How could I except the $50.00 a week when they are beautifying the down town city, cutting a little grass from in front my door, a little cleaning off the back yards, sweeping leaves, picking up blown down tree tops and branches, digging ditches, and say they are in training? We were brought up digging ditches.

When it come a pour down rain I can swim from my house to near the down town district. Wash board streets, dirt streets, dark Negro community, a light here and there, slum areas, and bad housing.

How could I sat at my table and eat a little better--mabe a stake--and thousand of my people, poor whites as well, are still eating the type of food is not good for the body?

For the lack of better jobs I am in poverty my self and hardly have a place to stay and is working with poverty people and knowing their condition. Numbers of them will be put off the land and off jobs.

Mr. Shrivers, oh Mr. Shrivers did you really mean for this program to reach the poor, or the man that is already eating stakes?

My plans is to keep pressing for the thing that is right. We shell overcome.

Mrs. Addie Lily
Selma

* * * *

To the Editor:

Mrs. Lillie Willis is a client and an old friend of mine. Her daughter, Jennie, is 13 years old and now has only one eye. I doubt if many people heard about what happened to them on Thanksgiving night--of all nights. I had lunch with Mrs. Willis and Jennie today. Jennie was unable to cut her pork chop by herself--I guess her balance is not quite right while she is getting used to seeing from only her left eye. She still has 17 shotgun pellets in her body; the 18th was removed with her right eye; you can only see the one in her forehead and one on the back of her hand.

No one knows as yet who shot Jennie--no one of Mississippi officialdom seems to much care. They have not said anything. The Sheriff did not come out to the Willis home to investigate the shooting until three days after it happened. Mrs. Willis asked me today whether there was not something in the 1966 Civil Rights Bill that covered acts of violence like this. I told her there was. She also asked if one of the reasons the Bill was not passed was because many people up North thought things were all better in the South--I told her that I thought that was true too. She said that she would like people to know about Jennie so that maybe it would not happen to other children. I promised to tell everyone I knew.

Jennie is just a little older than my oldest daughter. Mrs. Willis has had to borrow money from friends to pay the hospital bills. Her friends don't have much money. She was going to take Jennie to the Welfare office to see about fitting her with an artificial right eye. Instead, I have arranged for her to see a specialist. I told the doctor I would pay for Jennie myself. I would also like to pay for the future treatments that Jennie will need, including the removal of the other shotgun pellets. I can't quite afford their payments. Whoever did this to Jennie was a member of our society, no matter how unfortunate a member. You and I belong to the same society, and I believe we should assume some responsibility for Jennie. Can you help Jennie and Mrs. Willis by sending a check to my order "as attorney for Jennie Willis"? Will you also tell your friends what happened to Jennie Willis on Thanksgiving?

Alvin J. Bronstein
(603 N. Farish St.)
Jackson, Miss.

(Contributions can be sent to Mr. Bronstein at the above address.--THE EDITOR)

* * * *

To the Editor:

We Are the Citizens of Alabama, we pay Tax on everything in Alabama, and when we get sick we can not go to our Hospitial to get any service. We pay for Hospitial service and the workers there will Turn us down because we don't Carry Insurances.

We don't have to Carry hospitial Insurances, because they Just Rob the peoples in the hospitial when they found out you are Carrying a Insurance.

We have pay for everything. Whatever we ever got done, we pay more because the Colored of our skin.

White peoples Can go there any time and never be turn down, but we Colored peoples be turn down on everythings. Birmingham is a Trickey City. This is to all the Good so-call white peoples here, we will take a great stand on the hospital Offices.

We got Boys fighting in the Arms Services, and their parents can not get Doctor Service. If you want to pay for the Services, they will Turn you down at Universary Hospitial Clinic offices.

We live in a sick City and Town. The head is wrong, and all its Followers too is Corupted in the heart about Black peoples.

Joe Ann Smith
Birmingham

* * * *

To the Editor:

Somewhere in Southeast Asia, Viet Nam
is the spot
I'm doomed to spend my time in a land
that God haven't forgot
A land of constant summer where men
are always blue
It's in the middle of nowhere, a long,
long ways from home.

I sweat, itch, and burn, it's more than I
can stand
I'm not a convict, but a defender of the
land
I'm a soldier in the army, earning my
monthly pay
I think of years in service, all the things
I have missed
I hope you don't get drafted, for heaven's
sake don't enlist.

When I get to heaven, Saint Peter will
surely yell
Lord, this man's from Viet Nam, he has
spent time in hell
I keep remembering my country so well,
I must do what I must do
This may sound like a joke, while
laughing remember this is true
This story began with honor and ended
with a tear.

Pfc. Johnny L. Foster
196th Light Infantry Brigade
Somewhere in Viet Nam

[illegible] work, schools say

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss.--Bennie Ray Batts, Miss Ann Collier, and Ronald Brown have been expelled from schools in Neshoba County this fall.

All of their families have been prominent in civil rights activity. But school officials say this had nothing to do with the expulsions.

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Miss Collier is the daughter of the Rev. Clinton Collier, MFDP-backed candidate for U.S. Congress in last June's Democratic primary, and Brown's testimony is part of a federal suit against Neshoba County officials.

Students who are expelled can not go back to school anywhere in their school district. Schools in other districts are under no obligation to admit them.

Batts was expelled last week, along with Willie James Yarborough, because of an incident at Carver Nov. 23. According to Neshoba County Schools Superintendent Prentice Copeland, Batts had been "playing hookey from two classes," and "jumped on a teacher" when the teacher ordered him back to class.

Carver's discipline committee (composed of teachers) accused Batts of "cutting class, use of profane language, disrespect for authority, intoxicating liquor on campus, and attempting to fight a teacher."

But Mrs. Batts said the teacher hit her son with a "gin belt or some kind of belt." After that, she said, the boy "went all to pieces. He's a nervous type, a high-strung boy, and if you mess with him, it just gets all over him."

She said she was sure the school officials had mistaken his nervousness for drunkenness. Anyway, said Mrs. Batts, "if he got it (liquor), he had to get it down at the school, or either on the bus, because he didn't have any when he left home in the morning."

Carver principal Robert F. Hathorn said he hadn't smelled any liquor when he spoke with Batts about a half hour before the incident, but "after the scuffle, you could smell drink all over."

Mrs. Batts didn't deny that her son hit the teacher, but said she thought the boy had been punished unusually severely because of the family's civil rights connections. A former Carver teacher recalled that a boy who attacked and injured a teacher there was only "suspended for a couple of weeks."

But Copeland said the punishment had "nothing to do with his (Batts') outside life," and Hathorn said Batts had received a disciplinary warning after a "misdemeanor" last September.

Miss Collier was expelled from previously all-white Neshoba Central High School in September for having a knife in her purse.

The attorney for the Neshoba County schools, Laurel G. Weir, said Miss Collier received no warning or second chance, because the Negro parents had been told there would be "drastic" action against anyone who carried a knife in school. He said that was "the same thing as having a second chance."

Shortly after Miss Collier was expelled, parents of other Negro students at the high school stopped sending their children to school because of harassment and attacks by white students.

Brown, a senior at previously all-white Philadelphia High School, was expelled in September after fighting with a white student and refusing to say "Yes, sir," to city Schools Superintendent J.C. Hurdle.

SEGREST TRIAL

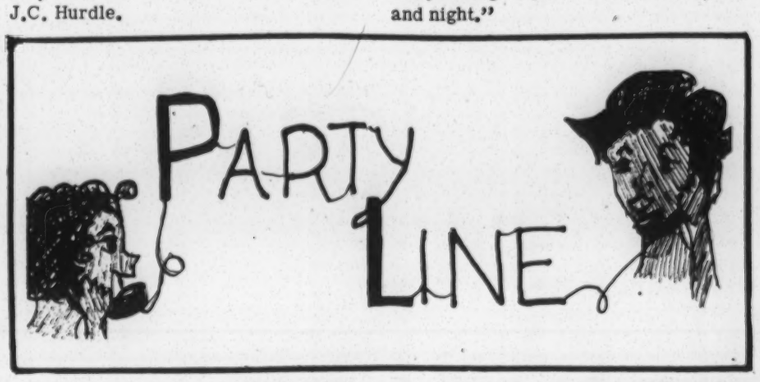
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

golf club out of a Volkswagen (Younge's car).

Macon County Sheriff Harvey Sadler, also called as a state witness, testified on cross-examination that Segrest's "general reputation is good . . . .He's always been quiet."

the local paper with a full-page ad that read, "Don't Subject Your Children to Legalized Whiskey." A total of 40 merchants paid for vote-dry advertising.

But one of the store owners who took the vote-dry ad said, "I didn't even vote. I don't think you can legislate morals. Besides, there are ten taxi cabs running back and forth to Eutaw. They bring liquor lickety-split, day and night."



Albany, Ga.

SCLC staff worker Alfonso Harris was killed in an automobile accident in his home town of Albany, Ga., last Friday. Harris was a member of the SCLC Freedom Singers and project director in Grenada, Miss., during the violence last summer. A large man with a powerful voice, Harris led many of Grenada's marches and mass meetings. It was his idea to begin each nightly mass meeting with a prayer service. Harris had worked with SCLC in many towns, but he said before leaving Grenada, "I've never seen a town like Grenada."

Greenville

A new telephone system went into operation here last Sunday. The system, DDD (Direct Distance Dialing), will allow Greenvillians and people in surrounding areas to call long distance directly, without using the operator. Last Friday, a representative from the telephone company came to an assembly at Southside High School and explained the system to the students. He said, "By telling you, we hope you'll educate your parents to this system." (From Henry Clay Moorer)

Mobile

Mobile detectives this week were searching for the driver responsible for the hit-and-run killing of two Prichard teen-agers last Friday. Albert Black Jr., 17, and Harold York, 16, were riding a motorcycle home from their jobs at the Mobile Country Club, when a 1958 Chevrolet mowed them down on the Beltline Highway service road.

Chicago, Ill.

Hosea Williams, SCLC Southern project director, is coming North to head an intensive voter-registration and political-education campaign in Chicago,

HOSEA WILLIAMS

Ill. The 60-day drive in Chicago's Negro neighborhood will lead up to the city elections, when officials with power over jobs, housing, schools, welfare, and civil rights will be chosen. "We are confident that Mr. Williams will have a great impact on Chicago," said the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of SCLC. Among those helping Williams are the Rev. Samuel Wells of Albany, Ga.; Leon Hall, Robert Sims, and Richard Smith of Montgomery; B.T. Bonner of Austin, Tex.; Willie D. Leon of Prattville; and Golden Frinks of Edenton, N.C.

Washington

Under Georgia law, a landlord can evict a tenant simply by filing a paper with a Superior Court judge. The tenant cannot fight the eviction unless he puts up a substantial amount of money for the bond. As a result, says the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, less than 1% of the 1,400 eviction cases filed each month in Atlanta are contested by the tenant. So the LDF has asked the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down the law requiring the tenant to post bond. The case is one of the first in the LDF's new program to protect and establish the rights of poor people.

Mobile

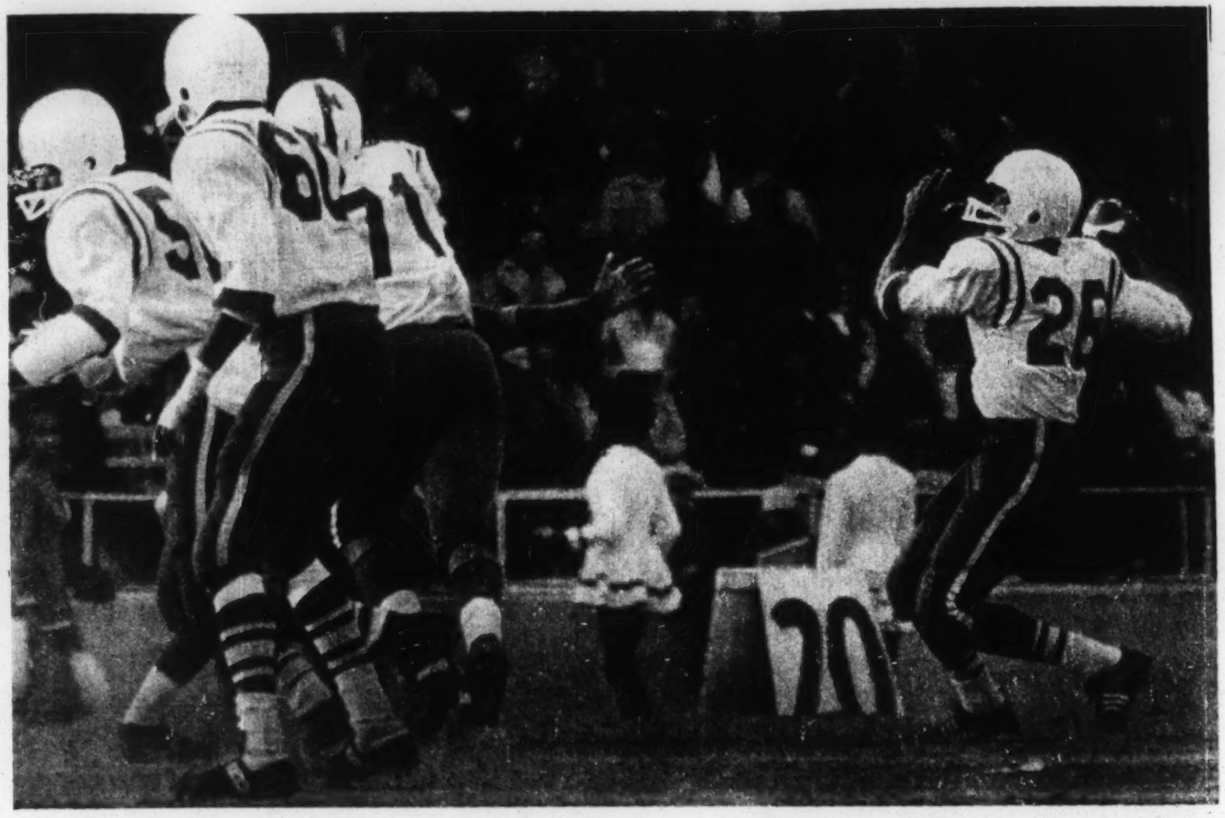
As the NAACP's picketing of A&P grocery stores goes into its third week, one Negro cashier has been hired at the A&P's Springhill branch. All of the picketers--their number has increased from two to nearly a dozen, in rotation--are now concentrating on the Michigan Ave. branch of the grocery chain.

Meridian

The Meridian First Union Baptist Church Federal Credit Union is in the process of making Christmas loans to its members, so they can do their Christmas shopping. Starting the first of January, the credit union will have a Christmas Savings Club for 1967. The credit union will offer a small amount of interest on Christmas savings accounts, whereas banks do not. (From Patricia James)

Mobile

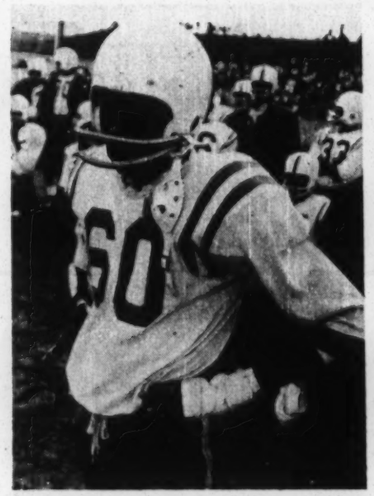
One of the new Interagency Boards of U.S. Civil Service Examiners opened a federal job office here at 167 St. Louis St. The office will be a consolidated employment center for 11 federal installations in South Alabama and Northwest Florida--including Brookley, Tindall, and Eglin Air Force bases, the Tuskegee and Montgomery veterans' hospitals, and Fort Rucker. Executive Officer Robert Reeves pointed out that the government needs people to apply for jobs. "We'll be advising these agencies to take in people who are unskilled, and we'll encourage on-the-job training," he said.

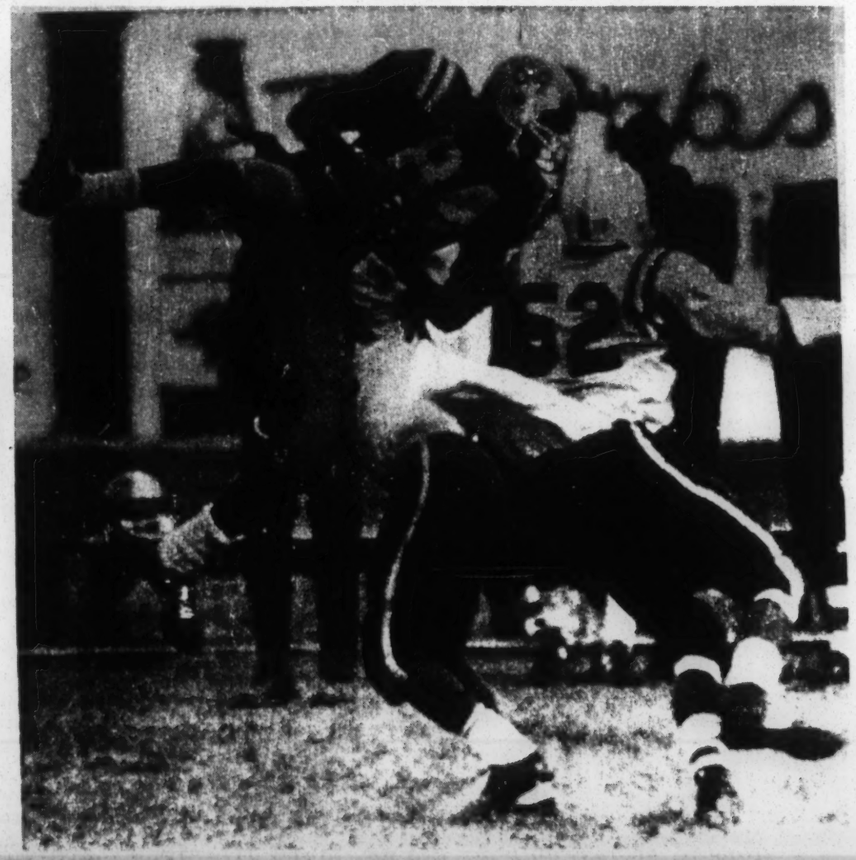


Mobile vs. Montgomery

for

THE STATE CHAMPIONSHIP





GAME STORY ON PAGE SIX

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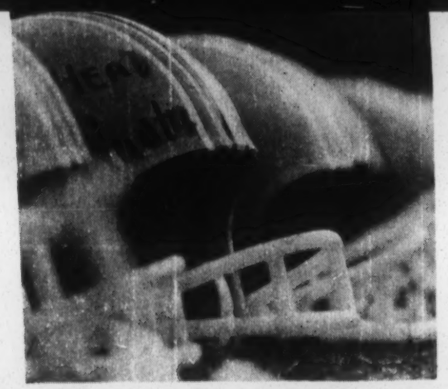

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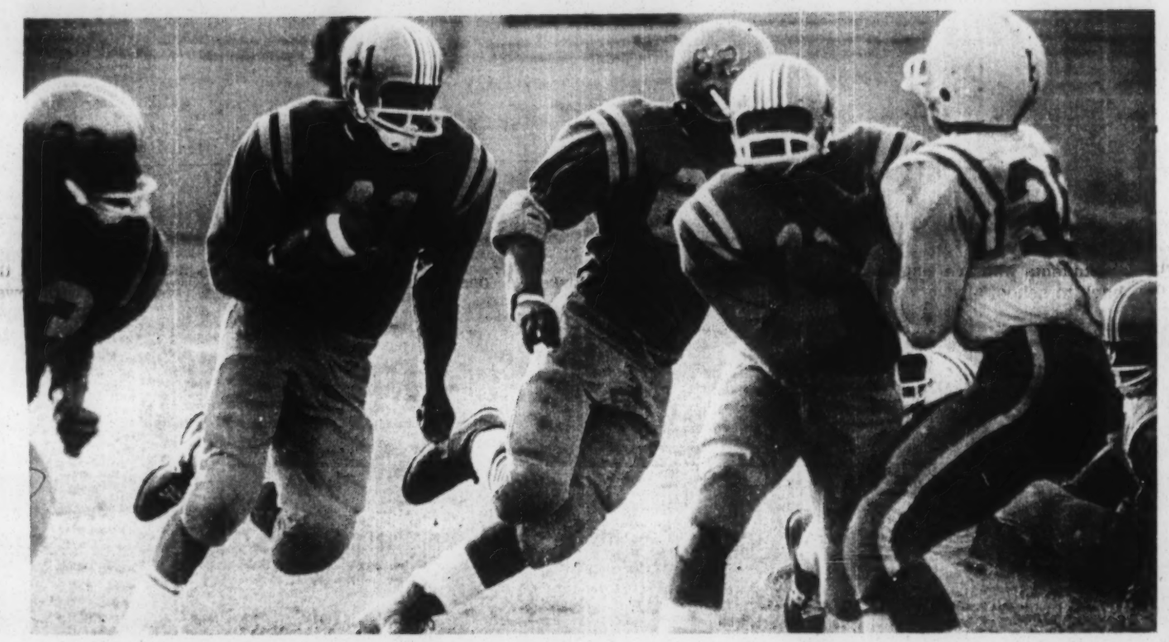

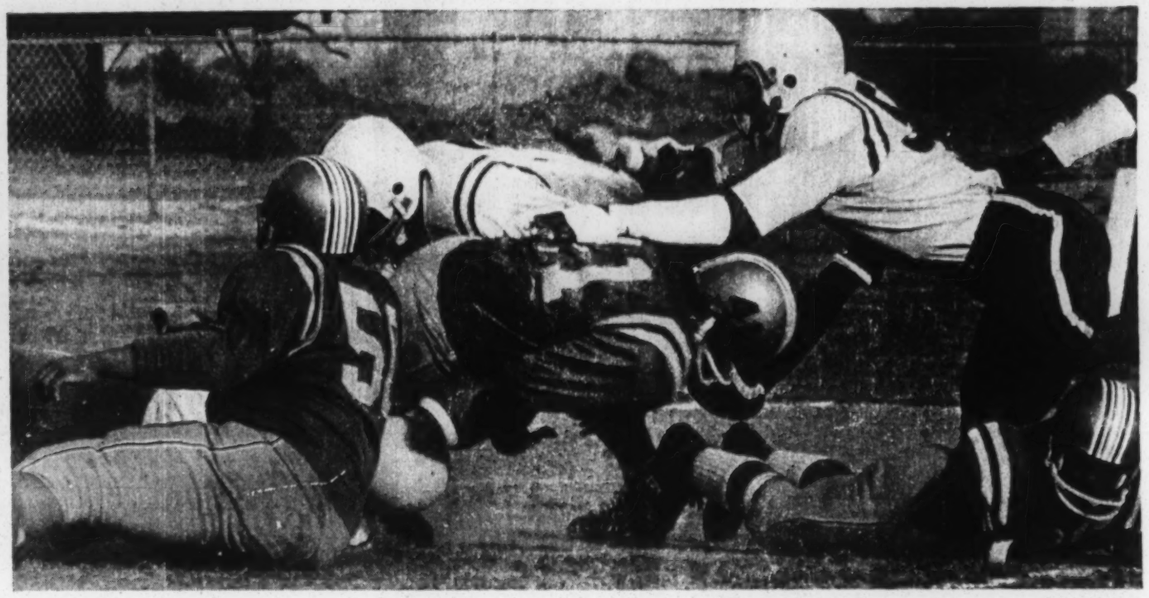

Photographs by Jim Peppler

ON NOV. 11, THE TYSONVILLE HEAD START CHILDREN VISITED THE TUSKEGEE POLICE (LEFT), MET THE MAYOR (ABOVE), AND RANG THE BELL IN THE FIRE ENGINE (RIGHT).

Controversy Over Tysonville Head Start

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

SHORTER--The sign above the bulletin board said, "Playing is our business." Beneath the sign, 15 young children sat in a circle of chairs, singing a song about the letters of the alphabet.

In the sunny room next door, another 15 children got ready for a snack. A little boy helped the teacher bring out the cardboard cartons of milk. Then the children sat down at two long tables and bowed their heads while the teacher said grace.

While the children were drinking their milk, Miss Hattie Frank, the teacher-in-charge, talked about the Tysonville Head Start program.

"You see that little girl?" she asked. The girl turned around and smiled. "The first two weeks she was here, she cried every day. But now she loves it."

"That boy--he was the meanest child I ever did see. He pinched everybody. Finally we told the other children to pinch him back. Now he's learning that if you want to get along with other people, you have to be friendly yourself."

"That girl didn't want to share nothing. She saw all those toys and wanted to play with 'em all at once. That's one of the most important things we try to do--teach the

With snacks and hot lunches, they have all gained from two to five pounds.

They have had holiday parties and taken trips--to the South Alabama Fair in Montgomery, to downtown Tuskegee to meet the mayor and visit the police and fire departments. "It was the first time many of them had even been to Tuskegee," Miss Frank said. "It was the first time any of them had ridden on a fire truck."

Parents, teachers, and students from Deborah Cannon Wolfe High School in Shorter worked long hours to make a float for the children to ride on in the Tuskegee Institute homecoming parade. The float won a first prize.

The Tysonville Head Start program seems like such a good thing that nobody would want to argue about it. But ever since it began, the program has been one of the most controversial parts of the anti-poverty program in Macon County.

Head Start classes began in Tysonville, a little community just north of Shorter, over a year ago. But they didn't have any help from the federal government.

Instead, they ran on the energy of Mrs. Consuello J. Harper, a third-grade teacher at the Prairie Farms Elementary School, and the enthusiasm of local parents.

Mrs. Harper began trying to get Head Start classes for the children in her area practically as soon as she heard about the program. But when the first Macon County Head Start proposal was approved in 1965, Tysonville wasn't included.

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"That girl didn't want to share nothing. She saw all those toys and wanted to play with 'em all at once. That's one of the most important things we try to do--teach the children to share."

The children have also received medical and dental care. With snacks and hot lunches, they have all gained from two to five pounds.

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Most people would have given up. But Mrs. Harper got a group of parents together, bought 50 pounds of fish at cost, and sold them to raise money for a Head Start project. The sale brought only $18, but that was enough to buy some equipment and begin. The program opened Oct. 4, 1966, in New Hope Church No. 1, while Mrs. Harper and her friends looked around for a better building.

Eventually, Mrs. Rosa W. Banks lent the program a house on her property. The Macon County Board of Education contributed desks, chairs, and bulletin boards. The parents scraped together a few dollars for paper and crayons. They gave their time to fix up the building and teach the classes.

Over the next several months, some 80 pre-school-age children from the Tysonville area attended Head Start classes at the Banks center. Meanwhile, Mrs. Harper drew up a proposal for a government-sponsored Head Start program and sent it to the regional Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta, Ga.

She got help from Mrs. Jeannetta S. Branche, director of the Head Start programs operated by the county board of education under the Macon County Community Action Program (CAP). John Gowan, then chairman of the county's community action committee, also gave her advice and support.

But, Mrs. Harper said, she never got any help at all from Mrs. Beulah C. Johnson, the paid CAP director. Instead, Mrs. Harper said, Mrs. Johnson objected to the project and did her best to convince OEO officials not to approve it.

Mrs. Johnson won't talk about the Tysonville Head Start program. "I won't discuss rumors and untruths," she said last week. But other employees in her office were willing to talk about it.

"We did tell them (the Tysonville parents) what to do," Mrs. Lottie Esau insisted. "But they still went back and did it wrong."

But Mrs. Harper must have done something right, because last July OEO approved her application, granted the program $16,000, and sent a check to the CAP office in Tuskegee.

What happened to that check? Mrs. Harper and the CAP office disagree. According to Mrs. Harper, the CAP office simply held onto it, even though the local poverty officials knew it was meant for her.

But Mrs. Esau said that wasn't true. "It wasn't marked," she said. "We didn't have any idea whose it was. I took it down to the board of education and Mr. Wilson (Schools Superintendent Joe C. Wilson) said it wasn't his.

"We didn't find out whose it was until they started fussin'. If the Tysonville people had told us what they were doing, they would have had it much sooner."

Mrs. Harper had two answers to that. "They're not that dumb," she said. "They knew it was mine." She also said she didn't get the money until Donald A. Jelinek, of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, wrote a letter to the Community Action Committee to say that if she had to take legal action to get the check, she would.

"It was September before we could issue our first paychecks," Mrs. Harper said. But she didn't wait for the OEO money to get the program under way.

In mid-July, Peace Corps trainees from Tuskegee Institute went out to the Prairie Farms School and fixed up an unused building for the Head Start classes. On Aug. 22, the first 14 children showed up to enroll.

The program's employees -- Mrs. Harper, the director; Miss Frank and Mrs. Mattie Harris, teachers; Mrs. Lorine Jackson and Mrs. Easter B. Williams, teachers' aides; Miss Beatrice Crowell, secretary; and the Rev. Nimrod Harris, janitor--all went to work without pay.

And local parents continued to support the program. Some of them, like James Lumpkin, made a practice of stopping in to see what they could do to help. "We're so glad to have Mr. Lumpkin," Miss Frank said. "So many of these children don't have fathers. It helps to have a man take an interest in them."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Harper said, Mrs. Johnson wrote to the OEO office in Atlanta to complain that the Tysonville Head Start center was poorly equipped.

"It's ridiculous," Mrs. Harper said, pointing to piles of toys and kindergarten teaching material. "We've even got a phonograph and a new tape recorder that someone left in my car a couple of months ago--I never did find out who, but it was someone who wanted to help."

In fact, she said, the local parents have given so much and done so much that the Tysonville program will run for more than four months on a grant expected to last only three months. Instead of ending in November, the classes will continue through the end of the year.

And, at the monthly meeting of the community action committee on Nov. 17, Mrs. Branche announced that the 30 children in the Tysonville program are being included in the Macon County Board of Education's new Head Start proposal.

"OEO said we could get only as many as we had before--140 children," Mrs. Branche said. "But I insisted that they include Tysonville and the demonstration program (for 15 children) at Tuskegee Institute."

The school board is asking OEO for $179,528 to run Head Start classes for 185 children from Jan. 2 to Aug. 31, 1967. Mrs. Branche and Charles G. Gomillion, new chairman of the community action committee, said that although they pleaded with OEO officials, they were told there was no chance for any more.

But Mrs. Harper plans to keep trying. "We have made just one tiny indentation in the lives of these children," she said. "The sad thing is that it's so few--and so many needs it."

Last week, Mrs. Harper said, she tried to get Head Start application forms from the CAP office. But Mrs. Esau told her there weren't any. She finally got copies from Mrs. Branche.

Now, Mrs. Harper said, some school officials have hinted that she won't have a job as a teacher next year. "I'm going to apply for another Head Start program," she said in reply. "If I lose this job, I can get another. I'd be happy to be a full-time Head Start supervisor-director."

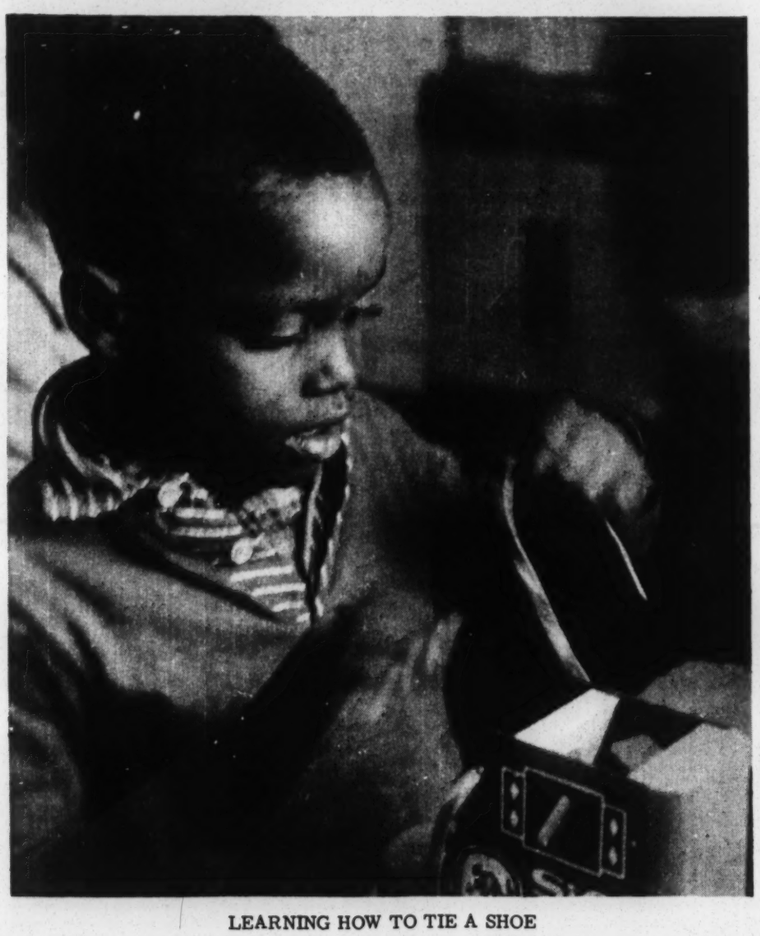
Mrs. Harper said her experience in running the only locally-started poverty program in Macon County has proved to her that poor people make just as good--or better--community leaders as anyone else.

She charged that the CAP office has kept too much anti-poverty money in downtown Tuskegee. "It belongs out in the county," said Mrs. Harper. "That's where the poor people are.

"We don't need people to sit behind a desk and make phone calls to Washington. We need dedicated rural people to bring the poverty program to their own communities."

THE TYSONVILLE FLOAT WON A FIRST PRIZE IN THE HOMECOMING PARADE

MOST OF THE CHILDREN NEVER SAW A PUZZLE BEFORE



LEARNING HOW TO TIE A SHOE

MILK WAS NEW TO SOME OF THE CHILDREN

Two Acts to Go In School Case

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--There will be a long, long intermission between the first and second acts of the courtroom drama about school desegregation in Alabama.

Four federal judges rang down the curtain on the first act last Friday after three days of testimony.

The second act will take place Feb. 3, 1967, when the four judges gather again to hear a battery of lawyers argue over what the evidence proves.

The third, and final, act will come when the four judges--actually two panels of three judges each--hand down their rulings on four important questions:

1. Should the court order desegregation of every school system in Alabama?
2. Are the 1966 federal school-desegregation guidelines unconstitutional?
3. Is Governor George C. Wallace's anti-guidelines law illegal?
4. Can Alabama pay tuition for students attending private schools?

Each panel of three judges will rule on two of the questions. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives and District Judges Frank M. Johnson Jr. and H.H. Grooms will consider the state-wide school desegregation order and the tuition grants.

Rives, Johnson, and District Judge Virgil Pittman will consider the constitutionality of the guidelines laid down by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and the legality of the Alabama law against the guidelines.

In theory, the judges could decide all four questions independently. But in practice, because the cases are closely related and because Rives and Johnson are a majority on both panels, the decisions will probably be linked together.

These are some of the things the judges could do:

They could find in favor of the HEW guidelines and against the anti-guidelines law. This is what the U.S. Justice Department lawyers, acting for HEW, have asked them to do.

HEW says such a ruling would make a court order desegregating the schools unnecessary. If the anti-guidelines law is struck down, HEW says, the U.S. Office of Education can enforce school desegregation without court help.

But the judges could rule that state

JUDGE FRANK M. JOHNSON JR.
Member of both federal panels

Will Hear Houston County Case

Court Says Ga. House Can't Bar Julian Bond

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Julian Bond has been elected to the Georgia House three times. Now, thanks to a U.S. Supreme Court decision, he will soon take his seat in the legislature for the first time.

Bond, a former SNCC official, was first elected to the House in 1965. But last January, the House voted not to seat him because of his criticism of the draft and the war in Viet Nam. The 26-year-old Negro then won a special election in his Atlanta district, but a House committee disqualified him again.

"The disqualification of Bond from membership in the Georgia House because of his statements violated Bond's right of free expression under the First Amendment," the Supreme Court ruled last Monday in a unanimous decision.

So Bond--who was elected again last month--will finally get to take his place in the House next January.

In another action Monday, the court agreed to decide whether the Houston County board of revenue should be reapportioned on a "one man, one vote" basis.

The Supreme Court has applied this rule of equal representation to districts drawn for the U.S. House and for state legislatures. Last spring, Dothan Mayor Earl C. Moody and other Dothan residents asked a federal court in Montgomery to apply it to the county board.

The Dothan residents said their city has 61% of the county's population and pays 69% of the taxes, but has only one representative on the five-man county board.

But the Montgomery court said it saw no reason to apply the "one man, one vote" rule to Houston County, and dismissed the case. The Dothan residents appealed to the Supreme Court.

The court also heard arguments on Georgia's confused race for governor.

In Montgomery, Ala.

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Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw

WMOO

50,000 Watts Top Dial 1550

Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

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6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain

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But the judges could rule that state officials have interfered with HEW's school integration efforts so much in the past that a state-wide school desegregation order is necessary.

In 1964, the Rives-Johnson-Grooms panel warned Governor Wallace and other state officals that they would face a blanket desegregation order unless they proceeded "with deliberate speed" to integrate the schools on their own.

On the other hand, the judges could order state-wide school desegregation without upholding the 1966 HEW guidelines. They could say that school integration is required under the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark school-desegregation decision in 1954, and under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

They could also strike down Alabama's anti-guidelines law regardless of whether they rule for or against the guidelines themselves. The judges could decide that the only proper way for the state to attack the guidelines is through the court--not by legislative act.

But even if the judges do not issue a desegregation order, they could find that the tuition grants to private-school

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)

MRS. SMITH

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

reason--their mother's alleged relation "with a man who is not their father, who owes no duty of support, is giving no support, who is not married to the mother, and who is not living with them."

This, says the suit, deprived the children of their legal rights.

Furthermore, the suit charges, the substitute father rule has been used against Negroes, but not against whites.

In Mrs. Smith's case, she said, what "got the whole thing a-going" was a letter she wrote to President Johnson, complaining about Alabama welfare policies. She said her aid was cut off a few weeks after she sent the letter.

"It gives me the devil," she said, "trying to work, take care of the children, pay the rent, the gas bill, the light bill, the insurance bill . . . It's hard, but I'm going to try to make it."

Madam Choctaw

INDIAN HEALER
READER & ADVISOR

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IN FRONT OF HER HOME

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Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
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Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
9:30-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

THE GOODWILL GIANT
MOBILE, ALA.

WANT ADS

RALLY--In Mt. Avrey Baptist Church on Highway 15 in Stallo, Miss., on Sunday, Dec. 18, at 1 p.m. Come and let's all support the right to justice and fair play, through sensational speakers of all time--Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Mrs. Annie Devine.

CRENSHAW COUNTY--The Crenshaw County Improvement Association is having a meeting at 3 p.m. Sunday, Dec. 11, in Helicon Baptist Church, to observe the anniversary of the school boycott. Everyone is invited, especially students in integrated schools.

PUPPIES FOR FREE--I have three puppies to give away to anyone who wants a good little yard dog. The puppies are five months old. See Hattie Bailey, Rt. 3, Box 6, Marion, Ala. (on Jefferson St.)

JOB OPENINGS--The Southern Courier will soon be interviewing applicants for four positions on its business staff. Two people are needed to work on circulation and subscriptions, and two are needed to work on advertising. High pay, generous expense accounts. Applicants must be honest, responsible, and willing to work long hours, and they must be experienced or interested in business. A car is required. If interested, call 262-3572 in Montgomery to arrange an interview.

WANTED--A manager for the Freedom Quilting Bee Handcraft Cooperative. Should have experience in arts and crafts or design, some business sense, and the willingness to live and work in a rural community. Write Selma Interreligious Project, 810 29th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401, or call 758-2301.

CAR FOR SALE--1954 Ford sedan, V-8 engine, air-conditioned, overdrive. $225. Phone 262-7010 in Montgomery, in the morning or before 7:30 p.m. in the evening.

EASY MONEY--The Southern Courier needs local distribution agents in Huntsville, Selma, Mobile, and Dothan. For organizing and supervising newsboys and news-stands, you can earn up to $50 in a few hours each week. Requirements are honesty and dependability--no experience necessary. If interested, call The Southern Courier, 262-3572 in Montgomery, or write to the Courier at 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--The civic league will meet Tuesday, Dec. 13, at 7 p.m. in the Westminster Presbyterian Church. The theme of "action" for the month of December has drawn a literal response from the beautification committee under the capable chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Smith, and from the research and project committee under the guidance of Mrs. Margaret Cheatum. All residents of the area are urged to attend. Lionel T. Williams, president.

MOBILE VOTERS--There are only three weeks left in which to RE-IDENTIFY. To fail to do so is to turn the clock back several years.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

Game of the Week

State Title Goes to Mobile County, 12-0

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE -- It was a cold, windy day at Hartwell Field last Saturday. Attendance was low, the bands drowned each other out, and the scoreboard wasn't working. It was a day for concentrating on the art of football, as demonstrated by Carver High of Montgomery and Mobile County Training School in their battle for the state football championship.

The game--won by the Mobile County Whippets, 12 to 0--didn't contribute much in the way of fancy offensive plays. But it did satisfy those who like a bitter and merciless struggle.

Both teams mustered ferocious energy for their smothering defensive work. As a result, there was little chance for either team to show the attacking power that had made them championship contenders with equally flawless 9-0 records.

Carver's Wolverines could gain only 40 yards rushing all afternoon, so quarterback Oscar Belser fought desperately to break through on passing attempts. Belser completed nine out of 27 passes for 125 yards and most of Carver's 12 first downs, but he couldn't connect on a touchdown play.

Whippet quarterback Anderson Flen faced the same difficulties, since County made only 48 yards rushing. Flen picked up 97 yards on five pass completions out of 12 tries. The difference was that two of his passes went for touchdowns.

Though they could scrape together just five first downs, the Whippets never let up for an instant. They accounted for six of the game's seven pass interceptions, and recovered two of the day's three fumbles. They also drew 90 yards in penalties--twice as much as Carver.

MOBILE COUNTY DEFENDERS SURROUND CARVER BALL-CARRIER

It was this aggressiveness that produced two fleeting but crucial openings for County in the second quarter. After grinding along for 43 yards to the Carver 13, Flen found Theodore Spradley open near the end zone and passed to him for the game's first six points.

Capitalizing on an interception a few minutes later, Flen fired three successive passes from the Carver 14. The third one skimmed past Wolverine fingertips into the arms of Gabe Coleman for the second Whippet TD.

During the last half, Carver nearly went beserk trying to score, particularly after County's Jimmie Stutts intercepted what would have been a scoring bullet pass from four yards out.

As tempers flared with increasing frequency--causing the action to continue long after the whistle--the Carver attack lost precious time and eventually disintegrated. "I didn't even recognize Carver out there," said a fan.

For that matter, not many people thought County looked like the Southern District's season champs. But being a Whippet Saturday meant having that necessary extra burst of split-second speed. This was the element that returned the highest conference honors to Mobile.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. Monday, Dec. 12, in the Mt. Olive Baptist Church, 6300 Third Ave. N., the Rev. Edward Gardner, pastor. Speaker will be the Rev. J.W. Sankey, pastor of St. John Baptist Church, Pratt City.

WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

1. I'M LOSING YOU-- The Temptations (Gordy)
2. WHISPERS-- Jackie Wilson (Brunswick)
3. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
4. YOU CAN'T HIDE A HEARTACHE--Z.Z. Hill (Kent)
5. A PLACE IN THE SUN-- Stevie Wonder (Tamla)
6. NEVER LET ME GO-- The Van Dykes (Mala)
7. MAN OR MOUSE-- Jr. Parker (Duke)
8. TOO MANY TEARDROPS-- Joe Simon (Snd. Stage)
9. TRY A LITTLE TENDERNESS-- Otis Redding (Volt)
10. I'M YOUR PUPPET-- James and Bobby Purify (Bell)
11. DON'T BE A DROPOUT-- James Brown (King)
12. MUSTANG SALLY-- Wilson Pickett (Atlantic)
13. YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON-- Supremes (Motown)
14. YOU GOT ME HUMMIN'-- Sam and Dave (Stax)

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MALDEN BROTHERS BARBER SHOP

407 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

262-9249

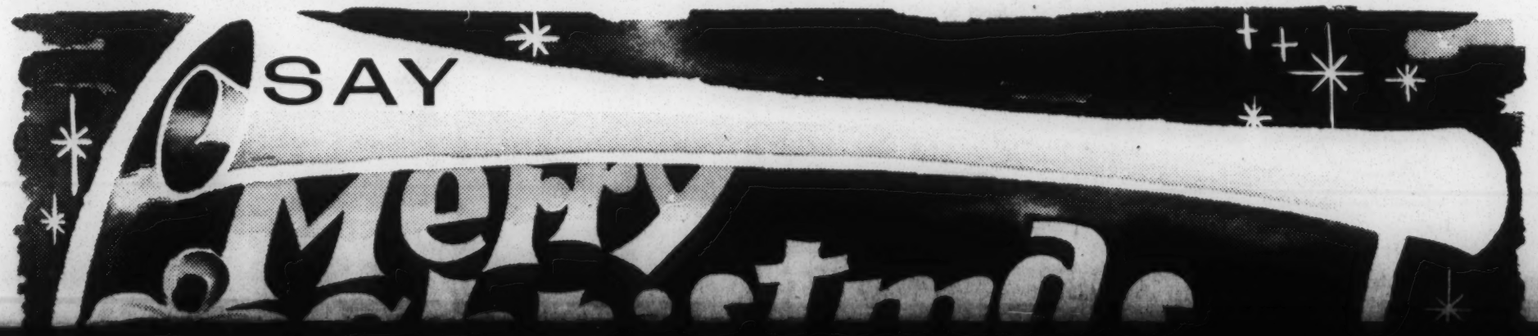
Nelson and Spurgeon Malden

WHAT JUDGES COULD DO

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

students are an illegal aid to school segregation.

The testimony at last week's hearing, and the oral arguments to be heard next year, are only a fraction of the material the judges will consider. They must also look through hundreds of written exhibits, including the bulk of Alabama's state and local education records, and depositions (written testimony) from dozens of local, state, and federal officials.



Radio Station **WAPX**

HAS INSTITUTED **The Pastor's Study**

BROADCAST DAILY

MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

5. A PLACE IN THE SUN--
Stevie Wonder (Tamla)
6. NEVER LET ME GO--
The Van Dykes (Mala)
7. MAN OR MOUSE--
Jr. Parker (Duke)
Wilson Pickett (Atlantic)
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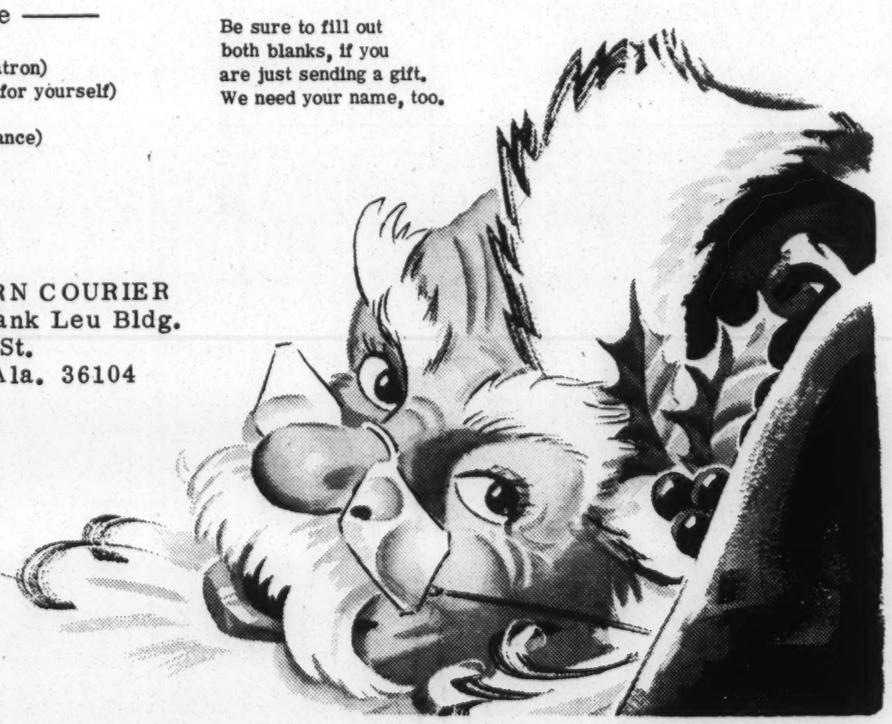

Radio Station **WAPX**
HAS INSTITUTED **The Pastor's Study**
BROADCAST DAILY
MONDAY THRU FRIDAY, 9:00 to 9:15 AM

THE PASTOR'S STUDY is a daily devotional prepared under the auspices of and in conjunction with the Montgomery Ministerial Alliance. Listen to your favorite minister in our Pastor's Study.

Also, for your continuing listening, our GOSPEL PROGRAMS, 4:00 to 6:00 AM and 9:15 to 11:00 AM, and with Gretchen Jenkins from 11:00 AM to 12 Noon, Monday thru Friday.

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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The Trial...

MARVIN L. SEGREST
Entering Lee County Courthouse

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA -- Marvin L. Segrest said he shot at Samuel L. Younge Jr. in self-defense "and I believe you gentlemen will believe him," defense attorney Yetta G. Samford told a Lee County jury last week.

Samford was right. The jury of 12 white men took just one hour and ten minutes to find Segrest, a white man, not guilty of second-degree murder in the shooting of Younge, a Negro college student and civil rights worker.

In setting Segrest free, the jury accepted his word over that of five state witnesses--four Negro students and a white bus driver.

Segrest, a small, 69-year-old man with silvery gray hair and a hawk-like profile, took the stand in the apple-green Lee County courtroom shortly before noon Dec. 8.

Leaning toward the jury, he spoke in a loud and angry voice. He testified that he shot twice as Younge came toward him "with something that looked to me like a gun."

But Joseph David Morris Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student, testified that Segrest fired the second shot as Younge was running away. W.B. Powell, the bus driver, said Younge was walking away from Segrest into an alley when the shot was fired.

And three other students--Marcellus Brooks, Roby L. Radley, and Thomas Boddie--said that Segrest came toward Younge before firing the first shot.

The jury apparently accepted Segrest and Powell's version of what happened after the second shot was fired. Both men said Younge walked away from that shot alive.

But Morris said that he saw Segrest fire and Younge fall. "I waited a minute or two and pulled (my car) out on the highway with my brights on. I saw him laying in blood on his back and side. Blood was running down the pavement."

Sergeant George O. Prince, of the Tuskegee police, testified that he was called to the downtown service station where Segrest worked a few minutes before midnight Jan. 3. Prince said Segrest complained about Younge's behavior. But the policeman didn't remember Segrest saying that Younge had any weapon.

Yet the golf club which police found under Younge's body played a major role in Segrest's testimony in court. The service station attendant said the golf club must have been the gun-like "something" he saw in Younge's hands.

Segrest said Younge drove his car up to the service station, on Highway 29 just east of Tuskegee, shortly before midnight. He "jumped out cursing and ranting and raving," Segrest said.

When Younge asked where the restroom was, Segrest said he pointed--"ladies on this side, men on this side." When Younge said he wouldn't use a segregated restroom, Segrest said, he told Younge "the only segregation is between men and ladies."

Segrest said Younge replied, "'I don't go to the goddamn back for nobody. The sooner you goddamn white folks know I don't go to the back, the better it will be for you.'

". . .I said, 'You just came here to raise hell. Go, and don't come back,'" Segrest testified. He said Younge got back in his car and drove to the Greyhound bus station next door.

"I went back inside," Segrest said. "Then I heard this terrible commotion. . . .I went back out. I saw him. He was beyond himself--cursing. . . . He started advancing toward me with this lead pipe or whatever it was. . . .I pulled the gun to rout--bluff--him, and shot at the blacktop near his feet."

Segrest's testimony on this point conflicted with that of the student witnesses. Radley said that when Younge asked to use the public restroom, Segrest "immediately pulled a gun." Radley, Morris, and Brooks said Segrest pointed the gun at Younge while ordering him to leave the service station.

Segrest said that after he fired the first shot, Younge retreated around a bus parked at the bus station. Then, Segrest said, Younge started back. "He was comin' towards me when I fired the last time," the defendant said.

Segrest said he aimed the gun high, over Younge's head. Powell, the bus driver, said Segrest waited to shoot until Younge was "completely out of his line of fire." But Morris said Segrest held the gun level and fired at Younge.

Segrest was the only defense witness on the scene at the time the shots were fired. Other defense witnesses testified that Younge, a Tuskegee Institute student, had "harassed" Segrest several times in the three or four months before the shooting.

A parade of character witnesses--white and Negro--testified that Segrest was a quiet man of good reputation in his home town, Shorter, in western Macon County.

At the end of the two-day trial, District Attorney Tom F. Young said that the state witnesses had placed Younge too far away from Segrest for a plea of self-defense. "I've never seen any kind of golf stick that has the range of a .38 pistol," said Young, the chief prosecutor for the state.

Lee County attorney G.H. Wright Jr. reminded the jurors that the trial had been moved out of Macon County. "There's no doubt at all that the defendent fired the shot that killed the deceased," Wright said. "This is an important case. It was brought here in order that justice should be done."

But Harry D. Raymon, one of Se-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

...and After

Negro Policemen Fired In Philadelphia, Miss.

BY GAIL FALK

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. --Philadelphia's two Negro policemen, Willie "Tripp" Windham and Charles "Steve" Huddleston, were fired last week.

As a result, said store-keeper Amos McClelland, "there's some happy folks up in Philadelphia."

Philadelphia Negroes had been trying to get Windham off the force for nearly a year. But it was a series of events

arresting officer, and assault and battery. Trial on the charges was set for Dec. 5, before Mayor Clayton Lewis.

After the Friday night affair, anger against Windham rose higher than ever in the Negro community. The day before the trial, rifle shots were fired into Windham's house, and another bullet narrowly missed him as he was walking into the teen center.

On the morning of Dec. 5, said Mrs. Willie Pearl Black, she and "a heap of more" went up to the city hall to be witnesses against the two Negro policemen. They

drunk and that she had caused the gash on Edwards' head. However, she said later, she did admit cursing and resisting arrest after Huddleston tore her coat. "Yeah, I hit him--as hard as I work to buy my clothes," she said. "And I told him, 'Don't put your damn hands on my collar.'"

Black denied charges that he had hit anyone with a bottle. But all five defendants were found guilty, and were fined from $10 to $28.

After the trial, one of the ladies who had come to testify told Mayor Lewis

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Entering Lee County Courthouse

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Philadelphia Negroes had been trying to get Windham off the force for nearly a year. But it was a series of events earlier this month that finally brought about his dismissal.

"His time had come," said McElroy Batts of nearby Stallo. Batts said Windham was "lucky" to be fired, because a lot of people in town were so angry they actually might have killed him.

In the past few months, Windham had injured several people while he was arresting them, including Willie Jay Johnson, Theodore Slaughter, and--most recently--19-year-old Robert Edwards. (Huddleston, who joined the force in July, was present at all these arrests.)

Edwards tangled with Windham at the teen center in Philadelphia on Friday night, Dec. 2. Edwards said later that the trouble started because Windham saw him talking with a girl the officer knew. Edwards said Windham told him to "turn Tripp's woman a-loose."

"I walked off and started dancing," said Edwards, but Windham "grabbed at me and started pushing me toward the door."

Edwards' uncle, W. C. Wells, also 19, was standing nearby. Wells said Windham started dragging him too, when he asked why Edwards was being arrested. Others joined in the hassle, and one young man drew a gun on Windham. Edwards received a head wound that required three stitches. He said it was caused by a blow from Windham's pistol.

Before the night was out, five people--Edwards and his grandmother, Mrs. Louisa Black; Wells and his brother, 16-year-old Billy Joe Black; and Miss Linda Jordon--were in the city jail on charges of public drunkenness, resisting arrest, assaulting an officer, public profanity, interfering with an arresting officer, and assault and battery. Trial on the charges was set for Dec. 5, before Mayor Clayton Lewis.

After the Friday night affair, anger against Windham rose higher than ever in the Negro community. The day before the trial, rifle shots were fired into Windham's house, and another bullet narrowly missed him as he was walking into the teen center.

On the morning of Dec. 5, said Mrs. Willie Pearl Black, she and "a heap of more" went up to the city hall to be witnesses against the two Negro policemen. They went, she said, not only to tell what had happened in the teen center, but also to tell city officials about "Tripp's girl-friends," including a white girl-friend.

But only Miss Jordon and Billy Joe Black were called to testify. Miss Jordon denied charges that she was drunk and that she had caused the gash on Edwards' head. However, she said later, she did admit cursing and resisting arrest after Huddleston tore her coat. "Yeah, I hit him--as hard as I work to buy my clothes," she said. "And I told him, 'Don't put your damn hands on my collar.'"

Black denied charges that he had hit anyone with a bottle. But all five defendants were found guilty, and were fined from $10 to $28.

After the trial, one of the ladies who had come to testify told Mayor Lewis that she and the others had some things they still wanted to tell him. Lewis said they could come around to his office later in the week.

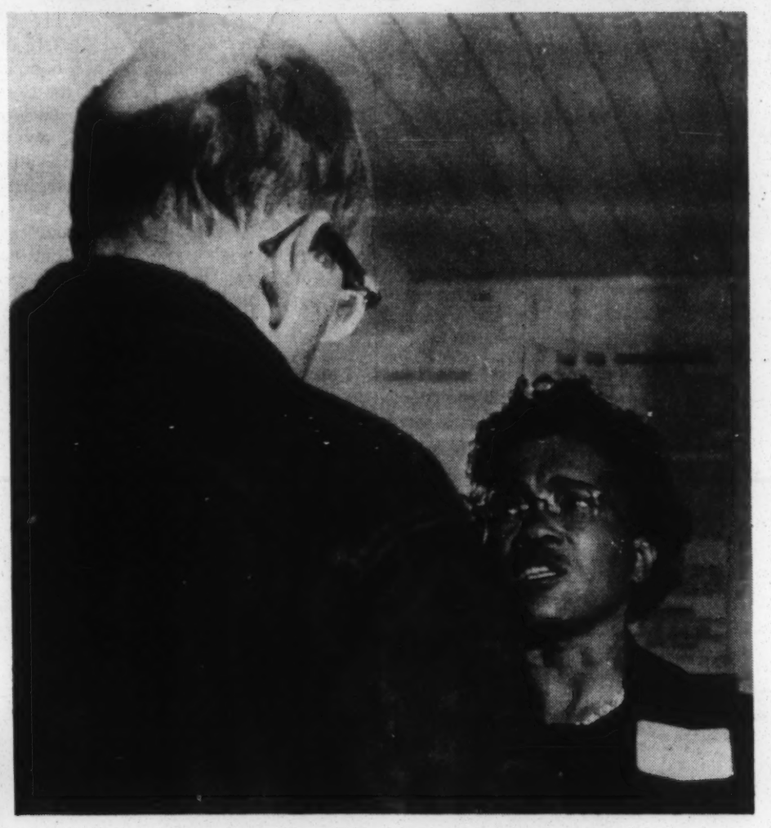
But the meeting never took place. Instead, the woman said, Lewis phoned her and asked if Windham had been see-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

A Face

More on Page Three

Unique 'School' In Gees Bend



MRS. PEARL MOORER TELLS IT LIKE IT IS

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

GEES BEND--A unique "Rural Life Workshop" was held last weekend in this tiny Negro community.

The workshop--sponsored by the Rev. Francis X. Walter's Selma Interreligious Project and the Rev. G. G. Pettway's Pleasant Grove Baptist Church--could have been called a school for white people, especially Southern white liberals.

A leaflet sent out before the workshop invited people who wanted "to know more about this country's most pressing domestic issue--more than your family maid or Alabama newspaper will tell you."

Although it was pretty cold, about 32 out-of-town visitors--white and Negro--came to participate in discussions led by Negroes who were active in the civil rights movement in Wilcox and Dallas counties. Mrs. Pearl Moorer of Tyler, for example, gave a lecture on tenant farming and current farm problems.

Other activities included a field trip, a visit to the Freedom Quilting Bee Handcraft Cooperative, and two National Educational Television documentary movies, "Lay My Burden Down" and "The Streets of Greenwood."

But the most interesting moments of the workshop came in the informal discussions that were carried on by inte-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 4)

FIRE FLARES DURING STUDENT DEMONSTRATION

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The soldier atop the Confederate monument in downtown Tuskegee now has a black face and a yellow stripe down his back. Black letters scrawled around the base of the monument spell out "black power" and "Sam Younge."

The stone soldier has looked that way ever since 1,500 angry Tuskegee Institute students streamed downtown in the darkness early last Friday morning.

They gathered around the Confederate monument in the square across from the Macon County courthouse. But they were talking about what had happened in a courthouse 25 miles away. One girl shouted it into a microphone:

"We're here because a year ago Sammy Younge was killed and today they let the man who killed our blood brother go free."

Seven hours before, an all-white jury had found Marvin L. Segrest, a white man, not guilty of the murder of Samuel L. Younge Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student and civil rights worker.

The student demonstration lasted for more than three hours. While it was going on, someone broke into the downtown liquor store and swiped a few bottles. Fires flared up in the bushes by the monument, and then were stamped out.

Local policemen circled the square during the demonstration. Negro patrolmen occasionally came into the square to speak to the students. White patrolmen stayed across the street.

As the last 250 students headed back toward campus shortly before 4 a.m., the tension suddenly exploded. The students began to run, flinging rocks and bottles at a dozen stores along the way. They broke every large plate-glass window along a one-block stretch of N. Main St.

The next morning, the storekeepers boarded up their smashed windows, and opened for business. Peace seemed to be restored. But Friday night, despite a driving rain, someone tried to burn a cross in front of the all-Negro Washington Public School.

Tuskegee Public Safety Director Alton B. Taylor said the cross "burned very little." It was "small . . . a very crude affair. It looked like a children's prank," he said.

But some people who saw the cross disagreed with Taylor. "It was huge," said one woman, who didn't want her name used. "It was well-wrapped in burlap. No kids did that."

Taylor said he was investigating both incidents, but, as yet, planned no arrests. "That depends on the outcome of the investigations," he said.

Meanwhile, words began to fly back and forth. Some of the students who organized the demonstration published a leaflet bitterly condemning Tuskegee's Negro leadership: "This community is responsible for Sammy's death . . . . We are all responsible because we have allowed white people to think that they can kill black people and go free . . . ."

Tuskegee Institute President Luther H. Foster released a statement to the press. "The Opelika jury's acquittal of the man charged with the murder of a Tuskegee student raises again very real questions regarding the safety of Negroes in Alabama, as well as the quality of justice administered in this state," Foster said.

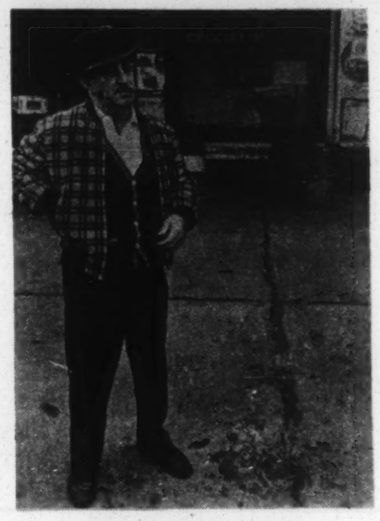
". . . . It is out of this kind of insecurity that people are led sometimes almost blindly to strike out in despair. The demonstration Thursday night . . . was of this kind."

But Foster had harsher words for the students at an all-Institute meeting. "Mobs cannot be tolerated," he told them. "It is a very sad thing for the people of Tuskegee Institute to have to face . . . the evidence of wanton physical destruction caused by a very few people in a rather large group of Tuskegee students and others. All who were there share the blame. . . ."

Many Tuskegeeans, Negro and white, also condemned the students. One who did not was the Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood.

"We have . . . stated our case against mob vandalism," Haygood told his congregation Sunday morning, "but we have said very little concerning why the van-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)



THE MORNING AFTER

NO ELECTRICITY

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

BRIAR HILL--There is a small community here, consisting of five families. The occupants have a lot in common. All are Negroes, and all are closely related. And they all are living without electricity.

"This place didn't have any electricity in here before I was born, and I'm in my 50's," said Mrs. Leola Weatherly, who rebuilt her home here three years ago, after the first house burned down.

The families say the reason for the lack of electricity is that some white land-owners refuse to allow lines to run over their property. "Where one would give the right of way, the others fail to do so. That's where we've been handicapped all the while," explained Mrs. Weatherly's sister, Mrs. Effie Foster.

Another sister, Mrs. Amanda Wright, said, "I went to see Mr. Dunbar, but we couldn't get no right of way. He said he didn't want to cut down his timber."

T. W. Dunbar, one of the land-owners, said, "I don't want them to go over our woods. I want to grow trees." But he added, "There's no danger in running it across a pasture out there."

But the pasture belongs to a white woman who won't let the line run across it. However, the families say, the woman would let the line run across some land opposite her pasture. Part of this land opposite her pasture is hers, but some of it belongs to another white lady, and SHE won't let the line run across HER part.

Mrs. Wright said the sisters have appealed to the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) four times.

"We made every effort possible," said Grady Motes of REA, "but we haven't had any luck." REA is ready to put the lines up any time, Motes said, but not without the land-owners' permission.

So although Mrs. Weatherly has a television, she can't watch it. Her refrigerator won't keep her food cold, and she can't hear her radio. Speaking of her life without electricity, she said, "I just wonder if we will ever get any. I hope we will."

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Vol. II, No. 51 December 17-18, 1966

Editorial Opinion

A Mockery of Justice

From its start in Macon County to its finish in Lee County, the trial of Marvin L. Segrest for the murder of Samuel L. Younge Jr. was a mockery of justice. The arguments of the defense attorneys who succeeded in getting the case moved out of Macon County were nothing more than a thin mask over the ugly face of bigotry. Despite their protests that Segrest could not get a fair trial in Macon, everyone in the courtroom and the county knew that the real objection was that Macon County's jury list is two-thirds Negro. What the attorneys were really saying is that no white man accused of killing a Negro should have to face a jury of independent Negroes.

District Attorney Tom F. Young objected--but offered no testimony in support of that objection. When one defense witness--Tuskegee Public Safety Director Alton B. Taylor--suggested that Segrest might get a fair trial in Macon County, Young and the defense attorneys couldn't get him off the stand fast enough. And Circuit Judge L. J. Tyner agreed to move the trial.

There was a long wait. Then attorney Solomon S. Seay Jr. filed a suit to desegregate the Lee County jury rolls. Three days later, Judge Tyner set the case for trial--barely two weeks ahead of a federal court hearing on the Lee County jury system. When the case came up in Lee County last week, the defense attorneys had no trouble securing a jury of 12 white men.

Even under these circumstances, there was no reason why the state could not put on a strong case

Editorial Opinion

What For?

"What can the people do about the James Earl Motley case?" the Rev. K. L. Buford, state NAACP field director, was asked last Sunday during a WRMA news show. Buford had a quick answer--give to the James Earl Motley Fund.

Buford later explained that, despite its name, the fund is not for the benefit of Motley's survivors. Rather, he said, it is "a fund-raising campaign initiated by the Elmore County branch of the NAACP to help defray the cost of any expenses that might be involved in legal work... to help defray the cost of conducting our investigation, so far as legal fees are concerned." The NAACP is investigating the circumstances surrounding Motley's death Nov. 20 in the Elmore County jail.

MOTLEY

Although the NAACP has its own legal staff, Buford said, "in this case we've hired a lawyer to give us direction, because we don't know what local officials might do." The lawyer is Fred D. Gray of Montgomery.

It is still not entirely clear what the NAACP's investigation can accomplish, or what the NAACP plans to do with its findings.

We believe that people are entitled to spend their money any way they please. We just think they ought to know that the James Earl Motley Fund is really a fund for Fred D. Gray.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

About the editorial opinion in the Dec. 3-4 issue on James E. Motley. I will have to agree with you on your opinion. These investigations on his slaying will make it an open and shut case of NOT GUILTY for the people responsible for his death as usual.

I think it's time for people, Negro people that is, to know the role that the Justice Dept. really play in protecting them. It does one of the greatest jobs of taking notes and giving a one-eyed one-sided opinion in its note taking.

We only have to look at all the past cases the Justice Dept. have dealt with. What they really say you have to catch the killers red handed with the blood on them, then maybe they can bring them to trial.

You only have to look at the system of government law enforcement to really know what's going on. They should have enough notes to rewrite, change, the Justice Dept. for Negroes. In any case involving a Negro where he has been denied his rights or his rights has been miss used, you find only that the Justice Dept. investigated or took notes about the matter.

What would happen if Negroes decided to go on a killing spree? How many of them would go free? How hard would the Justice Dept. work to bring them to justice? We don't have to guess about it.

Maybe the law enforcers had better think about it. Why is it that any time a Negro stand up to the law enforcement for his rights, his brains is beat out or he's exciting a riot? Wouldn't it seem that these people are citing to riot by killing our people and letting their murderers go free?

You only have to wonder how much more the Negro people will take before their guts will turn and kill the killer....

Attorneys Miss Death Hearing

BY ROBIN REISIG

TALLADEGA--On Friday the 13th of next month, Leroy Taylor is scheduled to die in the electric chair.

His execution has been postponed 12 times, but Tuesday he lost a chance for a 13th postponement. A petition challenging the legality of his trial was dismissed when his lawyers failed to show up in Circuit Court here.

Taylor, a Negro, was convicted of first degree murder in 1963, for drowning a seven-year-old Negro girl.

Four representatives of the Talladega County jury commission were in court Tuesday, at the request of Taylor's attorneys, who were challenging the selection of the grand jury that indicted him (an all-white jury sentenced Taylor to death.)

Judge William C. Sullivan said he had gotten up from a sick bed to hear the case. But, as the hour for the hearing arrived, Taylor's lawyers--Donald A. Jelinek of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC), and Charles S. Conley of Montgomery--didn't.

Instead, they informed the court by telephone and telegram that they couldn't come. Judge Sullivan refused the telegrammed request for a postponement of the hearing.

"I just physically was not up to it," Conley said later, explaining why, instead of appearing, he sent a telegram complaining of "physical exhaustion and pressure of work of several months."

"I was not aware that I had to go up," he said, "and I had a lot of other cases, and I'm a single practitioner, and I can't close my office down, and I'd have had to close the office down for a whole day, and I don't have a full file on the case, and this was not on my schedule."

He said "we'll have to request" another postponement of the execution, "because a man's life is involved."

Jelinek said he couldn't appear alone in the Talladega Circuit Court, because of recent challenges to his right to practice law in Alabama. (On Jan. 12--a day before Taylor's scheduled execution--a federal court will hear a case determining whether Jelinek and other out-of-state lawyers can try cases in Alabama courts.)

The Talladega County jury system was approved by the U. S. Supreme Court last year in another case. "This is exactly the same thing," said Mrs. Elizabeth M. Young, clerk of the jury commission. "We have no discrimination whatsoever. Negroes have been on the jury rolls ever since I can remember."

But Jelinek said this case is different from last year's because it deals "not with how many Negroes are on the grand jury list, but how the list was compiled. Was it a cross-section of the Negro community, or only the most prominent Negroes, those who come to the attention of the white power structure?"

Windham Fired

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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People who live near the center of the Negro community say things have been much more peaceful since Lyon went on duty. "He acts like he ain't more than we are just 'cause he got a blue uniform on," said Miss Jordon.

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Even under these circumstances, there was no reason why the state could not put on a strong case against Segrest. He was the only defense witness on the scene at the time--while the state had half a dozen eye-witnesses. Or should have had. But several of them failed to show up in court. Young explained that the witnesses--all former Tuskegee Institute students--were now in California and Florida. What he didn't explain was that he hadn't tried very hard to find them. Attorney Fred D. Gray said last weekend that Young had called him the day before the trial with the names of three eye-witnesses he had been unable to locate. Gray found one of them--Joseph David Morris Jr.--on the Tuskegee Institute campus. He found the other two in California and Florida--but it was apparently too late for them to get to Lee County in time.

Even without those witnesses, Young had a lot going for him. Morris said he had seen Segrest fire the fatal shot. An Atlanta-bound bus driver also saw the shot, and, later, Younge's body lying on the ground. A state toxicologist testified that Segrest's gun fired the bullet that killed Younge.

But the district attorney threw his case away. Young's five-minute cross-examination of Segrest completely ignored the major differences between his testimony and that of the Negro students. This unproductive and incredibly brief examination left many people in the courtroom wondering why the experienced district attorney was unable or unwilling to use the same rapid-fire questioning technique that defense attorney Harry D. Raymon used on state witnesses.

Similarly, the judge and state and defense attorneys always carefully referred to the defendant as "Mr. Segrest." The dead man was "Younge" or "Sammy." No Negro witness for the state ever received the courtesy title of "Mister," although the white bus driver did. This form of discrimination--standard practice in Alabama courtrooms--hardly encouraged the jury to weigh Younge's life equally with Segrest's.

In summing up the case for the defense, attorney Raymon pulled out all the stops. Segrest was a peaceful man "in his twilight years," threatened by a "husky" cursing youngster. But the state never bothered to point out that the 21-year-old Younge was shot down "in his morning years" and deprived of the opportunity to reach the afternoon of his life, not to mention the "twilight." Among other failures, Young found no way to tell the jury about Younge's honorable career in the armed forces.

When the jury brought in its verdict--after only 70 minutes of "deliberation"--some of the Negro students in the courtroom cried out in protest. Seven hours later, several hundred angry Tuskegee Institute students swarmed into downtown Tuskegee and painted the Confederate monument black in the face and yellow down the back. On their way home, scores of students pelted local businesses with rocks and bottles, smashing windows and damaging store-fronts.

Many people, black and white, have piously condemned this outburst. But few of them have spoken out against the killing of Sammy Younge, or the farcical trial of the man accused of murdering him. The most serious breach of law and order last week took place not in the streets, but in the courtroom.

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What we really need is some justice in the Justice Dept. for Negroes. In any case involving a Negro where he has been denied his rights or his rights has been miss used, you find only that the Justice Dept. investigated or took notes about the matter.

What would happen if Negroes decided to go on a killing spree? How many of them would go free? How hard would the Justice Dept. work to bring them to justice? We don't have to guess about it.

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Clarence Williams
Selma

Wetumpka Mother Tells Desegregation Problems

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

WETUMPKA--Mrs. Annie Mae Williams went to Atlanta, Ga., last week to testify before congressmen investigating the U.S. Office of Education.

"I was the only one there from Alabama," said Mrs. Williams, who has four children attending desegregated schools. "I just told them the things that had been happening since we integrated the schools in Elmore County."

She said she told a subcommittee of the U.S. House's education and labor committee about "harassment, bombs, and the fire." She said that after two families put children in previously all-white schools, their houses were burned down.

Mrs. Williams said she also told the congressmen about "transportation problems."

"Negro children still have to ride the bus to the Negro school, and then walk to the white school," she said. "Sometimes they are punished for being tardy."

And, she told the House group, white teachers and students insulted the Negro children. "When my son's arm was broken," she said, "the kids say, 'Nigger got his arm broke, should have been his neck.'"

One home economics teacher has separate seating for Negro and white students, Mrs. Williams told the committee. "When Mrs. (Carrie) Peavy's daughter sat at the table with the white girls, the teacher made her get up," said Mrs. Williams. "She told her the table was for her other students."

And, said Mrs. Williams, "when it's time to do work in the home ec department, (the teacher) always assigns the bathrooms to the Negro girls. She tells them to clean out the toilets."

Henry Aronson of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and Miss Winifred Green of the American Friends Service Committee told the House group that the Office of Education's school-desegregation guidelines should be strengthened and expanded.

However, local school officials testifying at the hearings Dec. 7 and 8 complained that the guidelines were already too strict.

In fact, Mrs. Williams said, school superintendents from Tennessee, Arkansas, and other Southern states took up so much time that she only had a few minutes to tell her story.

Review of Alabama State Christmas Concert

People, Bird Enjoy Songs

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY -- As the Alabama State College choir harmoniously offered songs such as the "Magnificat," the "Messiah," or "Glory to God in the Highest," a bird flew in from the chilly outdoors and tapped his beak in a rhythmical manner against a wooden panel near the ceiling.

Besides the bird, about 500 people attended the inspiring Christmas concert last Sunday in Tullibody Hall.

Ralph R. Simpson dramatically conducted the choir, which stood against a colorful background painting of a religious theme--church windows of yellow, blue, and red. To provide a motivating instrumental effect, five visiting musicians (all white), several students, and instructor Robert L. James formed an orchestra to accompany the choir.

Egbert J. Bacon, an instructor at the college, gave an organ rendition of "Gesu Bambino."

RALPH R. SIMPSON

Other numbers included two solos--"O, Holy Night," by Miss Martha Peterman, and "Sweet Little Jesus Boy," by Bernard Sterling.

Miss Gertrude Glaze was soloist as the choir sang "Rise Up Shepherd," and Miss Beverly Bradford took the lead in "Christmas Day."

And oh how soothing to the listeners' ears was the spiritual "O, Mary," done by the more distinct voices of the group, the male chorus. A brass quintet--also an all-male group--played "Fantasy," a piece written by Alabama State instructor John Duncan.

The liveliest and spiciest number was "Deck the Hut," which was done to the accompaniment of two pianos--played by Bacon and the wife of the conductor, Mrs. L. Grennetta Simpson--and a pair of South American maracas.

A Christmas concert would not be complete without "Carol of the Drums," "The Twelve Days of Christmas," and most of all, Handel's "Messiah." The audience stood for the "Messiah," which was the finale, and many then left with a more joyous feeling of Christmas about them.

ing a white girl. If she didn't answer, Lewis said, he would take her silence to mean "yes," and Windham would be fired. The woman didn't answer.

The next day, Windham and Huddleston were off the force, and had disappeared from town.

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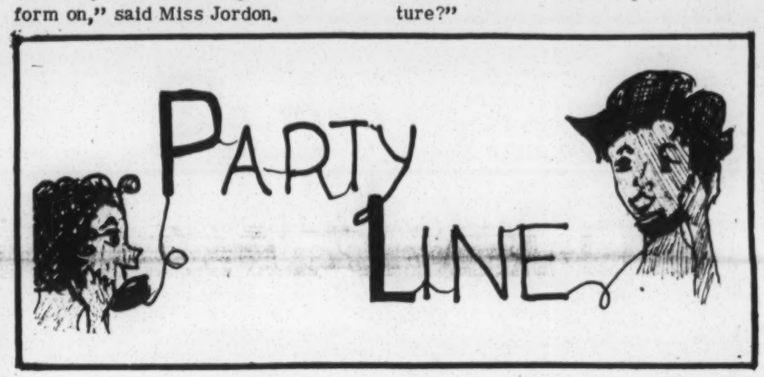


Atlanta, Ga.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. this week began a two-month leave of absence to write a new book. The book, tentatively called "Where Do We Go From Here?" will analyze the course of the civil rights movement, the implications of "black power," the revival of "white backlash," and the role of the federal government.

Greenville

Greenville had its annual Christmas parade last Saturday, with a host of bands performing. This was the first black and white Christmas parade Greenville has ever presented, and it was also the largest ever. The Southside High School Band, the Georgiana High Band, the R. L. Austin High Band, and the "3/4-million-dollar band" of Greenville High all performed, but the best of all was the band from Troy State College. (From Henry Clay Moorer)

Abbeville

Mrs. E. M. Mathis, supervisor of music in Henry County, presented pre-Christmas programs this week at Northside Elementary, Abbeville Junior High, Henry County Training School, and Newville Rosenwald High.

Tuskegee

Charles G. Gomillion was elected without opposition last Sunday to his 22nd one-year term as president of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA). William P. Mitchell was chosen executive secretary for the 17th year in a row. After Thomas Reed withdrew from the race for treasurer, there were only two contested offices. The present officers--James A. Johnson, first vice president, and Mrs. Mattie Q. Johnson, recording secretary--defeated the challengers.

Headland

Archie Bennett of Headland was buried at 2 p.m. Dec. 5 at the Shiloh Baptist Church. (From James J. Vaughan)

Tuscaloosa

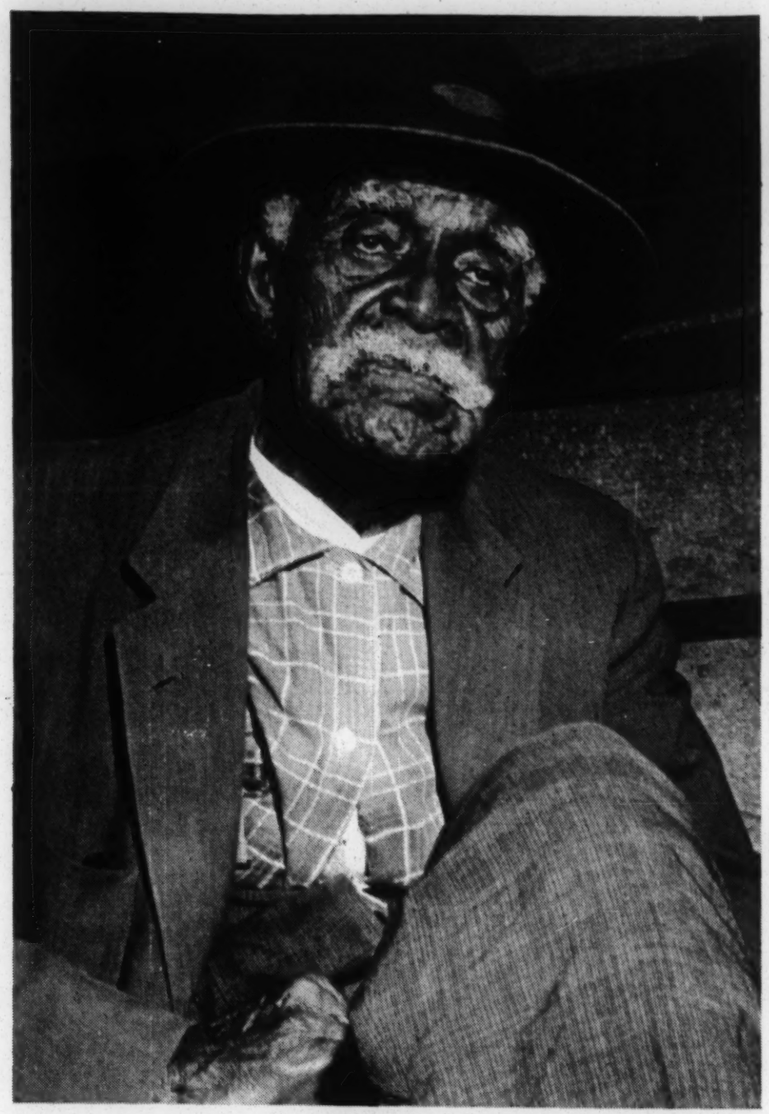
Two Negro ministers, the Rev. George Godfrey and the Rev. Jasper Register, spoke against black power, and a white University of Alabama art professor, Theodore Klitzke, defended it in a Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations panel discussion Dec. 7. But it was the fourth panelist, Miss Rubystein Lawson, a Stillman College sophomore, who captured the audience. "We're always taught white is right. Angel's food cake is white. Devil's food cake is black," said Miss Lawson, in advocating black power. "When before have you seen a Negro woman wear a natural look and look good? You don't have to go to a beauty shop to look like a white girl. Now you can look the way you look and be proud."

Abbeville

Mrs. Arrie Lawson was dismissed from the John Andrew Hospital in Tuskegee last Friday. She is recovering nicely. (From James J. Vaughan)

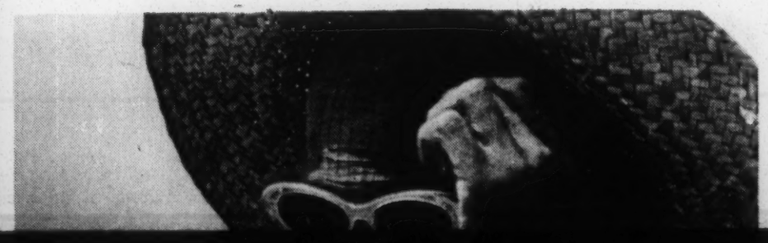
Miami, Fla.

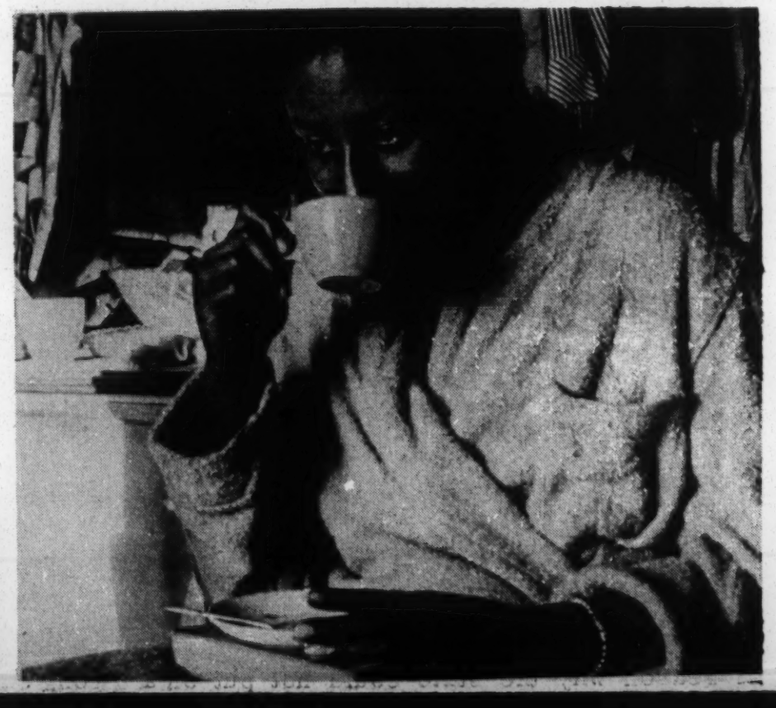
The Alabama A&M Bulldogs lost to Florida A&M, 43 to 26, in the Orange Blossom Classic football game Dec. 3 in Miami's Orange Bowl. Below, Alabama A&M president R. D. Morrison sings the alma mater along with Miss Alabama A&M, Kathalyne Sears (in white) and her attendants.



BLACK FACES *of* ALABAMA

As news events take place here and there, occasionally there will be "a face"--someone whose person and expression in an instant says something deeper in some cases than the event itself. Here are a very few of the faces I've been blessed with seeing in Alabama in the past year and a half. Clockwise from top left: an old man attending a "black panther" rally in Lowndes County; a resident of the "Little Korea" area of Birmingham; Mrs. James Kolb, wife of a local leader in Crenshaw County; Mrs. Annie Bell Scott, who lives in Tent City in Lowndes County; a young lady in a Montgomery night club; the Rev. A. T. Days, facing a crowd in Greensboro after learning that his daughter had been burned by tear gas during a demonstration; Ted Ford, a Montgomery singer; Josephine Bradford, Alabama State College student and sister of Southern Courier reporter Viola Bradford; a lady and a boy talking about housing conditions in Montgomery; and, center, a lady working in a cotton field near Mt. Meigs.





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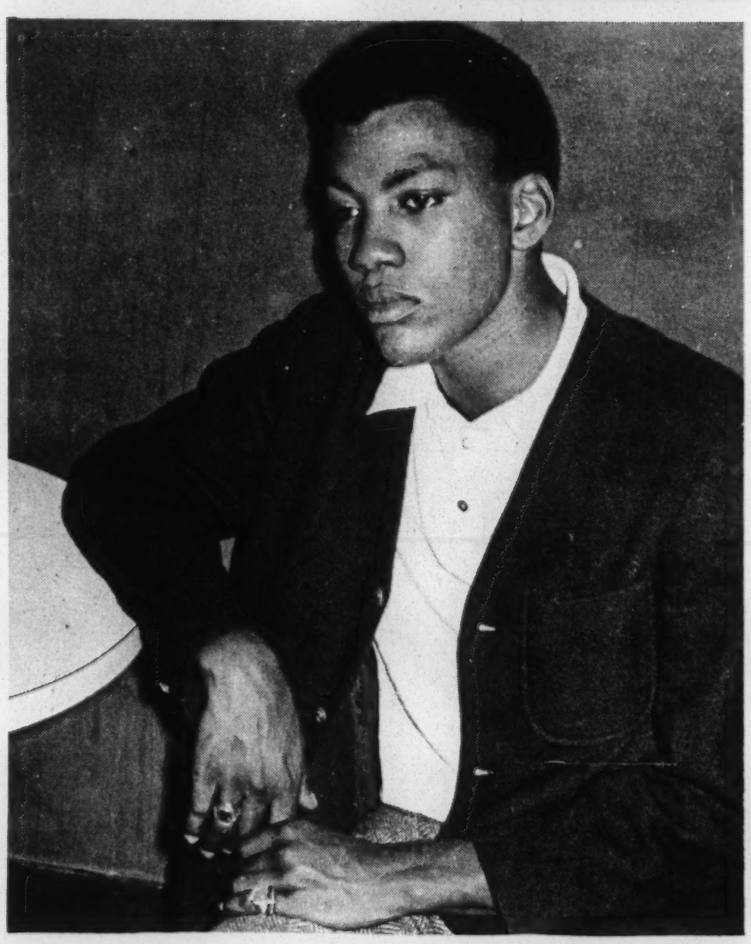
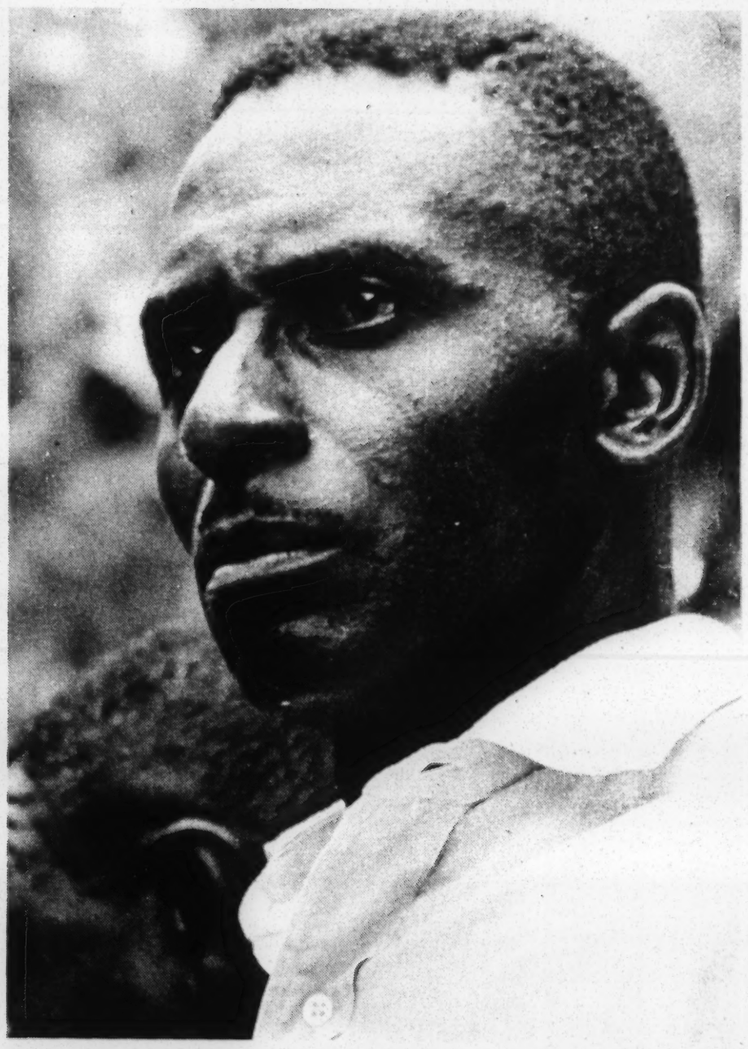
Photographs by Jim Peppler





The Siege of Hickory Street

RAG PICKERS LOSE THEIR HOMES AS MOBILE CLOSES CITY DUMP

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Almost every day for the past three weeks, groups of shabbily dressed people gathered on Hickory St. to watch the city bulldozers at work.

The bulldozers were grading over the Hickory St. dump, long an eyesore to officials trying to turn Mobile into a modern city.

But the people watching the bulldozers were not happy that the dump was being covered up. They were seeing the final destruction of their homes, their jobs, and their way of life.

The rag pickers, or "pickers," who lived on the Hickory St. dump were mostly middle-aged men and women. They put up shanties and packing-crate homes. They collected waste paper and metals, earning from $2 to $10 a day. Some of them poked through the garbage for discarded food that they, their children, or their dogs might find fit to eat.

For 20 years, Mobile lived with the evil-smelling dump, its menacing smoke, and the pickers. But, late last month, the dump was closed.

The reason was that, at last, the city didn't need the dump any more. A new garbage plant, scheduled to open last summer, was finally ready to roll. The plant's job was to end what officials called a "grave health danger" to the city.

But the long-range planning, which produced the modern garbage plant, didn't extend to the 50 pickers who lived on the dump or to another 100 people who made their livings from it.

"About a month ago, they told us that they were going to push our homes off on Dec. 1," said one dump-dweller. "They gave a warning--fair warning--that they were going to speed it up (to Nov. 28). But they'd been saying that for years--talking about pushing 'em down. This time they did it."

However fair the warnings were, the pickers didn't get the message. When the bulldozers came, the man said, one lady was in her house, and almost got pushed off with it.

"They'd be bulldozing one end, they (the people) come out the other end. Some of them came out undressed."

Local newspapers said that a fire which swept the dump was started by the pickers. The man explained it differently. "They pushed one house over--a woman was cooking--the wind was blowing--that's what started the fire, in the grass. We didn't set it."

The authorities refused to let the people take their scant possessions with them as they were herded off the dump. "People had bags of good, but they made them put it down," said Will Brown, a former picker. "They won't let folks go up and salvage anything."

"Some of them coming off with a box of the children's stuff--they just told 'em to put the box down and keep walkin'," said another man. "The officer just said, 'Put it down, nigger, and get off the dump; don't let me catch you back up here.'"

Later, the dogcatchers appeared to round up the dogs of the evicted pickers. An elderly woman watched through her fence as one crew seized a dog owned by the widow of the late Rev. Jed Lovett.

The dogcatchers seemed unconcerned that they were taking away people's pets. "I reckon some of these dogs belong to people," said one, shrugging. "Most of 'em belonged to those niggers out on the dump there."

Last week saw the final battle in the siege of Hickory St. As a police loudspeaker warned residents to stay away

FOR 20 YEARS, THE MOBILE CITY DUMP WAS HOME TO MANY POOR PEOPLE

But some groups did make scattered efforts to help the pickers. In September the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development (MACTAD), headed by R. W. Gilliard of the NAACP, recruited 14 dump-dwellers for a training program in engine mechanics. After the dump closed, another 13 were squeezed into MACTAD's 280 training slots.

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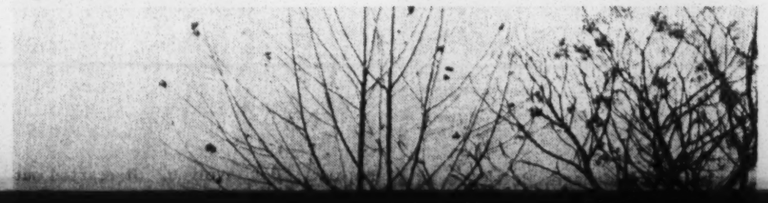
"Something can be done if we can go about it in an orderly fashion," said the besieged Miss Bender. "It's going to take money and it's going to take time. I'm glad we've gotten into it; somebody's got to assume over-all responsibility for it--and it's this department



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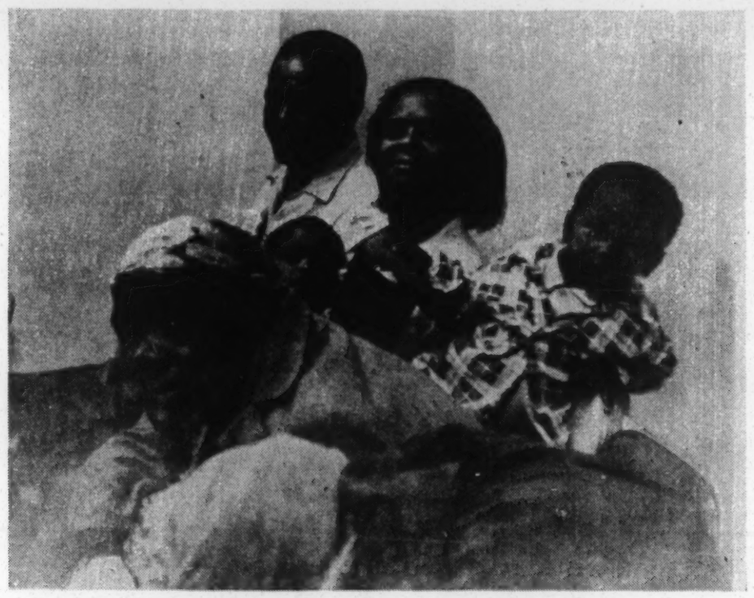
Until a few years ago, there were white as well as Negro families at the Hickory St. dump. But in its last years, the dump was a ghetto for Negroes.

Yet the Negro community did not respond quickly to the pickers' needs. "Seemingly, a mistake was made--not thinking of these people in advance," said C. H. Montgomery, of the Alabama Coordinating Committee. He suggested that Public Works Commissioner Lambert C. Mims, who planned the closing of the dump, should have done the thinking.

"It'd have been nice if he called a committee of us," Montgomery added, "but I don't want to put any more blame on him than on ourselves."

Gilliard, of the NAACP, said the pick-

A MAN COULD EARN $10 A DAY COLLECTING SCRAP



PICKERS WAITING IN COUNTY WELFARE OFFICE

fire, in the grass. We didn't set it."

The authorities refused to let the people take their scant possessions with them as they were herded off the dump. "People had bags of good, but they made them put it down," said Will Brown, a former picker. "They won't let folks go up and salvage anything."

"Some of them coming off with a box of the children's stuff--they just told 'em to put the box down and keep walkin'," said another man. "The officer just said, 'Put it down, nigger, and get off the dump; don't let me catch you back up here.'"

Later, the dogcatchers appeared to round up the dogs of the evicted pickers. An elderly woman watched through her fence as one crew seized a dog owned by the widow of the late Rev. Jed Lovett.

The dogcatchers seemed unconcerned that they were taking away people's pets. "I reckon some of these dogs belong to people," said one, shrugging. "Most of 'em belonged to those niggers out on the dump there."

Last week saw the final battle in the siege of Hickory St. As a police loudspeaker warned residents to stay away, Mobile launched a $2,500, year-long "poison campaign" to rid the dump of rats and insects.

But unlike the dump, the dogs, and the insects, the pickers could not be disposed of by bulldozers, dogcatchers, or poison. Suddenly, Mobile faced the necessity of finding new homes and jobs for the people who had made their living on the Hickory St. dump.

"They ain't being fair," one man complained. "People lived out there for years. We ain't got nowhere to go."

"I got eight head of children and ain't got no job now," said Brown. "We could try to keep living by going up and collecting the junk, but they say they're going to put a fence up and allow nobody up there."

"They're going to push it (the garbage) all back in the swamp, cover it over, and fence it in," confirmed a city employee on the site. "Those people got throwed out like a dog--they even wet down their mattresses. Most of 'em is too old for a job. The city didn't offer 'em nothing, no sir."

"They didn't talk to nobody," said Leonard Gayle, one of the few dump-dwellers who tried to get public assistance on his own before the dump closing had been announced.

"I been ruled disability on high blood pressure," Gayle said. "When I went down to the pension office, they asked me if I walked down there--and then they didn't give me anything. I asked how I was supposed to get down there--slide? I got to do the best I can. My kids are up living with a lady on Liveoak St. I got to try to support 'em."

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READY TO GO--BUT WHERE?

Thurman credits his job to the publicity that surrounded the dump closing, as the Mobile press discovered the pickers' problems. "I don't believe I would ever have gotten a job if this hadn't happened," he said.

But Thurman was only one of the refugees who needed help. Most had more trouble finding it.

The person everyone eventually turned to was Miss Doris Bender, head of the county pensions and security office. A trickle, and then a flood, of the homeless and jobless pickers poured into her office. After the Mobile newspapers wrote about the pickers, church groups and concerned citizens began calling to offer help. Finally, the city pledged to set up an "emergency fund" for "additional help if needed."

"Something can be done if we can go about it in an orderly fashion," said the besieged Miss Bender. "It's going to take money and it's going to take time. I'm glad we've gotten into it; somebody's got to assume over-all responsibility for it--and it's this department at present."

"These people don't fall into any of the usual qualification categories," she noted. "Most of them aren't blind or disabled or children. They come in asking for help and we try to determine what sort of help they require.

"We're making temporary arrangements for room and board so we can be assured they'll have a roof over their heads and get some food."

Another city agency gave some assistance. Robert Lloyd Smith and W. O. Powell, of the housing board, are making public housing available to the pickers who have found other work.

Until a few years ago, there were white as well as Negro families at the Hickory St. dump. But in its last years, the dump was a ghetto for Negroes.

Yet the Negro community did not respond quickly to the pickers' needs. "Seemingly, a mistake was made--not thinking of these people in advance," said C. H. Montgomery, of the Alabama Coordinating Committee. He suggested that Public Works Commissioner Lambert C. Mims, who planned the closing of the dump, should have done the thinking.

"It'd have been nice if he called a committee of us," Montgomery added, "but I don't want to put any more blame on him than on ourselves."

Gilliard, of the NAACP, said the pickers were a "political not a civil rights problem. . . . That's what we fight for Negroes on housing boards and ward committees for."

John LeFlore, of the Non-Partisan Voters League, recently became the first Negro appointed to the city housing board. In a telegram to Mims, four days after the dump-dwellers were evicted, LeFlore urged help for the pickers. By return telegram, Mims promised "food and shelter for those who seek it."

The only Negro who went by Mims' office to see what could be done was John Morris. Afterwards, Morris wasn't hopeful. "I think people are thinking it'll blow over," he said, "but I'm wondering how long the money will go on."

Already, there were indications that help for the pickers was only a passing thing. When the modern garbage plant was planned, city officials talked about new jobs there, salvaging crushed glass and other materials for resale. But none of the evicted Hickory St. dump-dwellers has been included in the new city salvage crew.

Commissioner Mims has been praised for his efforts to get rid of the dump, with its ugliness and its smell. Now that the fires have gone out, the people have left, and the fences are going up, the only stench in Mobile blows down from the paper mills.

But Mims doesn't worry about it. "That odor is not harmful," he explained. "We don't notice it. It smells like people making a living, like dollars and cents. At least they're not on poverty programs working out there."

EVICTED PICKERS SAT AND WATCHED THE BULLDOZERS

LATER, THE DOG-CATCHERS CAME TO GET THE DOGS

Federal Judges Issue Order

Jails, Prisons Desegregated

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- Within a year, there may be more integration inside Alabama's prisons and jails than there is anywhere else in the state.

A three-judge federal court ruled last Monday that the Alabama laws requiring segregation of prisoners are unconstitutional. The judges ordered complete desegregation of every jail and prison in the state.

The court said Alabama must immediately desegregate all honor farms, educational programs, youth centers, and hospitals in the state prison system.

(In a hearing held Nov. 29, state Prison Commissioner A. Frank Lee had testified that the state cattle ranch and the Frank Lee Youth Center were all-white, while every road camp but one was all-Negro.

(Charles Morgan Jr., attorney for the five Negroes and one white man who filed the suit, asked Lee if there weren't some Negroes who could work at the cattle ranch. "We have some," said Lee, "if I could spare them from the road camps.")

The federal court also said the state's minimum- and medium-security institutions--like the Draper Correctional Center and the Julia Tutwiler Prison for Women--must be completely desegregated within six months.

In the same period, the court ruled,

BAILEY

MORGAN

all county and city jails must be desegregated, except in "very exceptional" instances.

(Last month, Birmingham City Jail Warden Robert K. Austin--a defendant in the suit along with Lee and Jefferson County Sheriff Mel Bailey--had said he would be hesitant about integrating the "drunk tank," where intoxicated prisoners are brought to sober up.

(The court said in its ruling that the tank might be an exceptional instance.)

Finally, the federal court ordered the state's maximum-security prisons--like Kilby and Atmore--completely desegregated within a year.

The suit originally had also asked the court to order the hiring of Negroes as guards, wardens, deputies, and clerks in the prisons and jails.

But this part of the suit was dropped--with the consent of lawyers for both sides--after a pre-trial hearing Nov. 21.

Four Negroes Named To Auburn City Board

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

AUBURN--Negroes were appointed to a city board here last month, for the first time in several years. But a Negro leader said this was not enough.

Mayor G. H. Wright named four Negroes to the 19-member Citizens Advisory Council, which will consult with him, the city council, and state and federal governments about public building

find a colored policeman. "I've gone to 'em and said, 'You send me someone qualified.' They can't. Trouble here is all our educated niggers have gone north."

But Mrs. Brooks said the voters league has recommended a man for the police force, but "they say he isn't a high school graduate."

Auburn City Manager H. R. Thornton

Court Decision Means Maddox Likely Winner

WASHINGTON, D.C.--The U.S. Supreme Court this week made a decision that probably meant one of its bitterest critics, Lester Maddox, will be governor of Georgia.

The court ruled Monday that the Georgia legislature could name the state's next governor by choosing between Maddox, a Democrat, and U.S. Representative Howard "Bo" Callaway, a Republican.

Since the legislature is almost completely Democratic, it is virtually certain to name Maddox, the man who once defied the federal courts by closing his restaurant rather than serve Negroes.

Callaway polled about 2,500 more votes than Maddox in the Nov. 8 election, but neither of them won a majority of the votes, as required by the Georgia Constitution. Under the constitution, the legislature is supposed to choose the governor when no one gets a majority.

But the American Civil Liberties Union and Callaway supporters, among others, won a ruling from a lower federal court that this procedure was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court disagreed, however, saying there was nothing in the U. S. Constitution that "dictates the method a state may use to elect its governor."

In its opinion, written by Justice Hugo L. Black, the court also rejected the argument that the Georgia legislature couldn't elect the governor because it wasn't apportioned by the "one man, one vote" principle. Black said the federal courts have said the legislature can continue as it is until 1968.

In another action, the court agreed to decide whether the Virginia law prohibiting inter-racial marriages is constitutional. The case involves Richard Loving, 31, a white man, and his wife, Mildred, 26, who is part Negro and part Indian. They were arrested in Virginia after being married in Washington.

AFTER THE TRIAL

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

dalism took place . . . 350 years of abuse, intimidation, subjection, and oppression were released on last Friday morning. It is healthy that windows were broken instead of lives taken."

He criticized local leaders for not protesting when the murder trial was changed from Macon County to Lee County.

The demonstrators "do not share the full blame" for the violence, said Haygood. "The real blame is focused upon the Negro and white leadership who failed to take a firm stand on the side of justice."

The issue came up at Sunday's meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA). "The students should have patience," snapped one woman. "Not everyone should try to be a leader. We're the leaders."

But TCA leader Otis Pinkard disagreed. "Frankly, we haven't done anything toward implementing civil rights in this community," he said. "We have not lived up to our responsibilities."

Russell Brown, who is also vice president of Tuskegee Institute, questioned TCA leaders who said their role was "civic education."

"All of us can remember when TCA gave the most positive, bold, aggressive leadership in civil rights. . . ." said Brown. "You cannot say this organization is not involved. It started out

"Certainly I don't condone these kind of acts," said Tuskegee Mayor Charles M. Keever about the student demonstration. "It's not helping anyone. . . . but I see one possible future asset, if all the citizens of the community become concerned to see that it does not happen again.

"This is their town. It is what they make it."

Gees Bend

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

grated groups scattered throughout Pleasant Grove church.

If someone walked into the church, he would see a big stove in the center that heated the whole building.

Walking around the room, you could hear a white woman saying, "I lived on a farm when I was a little girl, it was not like the ones here," or someone commenting, "All farmers are discriminated against, black and white, especially if they're poor."

After hearing about problems like getting telephones (the nearest phone is about 15 miles away) and trying to become a registered voter, one of the white women asked a local resident, "Why don't you get the Deacons of Defense in here? There're all kinds of ways to handle a crook."

Walter said the idea of the workshop came about because he thought that

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Mayor G. H. Wright named four Negroes to the 19-member Citizens Advisory Council, which will consult with him, the city council, and state and federal governments about public building projects.

"The federal government requires minority group representation on committees like this," a member of the new board explained last week. "No minority representation, no federal money."

The advisory council member said that because Auburn wants federal money for public housing, the mayor agreed to put some Negroes on the board.

But a representative of the city's only Negro civic group, the Auburn Voters League, said the mayor has refused to appoint any other Negroes to any other boards.

"The voters league asked him for even a minor one, like the cemetery board," said Mrs. Mary Brooks, the league's publicity chairman. "He said no, he'd already promised them all to people of his own race."

Mrs. Brooks said the voters league didn't recommend any of the four Negroes--Mrs. Mildred Brooks, Richard Harper, Clarence Morgan, and Otis Adams -- that Wright selected. "He picked everyone he wanted," she said. "The citizens had no choice."

Mayor Wright said the Negro citizens might have a choice eventually. "It's a gradual thing," he said. "You can't change things overnight. We've done more for the colored people in this part of the country than anywhere in the world. . . . I like 'em myself."

Wright said no Negroes are available for some city jobs. "We been tryin' to find a colored policeman. "I've gone to 'em and said, 'You send me someone qualified.' They can't. Trouble here is all our educated niggers have gone north."

But Mrs. Brooks said the voters league has recommended a man for the police force, but "they say he isn't a high school graduate."

Auburn City Manager H. R. Thornton pointed out that two Negroes work with 18 white men on part-time police duty.

"We were against that," said Mrs. Brooks. "Part-time policemen is just camouflage. These people have their regular jobs."

Thornton, who takes care of Auburn's day-to-day operations, said the city's Negro population is fairly served by the white city board members. Auburn is about one-third Negro.

"The city council appoints many of the boards," Thornton said. "They have selected people they thought could best represent the whole community."

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"All of us can remember when TCA gave the most positive, bold, aggressive leadership in civil rights. . . ." said Brown. "You cannot say this organization is not involved. It started out being involved."

Although some merchants privately swore to defend their stores, the white community was publicly silent. Those few who did speak were cautious.

again.

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Gees Bend

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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Walter said the idea of the workshop came about because he thought that "there were people in Alabama who were not acquainted with Negro life and problems, and I thought that (the workshop) would be worth trying and seeing."

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FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write the Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Aurburn, Alabama.

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Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

BIG D RADIO

WANT ADS

RALLY--In Mt. Avrey Baptist Church on Highway 15 in Stallo, Miss., on Sunday, Dec. 18, at 1 p.m. Come and let's all support the right to justice and fair play, through sensational speakers of all time--Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Mrs. Annie Devine.

BAHA'IS--The Baha'is of Montgomery will have as the subject of this week's informal, public discussion, "The Importance of Independent Investigation of Truth." Gatherings will be held at the Featherstone home, 3222 Santee Dr., on Saturday, Dec. 17, and at the Chambliss residence, 513 Charles St., on Thursday, Dec. 22. Both will be at 8 p.m. No collections. No obligations.

HELP NEEDED--Anyone who can help furnish land, housing, pasture, feed, clothing, or food for evicted Dallas County farmers, write Miss Shirley Mesher, Farmers Aid Committee, 31 1/2 Franklin St., Selma, Ala.

JOB OPENINGS--The Southern Courier will soon be interviewing applicants for four positions on its business staff. Two people are needed to work on circulation and subscriptions, and two are needed to work on advertising. High pay, generous expense accounts. Applicants must be honest, responsible, and willing to work long hours, and they must be experienced or interested in business. A car is required. If interested, call 262-3572 in Montgomery to arrange an interview.

WANTED--A manager for the Freedom Quilting Bee Handcraft Cooperative. Should have experience in arts and crafts or design, some business sense, and the willingness to live and work in a rural community. Write Selma Interreligious Project, 810 29th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401, or call 758-2301.

EASY MONEY--The Southern Courier needs local distribution agents in Huntsville, Selma, Mobile, and Dothan. For organizing and supervising newsboys and news-stands, you can earn up to $50 in a few hours each week. Requirements are honesty and dependability--no experience necessary. If interested, call The Southern Courier, 262-3572 in Montgomery, or write to the Courier at 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

TUSCALOOSA CHILDREN--All children from pre-school through fourth graders are invited to attend the Weaver Branch Library's Christmas Hour, on Saturday, Dec. 17, from 10 to 11:30 a.m. The Christmas story will be read along with many, many others. Carols will be heard, and a surprise will be given to all attending children.

TUSKEGEE MINISTERS COUNCIL--The Tuskegee Ministers Council will meet at Reed's Chicken Coop on Tuesday, Dec. 20, at 12 noon. The ministers will concern themselves with poverty in Tuskegee and Macon County. Charles Stokes will show a film on "Pockets of Poverty in this Area." The Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, president.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

No Annexation

BIRMINGHAM -- Millions of dollars in taxes for the city of Birmingham were at stake in two elections this week, and the city lost every bit of it. Last Monday, the citizens of Center Point voted not to be annexed to Birmingham, and on Tuesday the citizens of Homewood did the same.

J. R. Smith, who led Center Point's vote-no drive, said the election showed that "we will have no outside interference in our community."

Supporters of annexation had argued that the well-to-do residents of the suburbs should pay taxes to the city, because they benefit from its services. As things are now, they argued, Birmingham has to get its revenue largely from the people--black and white--who work for the suburbanites.

Birmingham Mayor Albert Boutwell and City Council President M. E. Wiggins said after the votes that they, in "good spirit," would accept the "will of the people."

Game of the Week

Stillman Tops Talladega

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- Two running ballclubs set a fast-moving pace for the early basketball season here last Tuesday as Stillman College's Tigers trounced Talladega, 106 to 90.

As a crowd of over 1,000 roared encouragement, Stillman scored its fourth straight win. The Tigers have been scoring in three figures since the start of the season, with an average of 108 points per game.

Stillman drew blood on the opening tip-off, and was never headed, though Talladega occasionally cut into the Tiger lead.

In the first half, both teams moved fast, but still seemed to be feeling their way. Talladega often missed shots, while Stillman had trouble with passes.

As a result, it was still anyone's game as the second half opened with Stillman leading, 57 to 51.

Then Talladega tried a new tactic. For the first 2 1/2 minutes of the half, the scoreboard was quiet, as Talladega tried to hold the ball.

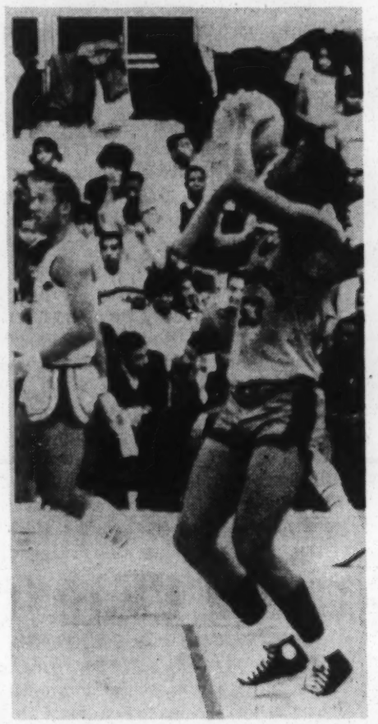
But the Tigers threw up a two-one-two zone to break the stalling, and this started a sizzling second half. Stillman stole the ball and scored two lay-ups that shattered Talladega's plans. The Tigers forced Talladega to play Stillman's kind of game--fast-moving.

But Talladega looked like it still had one more chance in the third quarter, when Stillman's lead was cut to five points.

Then suddenly the basketball court looked like a football field, as five players, diving to grab the ball, floundered flat on the floor, while the ball rolled over bodies and between legs. (The referee's whistle never blew--or was never heard--in the melee.)

Standing calmly by, Stillman's Calvin Brown retrieved the loose ball for a jump shot. After that, it was Stillman all the way.

Stillman's leading scorer, James Davis, demonstrated superb shooting accuracy, as he scored 35 points with 17 stitches in his right leg. Tiger captain Woodrow "The Hustler" Dixon contributed defensive work and 25 points, and Floyd Brown added 29.



SAMUEL PETTUS OF TALLADEGA

For Talladega, Howard Littleton matched Davis with 35 points. Talladega's 5' 11" guard Charles Elliott scored 20 points, and displayed some fancy ball-handling.

Segrest Trial

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

grest's attorneys, said the jurors should rule Younge's death "an unfortunate accident."

Raymon asked the jurors to picture "this man in his twilight years" threatened by "a husky young man. . . . Ask yourself," said Raymon, "would you--or your father--be justified in doing what he (Segrest) did?"

People in Quitman Say They Don't Want MAP

BY GAIL FALK

QUITMAN, Miss. -- The library of Shirley Owen High School was filled with people who had come to a special meeting last Friday afternoon.

Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP) had called the meeting for the election of two delegates to represent the poor people of central Clarke County on MAP's county Head Start advisory board.

But nobody was nominated and nobody was elected. The people at the meeting told MAP officials they didn't want to have any representatives on the board. In fact, they said, they didn't want any MAP program at all.

The meeting started with a long period of questions directed at MAP organizers Henry Odom and the Rev. Leon Scarborough.

"You say you are interested in the children, but you are just interested in 105 children in the county," said a Quitman mother. "That don't give us so much for our little fellows."

Odom agreed, but said he thought it was "better to have a partial program than no program." He said the program would be limited to five- and six-year-olds and to the neediest children.

Another mother said this would leave out too many children who need the program. "If you have the money, it look like you could open with all the children for four or five or six months," instead of a few of them for a year, she said. "If you were hungry and you couldn't get food for three days but you had enough to last a day and a half, wouldn't you rather divide it and have some of the food for each day?"

The MAP officials answered that the program was set up to be a year long and for just 105 children in the county, and there wasn't anything they could do about it.

Odom told the people they were wasting time in talking about the way they thought the MAP program should be run, because "the program is finalized. We are not here to push it down your throat. We are here to implement it. The question is, do you want it?"

A small wrinkled lady in a green gingham dress, with a violet kerchief tied around her head, stood up and answered:

"All of us black folks needs this program. And you're goin' to pick up my child and leave his child at home. . . . I would tell the highest man in the United States--I just don't think it's fair and I don't like it."

That was the end of the meeting. But one of the MAP officials declared as he watched people file out of the library, "We are in Clarke County now and we haven't failed yet."

He said MAP would continue to work in other parts of the county. At a small meeting Dec. 5, Mrs. S. D. Holston and Mrs. Hattie Coleman were elected to represent the poor people in the northern part of the county (Stonewall and Enterprise), and the Rev. Samuel Husband and Robert Grayson were chosen to represent the south end (Shubuta and DeSoto).

CDGM (Child Development Group of Mississippi) centers have continued to operate in the county on a volunteer basis since CDGM's federal grant ran out.

Chicago Pact

ATLANTA, Ga.--The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of SCLC, says a little-noticed development in Chicago "portends dramatic new strides toward economic freedom for America's black people."

The development was a pioneer agreement between the Chicago Freedom Movement and High-Low Foods, Inc., a food chain with 50 stores in Chicago, including 14 in Negro districts.

High-Low agreed to sell products made by six Negro businesses, and to deposit some of its receipts in Negro-owned banks. Furthermore, the company agreed to hire 163 Negroes to work in its stores in Negro neighborhoods, and it promised to integrate all levels of its business operations.

Dr. King said the agreement is important "because it shows that a large, white-dominated company now understands that money spent by its Negro customers should remain in the Negro community."

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WJLD Radio Top 14 Hits

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2. WHISPERS-- Jackie Wilson (Brunswick)
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5. KNOCK ON WOOD-- Eddie Floyd (Stax)
6. MAN OR MOUSE-- Jr. Parker (Duke)
7. YOU GOT ME HUMMIN'-- Sam & Dave (Stax)
8. YOU CAN'T HIDE A HEARTACHE--Z. Z. Hill (Kent)
9. I'M YOUR PUPPET-- James & Bobby Purify (Bell)
10. MUSTANG SALLY-- Wilson Pickett (Atlantic)
11. YOU KEEP ME HANGIN' ON-- Supremes (Motown)
12. DON'T BE A DROPOUT-- James Brown (King)
13. NEVER LET ME GO-- The Van Dykes (Male)
14. I'VE PASSED THIS WAY BEFORE--Jimmy Ruffin (Soul)

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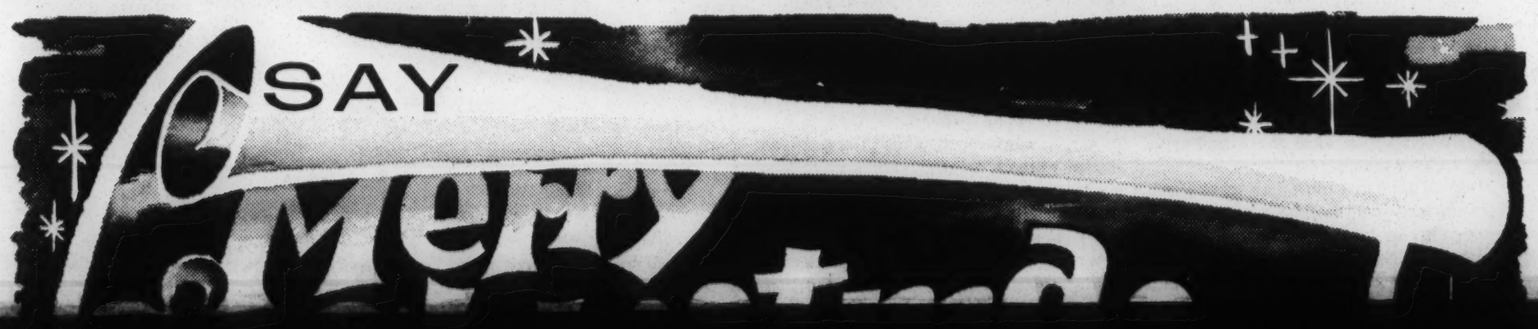
Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. Monday, Dec. 19, in the St. Paul AME Church, 300 Fourth Ct. N., the Rev. S. M. Davis, pastor. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth will present the Christmas message.

HELP-HELP-HELP

REV. ROOSEVELT FRANKLIN
of Macon, Ga.
DIVINE
SPIRITUAL HEALER

Jesus is truly giving victory to many, many people's problems. SUCCESS



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5. KNOCK ON WOOD--
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6. MAN OR MOUSE--
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tain Woodrow "The Hustler" Dixon contributed defensive work and 25 points, and Floyd Brown added 29.

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ga's 5' 11" guard Charles Elliott scored 20 points, and displayed some fancy ball-handling.

Segrest Trial

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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WIN $10!

The Southern Courier is looking for a new design for the headline over the Party Line column.

The Courier is offering a big prize for the reader who designs the new headline. First prize is $10, plus a one-year subscription. In addition, 15 runners-up will each win a year's subscription to the paper.

Designs should be approximately the same size as the present headline, drawn in dark ink on clean white paper. Entries should be sent to The Southern Courier, 1012 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104, by Jan. 1, 1967.

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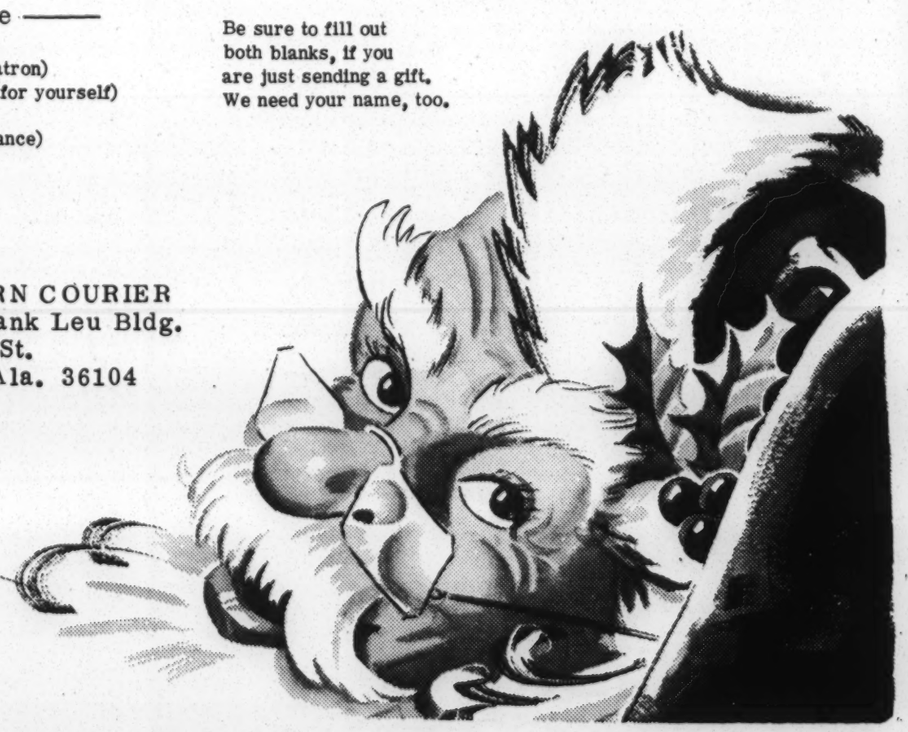

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Program Schedule

Monday thru Friday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
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12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

THE GOODWILL GIANT
MOBILE, ALA.

THE REV. JOSEPH HICKS AND HIS CHILDREN

After His Children Integrate Local School

Farmer's Cattle Killed by Poison

BY GAIL FALK

HARRISVILLE, Miss. --When the Rev. Joseph Hicks went out to his pasture Thanksgiving night, he found one of his cows lying dead.

I knew something wasn't right," Hicks said later. "Then I looked across the pasture and saw several more of them down." In all, 11 of his cattle were dead.

Hicks called the local veterinarian, who came out and told him the cows had been poisoned.

Some of the young calves lived a couple days longer. But, Hicks said, they started "wobblin'" and he had to get rid of them. Now all that's left is one sick milk cow--"the poorest Jersey I had--and it looks like she might fall over any time," said Hicks. He said the only thing that saved her was being a picky eater--"she won't eat nothin' that smells funny."

Hicks, a large, strong man with a gentle voice and smiling eyes, farms a hilly plot of land a few miles north of Harrisville in rural Simpson County. The house where he lives is small and rough, but the walls are gaily decorated with drawings and designs his four children have made with crayons.

Hicks said his cattle were poisoned because he had enrolled his three oldest children--Roy Lee, 12, Troy Gilmore, 10, and Kathy, 8--in previously all-white Harrisville High School. They are the only Negro children attending Harrisville High.

One reason he believes this, he said, is that some of the white children at Harrisville knew about the poisoning first thing Monday morning, before the story was public.

Besides, said Hicks, he and his children have all heard of threats by white people against his life. One Saturday night in October, someone threw a bottle through a window of their house, he said, and last month, the school bus his children ride was shot full of buckshot while parked in the driver's yard.

When Hicks found his cattle dead or dying, he called Simpson County Sheriff Howard Varner. Varner came out and looked around, but said he couldn't find any clues.

So Hicks decided to look for himself. On the edge of his cotton patch, he said, "I found where (someone) had poured out sweet feed--there must have been 100 pounds--down the middle of one of the trenches."

Hicks gave a sample of the feed to Varner, but the sheriff wouldn't say what he found in the sample. Varner refused to comment at all on the case.

Did the poisoning scare Hicks into withdrawing his children from Harrisville High? "Fear is the only thing to be scared of," said the Methodist minister. "You are born to die."

He said Harrisville High is 15 miles closer to home than the Negro school his children used to attend, and they are getting better lunches and better teaching at Harrisville.

The poisoning may not have scared Hicks, but it put him in financial trouble. He estimated that the cattle were worth $2,500. "They were choice cows--from registered bulls--they wasn't no scrub stuff," he said.

He bought the cows last July with a loan--and the loan still has to be paid off. Most of the cattle were beef cattle, which couldn't bring any profit until they were sold. And the milk cows hadn't started giving milk yet.

Hicks' wife said, "I been used to feeding the cows along with the children in the morning." She recalls saying one morning just before the cows were killed, "Well, maybe in January or February I'll be milking."

Some of Hicks' neighbors in Simpson County are trying to raise money to pay back his loss. The Civic League of Simpson County bought an ad in the local paper to tell what had happened to Hicks' cows and to ask for donations to "a special account for Rev. Joseph Hicks, to try and help replace his cattle."

The Rev. John Perkins, treasurer of the fund, said he had received gifts from Negro churches, and from a white employee at the bank where he opened the special account.

Perkins said contributions could be sent to the Civic League of Simpson County, Box 752, Mendenhall, Miss., or direct to the People's Bank in Mendenhall.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 52 | WEEKEND EDITION: DECEMBER 24-25, 1966 | TEN CENTS

SCLC-MIA Drive Nets 180 Jobs

$8 Million to CDGM

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss. --"Our phones in Madison County were ringing until three o'clock in the morning last Friday," said Mrs. Annie Devine of Canton. A typical conversation, she said, went like this:

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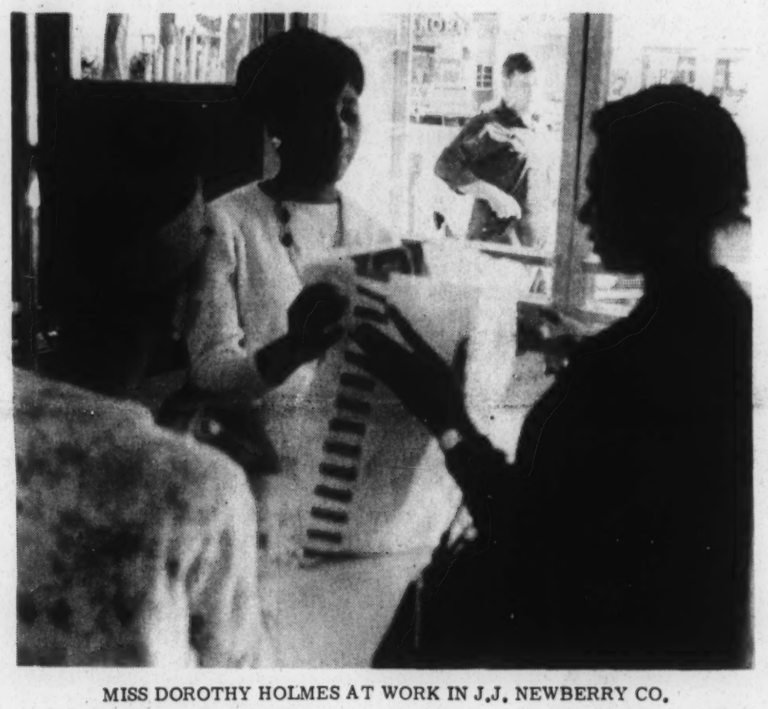

MISS DOROTHY HOLMES AT WORK IN J.J. NEWBERRY CO.

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--When SCLC's Roosevelt Barnett and the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) got together last fall, they had no idea how to open up job opportunities for Negroes.

"I wasn't sure what we were going to do," Barnett recalled this week. He noticed that "Negroes spent so much money downtown," and decided that "Negroes needed more jobs--and not just maid jobs."

But, he said, "everybody we talked to, it looked like they had done all the hiring they were going to do--and the people they hired were white."

"At the time," said Mrs. Idessa Williams of the MIA, "we didn't have picketing in mind. We were just going to sit down and discuss what would be the best first move.

"Then the incident at Kress's gave an opening to us."

The "incident," said Mrs. Williams, came about when S. H. Kress & Co. employees falsely accused a Negro girl of shop-lifting. Within a week, a picket line was thrown up around the store, and Negroes were urged to do their shopping elsewhere.

The picketing lasted five weeks. When it ended Nov. 10, the Kress management agreed to treat Negro customers courteously in the future, and to step up its hiring of Negro employees.

This week, Kress manager J. C. Spikes listed the names of 51 Negroes who had been hired, either for the Christmas season or permanently, since the picket line came down.

Apparently, other stores felt the impact of the picket line, too. "It looked like all the stores started to fall in line," said Barnett this week. "They wanted to hire Negroes for 'position' jobs."

Barnett displayed lists compiled by managers of 31 Montgomery stores. They showed that more than 180 Negroes had been hired since the job campaign began, at stores like H. L. Green Co., Webber Co., Gaylord's, Dexter Toyland, and J. J. Newberry Co.

In approaching these businesses, Barnett said, he didn't threaten them with a picket line. "I never do that," he said. "I always try to talk."

Only once did the civil rights groups go back on the streets. They picketed Butler's Shoe Store for two days last week, until a Negro was hired there.

The increased hiring of Negroes "came with the trend of the times," said Frank Sego, executive vice-president of Downtown Unlimited, an association of most of the stores involved.

Some merchants might have put off hiring Negroes "until they absolutely had to," Sego said, but "many joined in a city-wide effort to comply (with the Civil Rights Act of 1964) even before the act became effective."

Since Negroes trade heavily with the downtown stores, he said, hiring Negro employees "seems the proper thing to do," and the merchants have been "highly pleased" with the results.

Some of the new employees were hired just for the holiday season, said Mrs. Williams, "but we're hoping the majority of the people were hired permanently."

"We're making such progress by sticking together," said Barnett. "Together, we make such a great force."

$8 Million to CDGM

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss. -- "Our phones in Madison County were ringing until three o'clock in the morning last Friday," said Mrs. Annie Devine of Canton. A typical conversation, she said, went like this:

"Heard the news?" "Yes, chile." "Aintcha glad?"

"The news" was that the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) had just agreed to give the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) $8,000,000 to run for another year.

Last October, OEO refused to give any more money to the state-wide Head Start program. The federal agency charged CDGM with misuse of funds and poor administration. In announcing OEO's about-face late last week, Director Sargent Shriver said CDGM had agreed to changes that made the program legally fundable.

But CDGM officials said this week that they didn't agree to anything that "meant changing the things we stand for." They said the program OEO agreed to fund last week was basically the same program it turned down in October.

When CDGM's funds ran out in October, many people charged that politics, not CDGM's administration, was the reason for the cut-off.

At the time, the whole anti-poverty program was fighting for its life, and OEO spokesman Marshall Peck explained that attacks politicians could make against CDGM were "chinks in our armor." But OEO apparently found that getting rid of CDGM left gaping holes, instead of chinks, in its armor.

OEO officials resigned in protest over the CDGM affair. And many nationally prominent liberals--the people OEO had always counted on to be its friends--began working together to save CDGM, which gave a large share of responsibility and money to poor black people.

Late in October, Shriver announced that OEO would consider re-funding CDGM, after all. By last week, negotiations had come so far that half of CDGM's board and a few top staff members traveled to Washington for four days of final talks.

Shriver's statement after the agreement was reached said significant changes had been made in CDGM. The statement said Mary Holmes Junior College, the official grantee for CDGM, had agreed to "full financial responsibility for any past, present, or future disallowances of expenditures." The statement also said that CDGM will not let its staff take part in partisan political activity during working hours; that a management consulting firm will oversee the operation; and that at least half the members of each community committee (the local advisory board responsible for running the Head Start centers) will be parents of children in the program.

CDGM staff member Marv Hoffman said none of this was anything new. For example, he said, any grantee of OEO is legally responsible for any "disallowance of expenditure."

However, Hoffman said, CDGM did add three white board members, so that the board of directors is now 30% white. And it is setting up a special board to review the qualifications of resource teachers before they are hired.

But on the things they considered important, said Hoffman, CDGM's board members stood firm. They refused OEO's demand that they replace the Rev. James McRee, CDGM board chairman, and John Mudd, the executive director. And they insisted on working in more counties than OEO had suggested.

During the week in October when OEO ended CDGM, it also announced the funding of three new Mississippi Head Start programs, to be run by Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), Rust College, and South West Mississippi Opportunities, Inc. (SWMO).

Last week, however, CDGM still had

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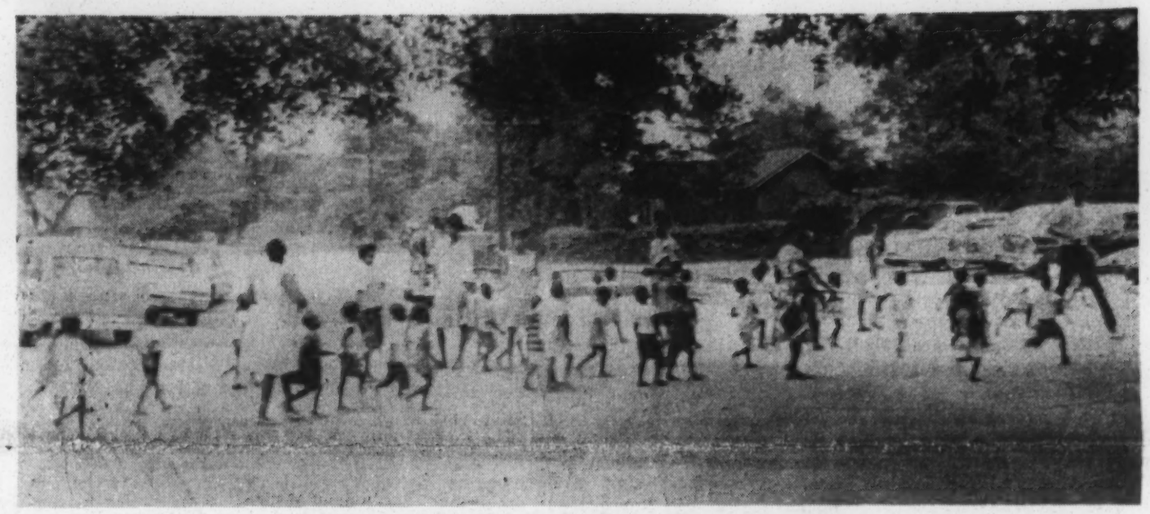

LAST SUMMER'S CDGM PROJECT IN SHUBUTA, MISS.

Ala. Tops in Segregation

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Alabama leads the nation in school segregation, with Mississippi a close second, according to the U. S. Office of Education.

In Alabama, the education office said, 2.4% of the Negro students are attending "white" schools.

The Office of Education said the percentage of Negro students in white schools is 2.6 in Mississippi and Louisiana, 4.9 in South Carolina, 6.6 in Georgia, 12.8 in North Carolina, 14.5 in Arkansas, and 14.7 in Florida.

Other Southern and border states had much higher percentages, the office said. In Kentucky, for example, the office said 88.5% of the Negro students are attending integrated schools.

Other percentages are 84.8 in Delaware, 83.4 in West Virginia, 40.5 in Maryland and Oklahoma, 34.6 in Texas, 26.7 in Missouri, 21.9 in Tennessee, and 20 in Virginia.

In determining these percentages, a school that has a few white students, but is more than 95% Negro, is not considered to be desegregated.

A Wallace Bill for Miss.?

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss. -- Little noticed during debates on reapportionment and a $42,000,000 bond bill, a number of states rights measures were passed by the Mississippi legislature last week.

Two resolutions criticizing the federal government's school and hospital desegregation guidelines received overwhelming approval from both the House and Senate.

One of the resolutions asks the U. S. Congress to "protect the constitutional rights being denied the sick elderly citizens of Mississippi" because of the hospital desegregation guidelines.

This resolution says elderly citizens in Mississippi don't get the same treatment "as citizens of other states," because the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) has refused to approve many Mississippi hospitals for Medicare. People in other states get more benefit from Medicare than people in Mississippi, even though Mississippians have to pay the full Social Security tax, the resolution says.

The other resolution calls on Governor Paul B. Johnson to submit an anti-school-guidelines bill to the legislature.

This school bill could be like Alabama Governor George C. Wallace's anti-guidelines law, said State Senator Robert Crook, of Ruleville, who introduced the school and hospital resolutions. But Crook said he is "not necessarily wedded" to the kind of law passed by the Alabama legislature.

Crook said he thought he would favor a law cutting off state aid to school districts that complied with the federal desegregation guidelines. "We would say, 'If you play ball with them, you don't play with us,'" he explained. (School districts receive most of their support from the state.)

The resolution does not force Governor Johnson to offer an anti-guidelines bill. It simply says the House and Senate want him to.

Crook said he introduced his resolutions because "interference with local government is the biggest issue facing the country right now."

The legislature also approved an extra $350,000 for tuition grants to private school students. Since 1964--the first year of public school desegregation in Mississippi--private school students have been able to collect $185 of their tuition cost each year from the state.

Last spring, the legislature voted $1,000,000 for the tuition-grant program, but last week, the Rev. Edgar Stephens of New Albany told the House more money was needed. According to Stephens, 3,000 students asked for tuition grants this fall, and 1,000 more applications are expected for next year.

It's That Time of Year

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
ROOM 1012, FRANK LEU BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
PHONE: (205) 262-3572

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Vol. II, No. 52 December 24-25, 1966

Editorial Opinion

Merry Xmas (More or Less)

As the Christmas and New Year's holidays begin, how many families of tenant farmers will not have their contracts renewed and will face eviction from house and land? We have no way of knowing, but it will be plenty. Where will these people go? What agencies of our government will offer bold new programs to house and employ these people? Nobody is really interested.

Senator Mike Mansfield, who is the head of the Democratic senators in the United States Senate, is reported as saying we need a "pause" in the Great Society.

While we are pausing, let's recite this little poem to cheer our hearts during Christmas-tide.

THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE'S XMAS POEM

Merry Christmas Mr. and Mrs. Moorer.
Merry Christmas Big Bill Williams.
Merry Christmas Mr. Wiley Bell and family.
Put up your Christmas tree anyway,
It doesn't need to be in a house.
You can dance around it to keep warm.
You are a people who bear affliction lightly.
You won't mind.

But don't you listen to Stokely.
He's no Santa Claus.
We're here to tell you
That black Santa ain't produced one present.

Mobile Citizens Plan for Action

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

MOBILE--Some 35 citizens got together at two recent "workshops" here, to exchange ideas about the Negro's situation in Mobile County.

There were participants of all ages and from all backgrounds. But they had one thing in common, which they stressed in their discussions--they refused to believe the slogan that "Mobile is the best place in the South for a Negro to live."

Virtually every aspect of Negro life in Mobile was considered. But most of the people at the workshops were primarily interested in action, rather than talk.

By the end of the second meeting, they had decided to re-activate the Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW), a militant civil rights group which died out last summer for lack of support.

The people made it clear that they wanted an active, hard-hitting organization. "If we can reach the people with an organization that talks facts, it'd be the best thing that ever happened to Mobile," said George Crenshaw.

The participants agreed to a third meeting, which would actually be the first meeting of the re-organized NOW.

All this activity started a few weeks ago, when a small group of people, saying they were "fed up," invited some others they knew to come "and discuss why nothing was being done in a constructive way in Mobile."

No one showed up the first time a meeting was called. But another week of letter-writing brought 12 people to a Toulminville church, where Mobile's most serious problems were discussed.

The Trinity Gardens area--where water moccasins have been observed during flood conditions on the unpaved and undrained roads--was raised as a typical example of city hall indifference to Negro ghettoes.

"In each situation like this, somebody's selling these people out," said Jerry Pogue.

People had no difficulty locating the heart of Mobile's problems. "It's downtown," said one participant, "and with some other people who bear the responsibility. The older people here won't move unless you put a bomb under them."

"We don't have anything, because of so many years of Uncle Toms," said David Jacobs, one of the original founders of NOW. "We got to re-brainwash the people, and it's going to take per-

FLOOD IN TRINITY GARDENS

borate workshop last Sunday afternoon. About 22 people came to consider the proposition that "white people won't deal with you when they know they can deal with certain so-called leaders and make compromises."

"It's up to us who've lost some of our fears to help those who still have fears," said John Todd.

"When we organized NOW, we had in mind a militancy that Mobile people haven't ever seen before," Jacobs recalled. "You can't sit down and compromise with the people downtown, because they'll win out every time."

"We have to really get out and reach the rank and file," said Crenshaw.

"The power's out there," said Ike Johnson. "We don't have the power. We got to penetrate to the masses of people and shake their complacency, or we'll be like those other organizations that represent a selected two or three people."

A temporary chairman was appointed for the purpose of handling a motion to organize the group formally. A few minutes later, it was all over.

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Troy

Academy High School is located on Academy St. in Troy. It has been there for a number of years, but this is the first time there has ever been a sign in the schoolyard saying "Academy High School, Home of the Roving Tigers." John E. Nolan has been principal of Academy since September, and a lot has happened in the past four months. This is the first year there have ever been Christmas decorations in the schoolyard. Academy took part in the Peanut Festival in Dothan. The home economics room now has a washing machine and a dryer; the agriculture building has been wired for arc welding, and it has a breeding bull; and a Quarterback Club has been organized to help the athletic department. In January, the PTA will add new draperies to the lunchroom and home economics building. (From Miss Elaine Warren)

Washington, D.C.

Clem William Burroughs, son of Mr. and Mrs. William Burroughs of Greensboro, Ala., is going to work in India as a Peace Corps volunteer. He has completed 13 weeks of training at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Mo. Burroughs was one of more than 500 volunteers being trained to go to India.

Meridian, Miss.

The Boy Savior Club of Sister Xaveriane's sixth-grade class at St. Joseph Catholic School visited the Matty Hersey Hospital in Meridian this week with little baskets of gifts for the needy and sick.

They were accompanied by members of the Sacred Heart League, who also presented a basket of gifts.

The Boy Savior Club took $5 out of its club money to buy the gifts--a bar of soap, Life Savers, wash-cloths, tissue, and other little needed things.

The gifts were taken to the rooms of the sick by three members of the Boy Savior Club, while the other members sang Christmas songs. (From Miss Patricia James)

Miss., asked at Stallo's Mt. Ary Baptist Church last Sunday afternoon. Mrs. Devine was the guest speaker at a rally to raise funds for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). Mrs. Devine said black people should tackle these questions through the MFDP, because "it is the only political organization YOU have in this state." But even if the MFDP, which is in serious financial condition, should fail, said Mrs. Devine, "I don't think the concept (of independent political power for black people) will ever be destroyed." More than $80 was raised for the MFDP at the rally.

Mobile

The following poem was written by Thelma Moore, a sixth-grade student at Stanton Road Elementary School, whose teacher is Mrs. Gladys Robinson.

MY FEELING OF CHRISTMAS

Christmas is a day set aside
To praise the new born King.
Let us not only celebrate it
But praise His holy name.

This is a day of singing special songs
To the precious new born child.
He will forgive us for all our wrongs
Let's keep His day tender and mild.

For behold that special day
Let not our hearts be in distress.
Let us praise Him in our own way
For all the good things He has blessed.

Washington, D.C.

In a case involving the 24-mile beach at Biloxi, Miss., the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that Mississippi cannot bar Negroes from using facilities that are constructed and maintained with public funds. The case began in June, 1963, when Dr. Gilbert Mason and 28 other Biloxi Negroes were arrested while trying to use the beach along Mississippi's southern shore. Other Negroes were beaten during the attempt to use the beach, and several Negroes' cars were overturned and burned. Last week, the Supreme Court threw out the

of our government will offer bold new programs to house and employ these people? Nobody is really interested.

Senator Mike Mansfield, who is the head of the Democratic senators in the United States Senate, is reported as saying we need a "pause" in the Great Society.

While we are pausing, let's recite this little poem to cheer our hearts during Christmas-tide.

THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE'S XMAS POEM

Merry Christmas Mr. and Mrs. Moorer.
Merry Christmas Big Bill Williams.
Merry Christmas Mr. Wiley Bell and family.
Put up your Christmas tree anyway,
It doesn't need to be in a house.
You can dance around it to keep warm.
You are a people who bear affliction lightly.
You won't mind.

But don't you listen to Stokely.
He's no Santa Claus.
We're here to tell you
That black Santa ain't produced one present,
Not one goodie,
In the months he's been talking.

You believe in Santas Mansfield, Dirken, Johnson, and Whitney Young Jr.
They got the bag, haven't they?

You believe in them
And you can be us white folks' Holy Family.
We won't have to build a pine slab lean-to
In front of the First Segregated Church.
We won't have to use the plywood Mary and Jesus.
If you will truly accept
(You are a people who bear affliction lightly.)
Senator Mansfield and all his choir
As your personal Santas
We'll let you stand around outside our church
Holding your children in your arms.

(This guest editorial was written by the Rev. Francis X. Walter of the Selma Inter-religious Project.)

NAACP Speakers Hit Apathy in Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM--"Am I afraid of the thug in the alley? I'm more afraid of the thug with a badge and a gun," said the Rev. K. L. Buford.

Buford, state NAACP field director, was addressing a mass meeting held by the Jefferson County branch of the NAACP Dec. 15 in the St. Paul Methodist Church.

He reported on the NAACP's investigation of the death of James Earl Motley. Motley died Nov. 20 in the Elmore County jail, two hours after being arrested by a sheriff's deputy.

Buford's report included little that was new on the case, except a complaint that certain officials of the Elmore County NAACP had been threatened since the NAACP began its investigation.

No action was proposed, although it was suggested that some more telegrams be fired off. Buford had previously sent telegrams to county, state, and federal officials, demanding a full investigation of Motley's death.

The meeting dealt at length with the problem of apathy.

The Rev. J. H. Salary, pastor of Fairfield's Mt. Olive Baptist Church, said anybody who is satisfied with Birmingham is "mentally sick, morally crazy and religiously dead."

The chairman of the NAACP's local committee on labor and industry, Virgil Pearson, said that in his experience, he has come to recognize three sorts of people--the people who make things happen, the people who watch things happen, and the people who don't even know what's happening.

"Let's quit being like neon lights," he said, "fragile and temperamental."

The last speaker, and also the most militant, was Mrs. Bernice C. Johnson, president of the Alabama Democratic Women's Committee.

Referring to the difference between herself and the other speakers, she said, "Rev. Buford's an optimist. I'm a pessimist."

Looking out at the small turn-out for what was billed as the largest NAACP mass meeting since the NAACP returned to Alabama in 1965, Mrs. Johnson said that "if the people don't come to us, then we should go to the people."

"We are going to sleep," she said. "Somebody is singing us lullaby land."

LT. GOV. GARTIN DIES

JACKSON, Miss. -- Mississippi Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, 53, died unexpectedly of a heart attack in his home town of Laurel last Monday. Many people thought Gartin, who had planned to run for governor in 1967, was the only man with a chance of defeating former Governor Ross Barnett for the post.

Gartin was in his third term as lieutenant governor. He had also served two terms as mayor of Laurel.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

In Editorial Opinion, Dec. 17-18 ("What For?"), you summed up the complete article in the first line of the last paragraph: "We believe that the people are entitled to spend their money any way they please." 'Tis true.

Previously, your editorials (that I have read) have sought to explain facts, and not slant or take digs at Montgomerians. Which you are not and all of Montgomery's Negro attorneys are; even the one which you have not met, Attorney Mahalia Ashley Dickerson (the first). Attorney Fred D. Gray was born, reared and educated in Montgomery, except for the time he spent at Western Reserve (Cleveland, Ohio), because no Alabama law school would accept him.

Your editorial will really help the James Earl Motley Fund, because the citizens will give because they know Attorney Fred D. Gray and what he has done for Montgomery, even though they do not know James Earl Motley. I hope your subscriptions do not fall off because of it.

I hope you print this letter.

Mrs. I. J. Baskin
Montgomery

* * * *

To the Editor:

We take this opportunity to express sincere thanks for the gift subscription to The Southern Courier we have received for nearly a year now. Your paper fills a vacuum that has existed since the advent of journalism in the state of Alabama. It is refreshing to know that your organization had the perception to recognize the need for a news vehicle that would expose people to an objective view of "the other side" of the news as presented by the white dailies (if, indeed, the news is presented at all).

Incidentally, we are placing our order for another year's subscription to your paper.

Elijah Singley
Librarian
George W. Trenholm Memorial Library
Alabama State College
Montgomery

* * * *

To the Editor:

To the Honorable Mr. and Mrs. Governor George C. Wallace:

Who am I? I am history, a maker of the past, a creator of the future. I am a seeker, seeking a little for myself and my people. I seek equality, in education, in jobs, and civil rights.

What do I mean by equality in CIVIL RIGHTS? The right to equal protection of the law, the right to freedom of choice, and to be respected for those choices. Equal rights in education: to be provided with the equipment, enough teachers, and the room and space which is necessary. Equal rights in jobs: to be given a higher paying job, with better working conditions.

Who am I? A human being desiring a higher education intensely enough to work and pay the bills required.

Don't feel forced to accept me. Accept me because you believe in me, and know that I am now a civilized and dignified human being.

I do not want to force myself on anyone. I want to have the opportunity to prove to you that the Negroes have progress since the years of slavery. That we are clean, capable of using our minds effectively, and we have no hatred for anyone....

Who am I? If you were me, who would you be?

James O. Hadnott
Prattville

* * * *

To the Editor:

If you care to publish the following letter, you have my permission . . .

Dear Lajuan Rose,

This poor little gift ($2 check) comes from an old lady far away from Mobile. She doesn't know Santa, but she does know some of his helpers here. But more important, she knows a friend of the Person who started Christmas over 1900 years ago, and this friend lives in Mobile. He won't mind a bit that you are getting part of his candy to try to make up for that candy Santa didn't give you one day.

You know something? If it hadn't been for that man in Mobile and his Friend, I might never have known or cared about you!

Merry Christmas, to you and your aunts!

R. P. K. (age 77)
Cambridge, Mass.

(A few weeks ago in Mobile, a department-store Santa wouldn't give any candy to Lajuan Rose, a seven-year-old Negro boy. Santa told the boy he was saving the candy for "everybody else." --THE EDITOR)

haven't ever seen before," Jacobs recalled. "You can't sit down and compromise with the people downtown, because they'll win out every time."

"We have to really get out and reach the rank and file," said Crenshaw.

"The power's out there," said Ike Johnson. "We don't have the power. We got to penetrate to the masses of people and shake their complacency, or we'll be like those other organizations that represent a selected two or three people."

A temporary chairman was appointed for the purpose of handling a motion to organize the group formally. A few minutes later, it was all over.

But several people lingered on into the evening to evaluate the results of the two gatherings. There was a lot of discussion about whether the people would actually stick together.

"I'm not sure," said one man. "Some of them came out to see if this group was like all the rest.

"But I know if we could get 10 people together and communicate to the man on the dock, the man in the street, and the man in Trinity Gardens, you could get these people. You could get national recognition."

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No one showed up the first time a meeting was called. But another week of letter-writing brought 12 people to a Toulminville church, where Mobile's most serious problems were discussed.

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People had no difficulty locating the heart of Mobile's problems. "It's downtown," said one participant, "and with some other people who bear the responsibility. The older people here won't move unless you put a bomb under them."

"We don't have anything, because of so many years of Uncle Toms," said David Jacobs, one of the original founders of NOW. "We got to re-brainwash the people, and it's going to take persistency."

Out of this meeting came invitations to about 40 people to attend a more ela-

boro, Ala., is going to work in India as a Peace Corps volunteer. He has completed 13 weeks of training at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Mo. Burroughs was one of more than 500 volunteers being trained to go to India.

Meridian, Miss.

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The gifts were taken to the rooms of the sick by three members of the Boy Savior Club, while the other members sang Christmas songs. (From Miss Patricia James)

Little Rock, Ark.

On Jan. 1, Christopher C. Mercer Jr. will become the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in the history of Arkansas' Sixth Judicial District, which includes Little Rock. The newly-elected chief prosecutor, Richard B. Adkisson, announced Mercer's appointment last week. He said Mercer would probably be the South's first Negro deputy prosecutor in modern times. Mercer, a graduate of the University of Arkansas School of Law, previously has worked with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and the NAACP.

Meridian, Miss.

Miss Sarah Calmese and Major Stewart were married here last Sunday. The afternoon ceremony took place at the home of Mr. Stewart's mother.

Butler

Mrs. Etta Mae Slate of Lisman teaches citizenship classes at Wesley Chapel in Butler every Monday and Wednesday night. The classes include spelling, arithmetic, and discussion of such things as voting and Social Security. Mrs. Patsy Jackson, who didn't know one letter from the other, has been learning the alphabet. Mrs. Hattie Ruffin is teaching a similar citizenship class at the First Baptist Church in Lisman. (From Mrs. Elizabeth Foster)

Stallo, Miss.

"What are we going to do about all these lying textbooks? . . . What about the dropouts? Why is there no compulsory school law in Mississippi? . . . What kind of organization are we setting up now to get people to run for local offices in 1967?" These were a few of the questions Mrs. Annie Devine of Canton,

But praise His holy name.

This is a day of singing special songs
To the precious new born child.
He will forgive us for all our wrongs
Let's keep His day tender and mild.

For behold that special day
Let not our hearts be in distress.
Let us praise Him in our own way
For all the good things He has blessed.

Washington, D.C.

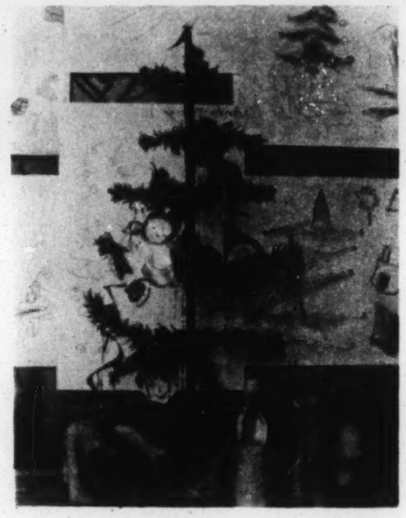
In a case involving the 24-mile beach at Biloxi, Miss., the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that Mississippi cannot bar Negroes from using facilities that are constructed and maintained with public funds. The case began in June, 1963, when Dr. Gilbert Mason and 28 other Biloxi Negroes were arrested while trying to use the beach along Mississippi's southern shore. Other Negroes were beaten during the attempt to use the beach, and several Negroes' cars were overturned and burned. Last week, the Supreme Court threw out the charges against the 29 Negroes who were arrested. Lawyers from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund had argued that the beach, one of the longest man-made beaches in the world, had "taken on a governmental character." Therefore, they said, Negroes had a right to use it, and could not be prosecuted for doing so.

Tysonville

Santa Claus brought gifts to 30 Head Start youngsters last Friday night. More than 75 parents and friends also came to the Head Start center for the Christmas party. The children sang "Jingle Bells" and "America," and recited the pledge of allegiance to the flag. Miss Bessie Hunter sang several Christmas carols. Mrs. Consuello J. Harper, director of the Head Start program, told the guests that this was the end of the money. But, she said, "if you truly believe in what we've done, express your feelings from Tysonville as far as Washington, and maybe some way we will be able to continue."

TYSONVILLE HEAD START PARTY

CHRISTMAS
Is a Time For...



...*Remembering to be thankful.*

ATLANTA, Ga.--There they were, all in the same room--Santa Claus, Avon cosmetics, Uncle Sam, the State of Georgia, Mary and Joseph, and 19 happy children.

Santa Claus was there in person--compliments of Avon cosmetics, who sent the bearded jolly-man to Ed S. Cook Elementary School with a bag of gifts for the kindergarten class.

Uncle Sam and the State of Georgia were represented by the kindergarten instructors. Mrs. Sonya Rohales, Miss Thoma-

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Mary and Joseph were carved wooden figures standing under a tiny paper Christmas tree. The child was born again in the unaffected joy with which Michele and Terry and Kathy and Michael and Diane and their classmates greeted this collection at their annual Christmas party.

Photos and Text by Bob Fitch

...Dancing with Santa.

...Needing one another.

...Reading 'It Was the Night Before Christmas.'

...Making a paper-bag Santa Claus.

Anatomy of a Murder Trial

THE TESTIMONY

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--It was some time after midnight in the early morning of Jan. 4, 1966. The late bus for Atlanta had pulled away from the Greyhound station, next door to the Good Service cab stand, several minutes ago.

Ben Davis, a young man who worked as a part-time cab driver, had made two round trips to carry bus passengers home. Now he was ready to lock up and go home to bed himself.

He had already flicked off the lights when he saw a thin stream of liquid trickling under his feet. "In the dark I thought it was water," he said later. "I went to cut it off. Then I saw the body."

Davis knew that there had been some trouble earlier that evening at Ed Wilson's Standard Oil service station on the other side of the bus depot. He was waiting at the cab stand for the late bus when he saw Samuel L. Younge Jr. and heard him ask the service station attendant if he could use the bathroom.

Moments later, Davis drove off with his first load of arriving bus passengers. As he turned right at the traffic light in front of Wilson's service station, he heard a gunshot.

Thomas Boddie III, a Tuskegee Institute student, was riding in Davis' cab. He was sitting on the right-hand side, and he remembers the gas station lights were bright enough that he could see clearly.

"I saw Sammy ducking, and the old man with the gun. . . . Sammy shouted, 'Go ahead and shoot me.' Then I couldn't see Sammy any more, but the old man fired a shot." By now the cab was turning the corner. Boddie recalls that the cab driver said, "I think he got away." They drove off into the night.

When Davis got back from carrying the bus passengers home, he said, "Sammy Younge's brother ran through the cab stand--never said a word, just ran through."

Now, not long after midnight, Davis stood in the alley next to the cab stand, looking down at the body and the liquid which he began to realize was not water but blood. Younge was lying on his back, and Davis knew who he was.

Davis also knew that the police were over at Ed Wilson's service station, talking to Marvin L. Segrest, the night attendant, about the disturbance earlier that night.

So the cab driver walked across the sloping pavement in front of the bus station and up to the filling station, to tell Grady M. Story, who was then the captain of the Tuskegee police force, that there was a dead man lying in the alley next to the Good Service cab stand.

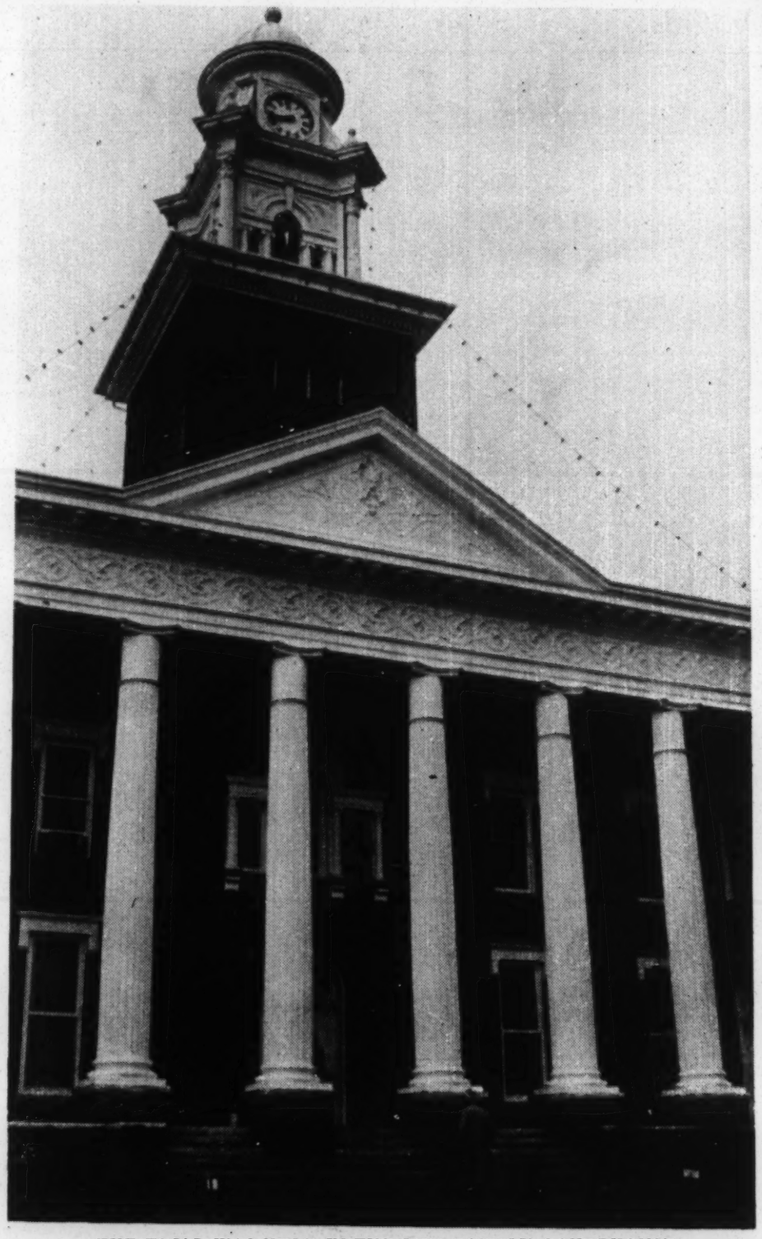
Up until the time Ben Davis came across the driveway to tell the police officers what he had found, Sergeant George O. Prince, one of many Negro into the alley. Prince said they found Younge lying face up with "something in his hand."

Rain was pouring down, and the policemen covered the body with a blanket. Story stayed there while Prince and Gates went back and began calling the county, state, and federal law enforcement officers who would take over the investigation.

One of the people called was Paul Shoffeitt, in Auburn, assistant director of the state department of toxicology. Shoffeitt got out of bed and drove 20 miles along rain-slick Highway 29 to Tuskegee.

When he got there, police officers removed the blanket and he made a preliminary examination of Younge's body. Beneath the dead man's right arm, Shoffeitt found a golf club, "the handle out from the body, the club under it."

Younge was then taken to the Peoples Funeral Home, past the downtown square where he had led civil rights demonstrations, past the Tuskegee Institute campus where he had attended classes for the last year, past the turn-off to his home on Logan St. At the funeral home, Shoffeitt made the first



THE TRIAL WAS HELD IN THE LEE COUNTY COURTHOUSE

and cause some "impairment in judgment and reasoning."

Shoffeitt also examined the bullet wound in Younge's head. Later, he gave his opinion, as an expert, that "the bullet went straight in and across." He said that, in his opinion, the bullet did not strike any other object before it hit Younge.

By the time Shoffeitt left the funeral

Shoffeitt also made tests on the shells Captain Story had given him. "It was my opinion these two hulls were fired in the revolver I received from Ayscue," he said.

While Shoffeitt was driving west on Highway 29 in the early morning hours of Jan. 4, W. B. Powell, a Greyhound bus driver, was heading east toward Atlanta, Ga., along the same highway. He

THE ARGUMENT

OPELIKA--Twelve men took an hour and ten minutes to decide that Marvin L. Segrest, 69, a white man, was not guilty of murdering Samuel L. Younge Jr., 21, a Negro civil rights worker.

The jury based its decision on nine hours of testimony in the Lee County courtroom Dec. 7 and 8. The article on this page summarizes the sworn statements of the key witnesses.

But testimony is not all there is to a trial. The lawyers for each side also had a chance to tie the witnesses' statements together.

The state attorneys argued that Segrest shot Younge through the head as he fled from the Tuskegee service station where Segrest worked. They said Younge fell onto his knees, and rolled over on his back.

The defense attorneys contended that Segrest shot at Younge as he came toward Segrest. The defense said Younge was threatening Segrest with a golf club.

If a bullet from Segrest's gun killed Younge, Segrest's attorneys said, Segrest was not guilty of murder because he shot only in self-defense. They said Younge was found lying on his back because he was approaching Segrest when the shot was fired.

The state called four Negro students, a white bus driver, and a state toxicologist to support its version of the events. The defense called Segrest, and cited differences between the testimony of the bus driver and the students. In addition, the defense produced 16 character witnesses who said that Segrest was a quiet man with a good reputation around Shorter, his home town.

"There's no doubt at all that the defendant fired the shot that killed the deceased," said Lee County attorney G. H. Wright Jr., in summing up the case for the state. "There is no legal justification for this killing."

"It seems to me there is a reasonable doubt about when the boy was killed or who killed him," said William M. Russell Jr., one of Segrest's attorneys.

Another defense lawyer, Harry D. Raymon, said, "We all regret the loss of life, but the defendant had a legal right to protect himself."

passengers, and climbed back onto the bus. As he was pulling out, "I saw a body laying back in the alley there some four or five feet." That was the reason he stopped down the road to ask the passengers what they had seen.

Although the bus passengers were not watching the incident, some people were. One of them was Joseph David Morris Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student.

Morris drove Otis Smith and Admiral Leroy, also students, to the bus station around 11:15 p.m. Jan 3. They were early, so Leroy got out of the car and put his golf bag on the bench. Then he got back in the car. The students sat there, eating chicken and talking.

About 20 or 30 minutes later, Younge drove up to the service station in his cream-colored Volkswagen, and parked near the gas pump.

Morris said he heard Younge ask to use the restroom, and Segrest tell him to go around to the back. When Younge demanded to use the "public rest-

gument between Younge and Segrest. "I was trying to watch the gun." Radley said that Segrest left the service station property and walked "right behind our car. . . . He was about 10 or 11 yards from Sammy when the first shot was fired."

At that point, Brooks backed out and drove away. His car was gone when the second shot was fired. The only persons known to have been there were a busful of drowsy passengers, their driver, the occupants of Morris' car--and Younge and Segrest.

To Segrest, the elderly night attendant in charge of Wilson's service station, the arrival of Younge's Volkswagen meant trouble. For four or five months, Segrest said, Younge had harassed him.

Segrest recalls that Younge once "tried to drive off without payin' for all of the gas." Another time, Segrest said, Younge grew impatient and said, "Put some goddamn gas in the car or I'll hurt you." Segrest also said Younge "tried to run me down with the car."

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Up until the time Ben Davis came across the driveway to tell the police officers what he had found, Sergeant George O. Prince, one of many Negro policemen for the City of Tuskegee, was carrying out a routine investigation.

He had been patrolling around town with a white officer, Lieutenant Jimmy Lee Gates, when the call came in: "There has been a shooting at Wilson's Standard station." Prince and Gates got over to the filling station in two or three minutes. They arrived ahead of Captain Story.

"I saw Segrest under the shed of the (service) station," Prince said. I asked what was the trouble." The sergeant said Segrest complained about a person who had been "harassing and cursing" him. Prince remembers Segrest saying he had fired a couple of shots but didn't think he had hit anyone.

Although Segrest "gave the wrong name for the person," Prince recognized Younge's car and went to the Younge home to see if Younge was there. He came back. He was standing with Story and Gates when Davis came over and told them where to look for Sammy Younge.

The three police officers went back in his hand."

Rain was pouring down, and the policemen covered the body with a blanket. Story stayed there while Prince and Gates went back and began calling the county, state, and federal law enforcement officers who would take over the investigation.

One of the people called was Paul Shoffeitt, in Auburn, assistant director of the state department of toxicology. Shoffeitt got out of bed and drove 20 miles along rain-slick Highway 29 to Tuskegee.

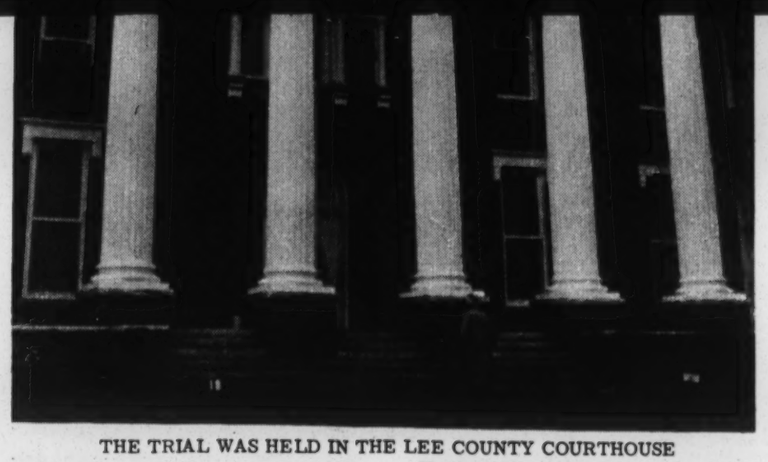
When he got there, police officers removed the blanket and he made a preliminary examination of Younge's body. Beneath the dead man's right arm, Shoffeitt found a golf club, "the handle out from the body, the club under it."

Younge was then taken to the Peoples Funeral Home, past the downtown square where he had led civil rights demonstrations, past the Tuskegee Institute campus where he had attended classes for the last year, past the turnoff to his home on Logan St. At the funeral home, Shoffeitt made the first

SAMUEL L. YOUNGE JR.

steps in a careful investigation of Younge's death.

He tested Younge's blood and found that it contained 0.11% of ethyl alcohol--enough, Shoffeitt said, to put a man under "the early influence of alcohol"



THE TRIAL WAS HELD IN THE LEE COUNTY COURTHOUSE

and cause some "impairment in judgment and reasoning."

Shoffeitt also examined the bullet wound in Younge's head. Later, he gave his opinion, as an expert, that "the bullet went straight in and across." He said that, in his opinion, the bullet did not strike any other object before it hit Younge.

By the time Shoffeitt left the funeral home that morning, he had with him the bullet that had killed Younge and the .38-caliber revolver that Macon County sheriff's deputy Jack Ayscue had received from Sheriff Harvey Sadler, who got it from Segrest. Sadler had also given Shoffeitt six live rounds of .38-caliber bullet hulls picked up from the pavement at Wilson's service station.

The toxicologist took all these things back to his laboratory in Auburn. He fired two rounds of the ammunition from the revolver into a long box of tightly-packed cotton. Then he retrieved the bullets and examined both of them carefully under a microscope. Next, he took the bullet he had recovered from Younge's body, and compared it with the two bullets he had fired himself from Segrest's gun.

Although the fatal bullet was damaged, Shoffeitt said, he was able to make a satisfactory comparison. "It was my opinion that the bullet I removed from the head of Samuel Younge was fired from the revolver I received from deputy Ayscue."

Shoffeitt also made tests on the shells Captain Story had given him. "It was my opinion these two hulls were fired in the revolver I received from Ayscue," he said.

While Shoffeitt was driving west on Highway 29 in the early morning hours of Jan. 4, W. B. Powell, a Greyhound bus driver, was heading east toward Atlanta, Ga., along the same highway. He had some lost time to make up for because, a few miles down the road from Tuskegee, he had pulled over to the side of the road.

There, Powell tried to find out if any of his passengers had seen the incident at Wilson's service station. But no one said anything much, and Powell drove on.

Powell had seen only some of what was happening at the service station. As he drove in, he said, "I saw a person taking what I thought was part of a cue stick out of a Volkswagen." As he left the bus, he heard a shot. Then he went in to the service station and "had a Coca-Cola."

When Powell came out, he saw Segrest and saw the gun in his hand. "I was looking over his shoulder down the barrel."

The bus driver saw Younge "walking away toward an alley." When Segrest fired, Powell said, he did not aim at Younge. "After the shot was fired, the boy walked completely out of my sight."

Powell took the tickets of boarding

der because he shot only in self-de-

legal right to protect himself."

passengers, and climbed back onto the bus. As he was pulling out, "I saw a body laying back in the alley there some four or five feet." That was the reason he stopped down the road to ask the passengers what they had seen.

Although the bus passengers were not watching the incident, some people were. One of them was Joseph David Morris Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student.

Morris drove Otis Smith and Admiral Leroy, also students, to the bus station around 11:15 p.m. Jan 3. They were early, so Leroy got out of the car and put his golf bag on the bench. Then he got back in the car. The students sat there, eating chicken and talking.

About 20 or 30 minutes later, Younge drove up to the service station in his cream-colored Volkswagen, and parked near the gas pump.

Morris said he heard Younge ask to use the restroom, and Segrest tell him to go around to the back. When Younge demanded to use the "public rest-

MARVIN L. SEGREST

room," Morris said, Segrest drew a gun and ordered him off the service station property.

Morris said Younge "was cussing," but he moved his car. "He came over and asked did I have a gun. I said no."

Segrest "approached by the Standard Oil sign. Sammy was ducking up and down behind his car" and calling out. He ran to the bench and snatched a golf club from Leroy's bag. Segrest "took a step as if he was coming over. He had his gun out. Sammy ran. As he ran, a shot was fired."

Morris backed his car across Highway 29. Younge ran after him. Morris remembers Younge saying, "Don't leave....I want you to witness this."

Then Younge ran back across the highway, stepped on and off the Atlanta-bound bus, and ran around the front of the bus toward the cab stand. At that moment, Morris said, Segrest fired and Younge fell.

After a minute or two, Morris pulled out on the highway with his headlights on bright. The beams angled up into the alley by the cab stand, and Morris saw Younge lying there in a pool of blood. "I went directly to the police department and reported to the dispatcher that someone had been shot."

The dispatcher, in the small radio room on the second floor of the Tuskegee City Hall, put out the call that sent Sergeant Prince, Lieutenant Gates, and Captain Story over to Wilson's service station.

The young men in Morris' car were not the only students who saw some of the events leading up to Younge's death. Marcellus Brooks, Roby L. Radley, and Antheal Pierce were also sitting in a car parked at the bus station.

Brooks remembers seeing Younge arrive and argue with Segrest. He recalls Younge cursing and calling out, "You threatened me and I'm going to get you." Brooks said Segrest replied by daring Younge to "come back on my property."

Radley didn't listen closely to the argument between Younge and Segrest. "I was trying to watch the gun." Radley said that Segrest left the service station property and walked "right behind our car....He was about 10 or 11 yards from Sammy when the first shot was fired."

At that point, Brooks backed out and drove away. His car was gone when the second shot was fired. The only persons known to have been there were a busful of drowsy passengers, their driver, the occupants of Morris' car--and Younge and Segrest.

To Segrest, the elderly night attendant in charge of Wilson's service station, the arrival of Younge's Volkswagen meant trouble. For four or five months, Segrest said, Younge had harassed him.

Segrest recalls that Younge once "tried to drive off without payin' for all of the gas." Another time, Segrest said, Younge grew impatient and said, "Put some goddamn gas in the car or I'll hurt you." Segrest also said Younge "tried to run me down with the car."

Two part-time night assistants at the service station also remembered the incidents. Willie J. Tate and Eddie Macon said Younge had threatened and cursed Segrest.

On the night of Jan. 3, Segrest was alone except for his wife, asleep in a car parked around the side of the service station. Younge drove up "ranting and raving." He swore and refused to go to the men's restroom behind the service station, although Segrest told him the restrooms were not segregated except by sex.

(Segrest explained later that a ladies' room was on one side, a men's room on the other, and a third, small bathroom was inside the service station. The inside restroom was "used principally by everybody--never forbidden to anybody .... There's no segregation at all."

After Younge cursed him, Segrest ordered Younge to leave. Segrest said Younge left, but came back, carrying something that looked like a gun. "He started advancing toward me....I said, 'Don't come any closer'....He kept coming." Then, Segrest said, he fired at the pavement near Younge's feet to scare him away.

During all this time, Segrest is sure he never left the service station property: "absolutely not," he said. He remembers that Younge retreated around the bus, then re-appeared. "He was comin' towards me."

Segrest raised the gun and pointed it "down in the general direction of where he (Younge) was." But Segrest said he didn't aim; he simply shot. Younge "went on past the Greyhound bus station and cab stand out of my sight."

Segrest remembers that the city police, and later Sheriff Sadler and deputy Ayscue, came to talk with him around midnight. He recalls that they stayed about 20 minutes. But, Segrest said, it was 10 a.m. that morning when he first learned that someone had been shot and killed, and found lying in the alley next to the Good Service cab stand.

What Happened After It Was Over

TUSKEGEE--Everyone knows that several hundred Tuskegee Institute students swarmed downtown the night after the murder trial, painted the Confederate monument (left), and smashed the windows of 13 businesses (below).

But few people know that many students spoke out against the riot, and called several workshop meetings to explore more constructive approaches to Alabama justice. Attorney Fred D. Gray led one group in a discussion of legal steps to protect Negroes (right).

Jury Suit Out

MONTGOMERY--A challenge to the Lee County jury system was dismissed for technical reasons last week by Federal Judge Virgil Pittman.

The suit, filed by Montgomery attorney Solomon S. Seay, had been scheduled for a hearing last Tuesday (Dec. 20). After the federal suit was filed, but before it could be heard, Marvin L. Segrest's trial took place on Dec. 7 and 8.

The federal suit charged that the Lee County jury system excludes Negroes, and also discriminates against white people who are not socially or politically prominent. Segrest was acquitted by a jury of 12 white men.

U.S. Cuts Off G'boro Bank

BY ROBIN REISIG

GREENSBORO--As of Nov. 30, banks with federal money on deposit were required to offer equal employment opportunities to all races.

Shortly before that, however, L.J. Lawson, board chairman of the People's Bank of Greensboro, wrote the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury: "Our bank is a small country bank, and we believe it is not to the best interests of ourselves and our community if we are required to come under the civil rights act."

The Treasury Department replied by saying the bank could no longer act as its depository. This means the bank will not be able to store Social Security and other funds, although it can still accept payments for other banks.

These funds are valuable to the banks that store them, since they give the banks increased loaning power. People's Bank was one of about five bank depositories that refused to comply with the equal-opportunity requirement--out of 14,000 such banks across the country.

But, said Lawson, "Insofar as the people of Greensboro are concerned, they're benefiting exactly as they were before. I'm not reaping." He took an ad in a local paper, reprinting his letter to the Treasury.

This isn't the bank's first civil rights problem, said Lawson--"Nigras have been boycotting me ever since the first boycott (of white stores last summer)." He said he doesn't understand why.

"We've been nothing but good to them," he said. "We've never done a thing. We charge them the same rate of interest. They stand side by side with white people in line."

But Lewis Black, secretary-treasurer of the local all-Negro Greenala Credit Union, said it is very difficult for Negroes to get loans, and "the People's Bank wouldn't even let Negroes open a savings account" before the credit union was formed in 1961.

Montgomery County Problem

No More Ambulances?

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY -- Ambulance service may soon be hard to get in Montgomery County, especially outside the city. Both white and Negro ambulance owners are talking about cutting their operations.

Roary Snider, owner of Ambulance Service Company, said this week that his firm would stop making public-service emergency calls outside the Montgomery police jurisdiction unless the county board of revenue pays part of the cost. Snider's company already gets a subsidy from the city of Montgomery.

His ambulance service "basically" is for white people, Snider said. "From time to time," he said, "we don't know who's hurt when we're called on a wreck. If it's a nigger that's hurt, we pick 'em up."

But, he said, "we don't solicit that business. We're not trying to run (the Negro owners) out of business."

Montgomery's three Negro ambulance services now pick up people anywhere in the city or county, without getting any financial help. "We pick up anybody we're called on, white or colored," said C.W. Lee of Lee's Funeral Home.

But that doesn't mean the county could get along without subsidizing the white service. "I doubt if (the Negro ambulances) could do it all," said Lee. "We'd have to ask somebody for help."

In fact, said Lee, he and the other Negro operators--Cillie's Mortuary Center and Ross-Clayton Funeral Home--have "been threatening to discontinue ambulance service." Unless the Negro ambulance services can get some kind of city or county subsidy, he said, they may stop running soon after Jan. 1.

Lee said that, in his opinion, Ambulance Service Company should get money from the county, as well as the city. "Their needs are the same as ours," he said. "We're going to quit unless we get some subsidy of our own. It's a tremendous cost, to pay two men, and keep a vehicle ready to go at all times."

The problem, said Lee, is that "strange as it seems, people just don't pay ambulance bills. Most of 'em seem to forget they had to be rushed to a hospital by a vehicle to save their life."

Snider said he thought the Negro ambulance services should be in better financial shape than his firm is. "They all have funeral homes to go with (the ambulance service)," he said. "You can make $1,000 off a funeral, but you can't make nothing off a $20 ambulance call.

"We don't have anything to offset the rising cost of everything."

But Lee said that wasn't the way it works. "We're forced to make each department stand on its own legs," he said.

Support the Movement

The Civic League of Simpson County, Miss., needs financial assistance to buy property and construct a building for office and assembly. We have much work to do in civil rights and political affairs. A building is absolutely necessary. Send your donation to Civic League of Simpson County, P.O. Box 752, Mendenhall, Miss. 39114.

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6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Religion)	Rev. Greene
9:30-10:00	Dorothy Jo's Pantry Shelf (Women's News)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
10:00-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD (Church & Social News)--On the Half-Hour

NEWSCASTS--5 Minutes Before the Hour

Saturday

Sign On 6:00 AM		
6:00-7:00 AM	Morning Reveries (Gospel)	T.J. McLain
7:00-9:00	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray
9:00-9:30	The Gospel Hour (Gospel)	Rev. Greene
9:30-12 Noon	Gospel Train (Gospel)	Dorothy Jo Stanley
12:00-3:00 PM	Ruben Hughes Show (R&B)	Ruben Hughes
3:00-Sign Off	Jordan Ray Show (R&B)	Jordan Ray

Merry Christmas!

from

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In Montgomery, Ala.

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WANT ADS

TITTUSVILLE CIVIC LEAGUE--The civic league's beautification committee is asking all persons to participate in its special project for the month of December, "Community Christmas Decorations." The purpose is to spread Christmas cheer and beautify Tittusville. Citations will be based on points, as follows: full block participation and uniformity, 30 points; theme and types of decorations, 20 points; originality, 30 points; and artistic quality, 20 points. Any block captain whose block receives 100 points will be given special recognition. There will be first, second, third, and fourth prizes, and all below will receive honorable mention. The contest closes the night of Dec. 26. Mrs. Eleanor Smith, chairman.

HELP NEEDED--Anyone who can help furnish land, housing, pasture, feed, clothing, or food for evicted Dallas County farmers, write Miss Shirley Mesher, Farmers Aid Committee, 31 1/2 Franklin St., Selma, Ala.

JOB OPENINGS--The Southern Courier will soon be interviewing applicants for four positions on its business staff. Two people are needed to work on circulation and subscriptions, and two are needed to work on advertising. High pay, generous expense accounts. Applicants must be honest, responsible, and willing to work long hours, and they must be experienced or interested in business. A car is required. If interested, call 262-3572 in Montgomery to arrange an interview.

WANTED--A manager for the Freedom Quilting Bee Handcraft Cooperative. Should have experience in arts and crafts or design, some business sense, and the willingness to live and work in a rural community. Write Selma Interreligious Project, 810 29th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401, or call 758-2301.

ARKANSAS--The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has affiliate councils in Conway, Fayetteville, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and North Little Rock. We are interested in establishing local councils throughout the state. ACHR is integrated at all levels, working in education, voter education, employment, welfare, and housing. For information, write Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1310 Wright, Little Rock, Ark. 72206.

KRISTEE FOUR-YEAR BULBS--Guaranteed to do away with frequent burn-outs, replacement buying, and bulb-snatching. Call 265-0390 in Montgomery.

CHOICE OPPORTUNITY--For medical records librarian or technician. The challenging task of directing the medical records department of a modern 95-bed hospital awaits the "challenger" at Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma, Ala. Exceptional working conditions, fringe benefits, salary open. Letter of application should include character references, work experience, and educational background. Send to Good Samaritan Hospital, P.O. Box 1053, Selma, Ala. 36701.

FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tuscumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama, for further information.

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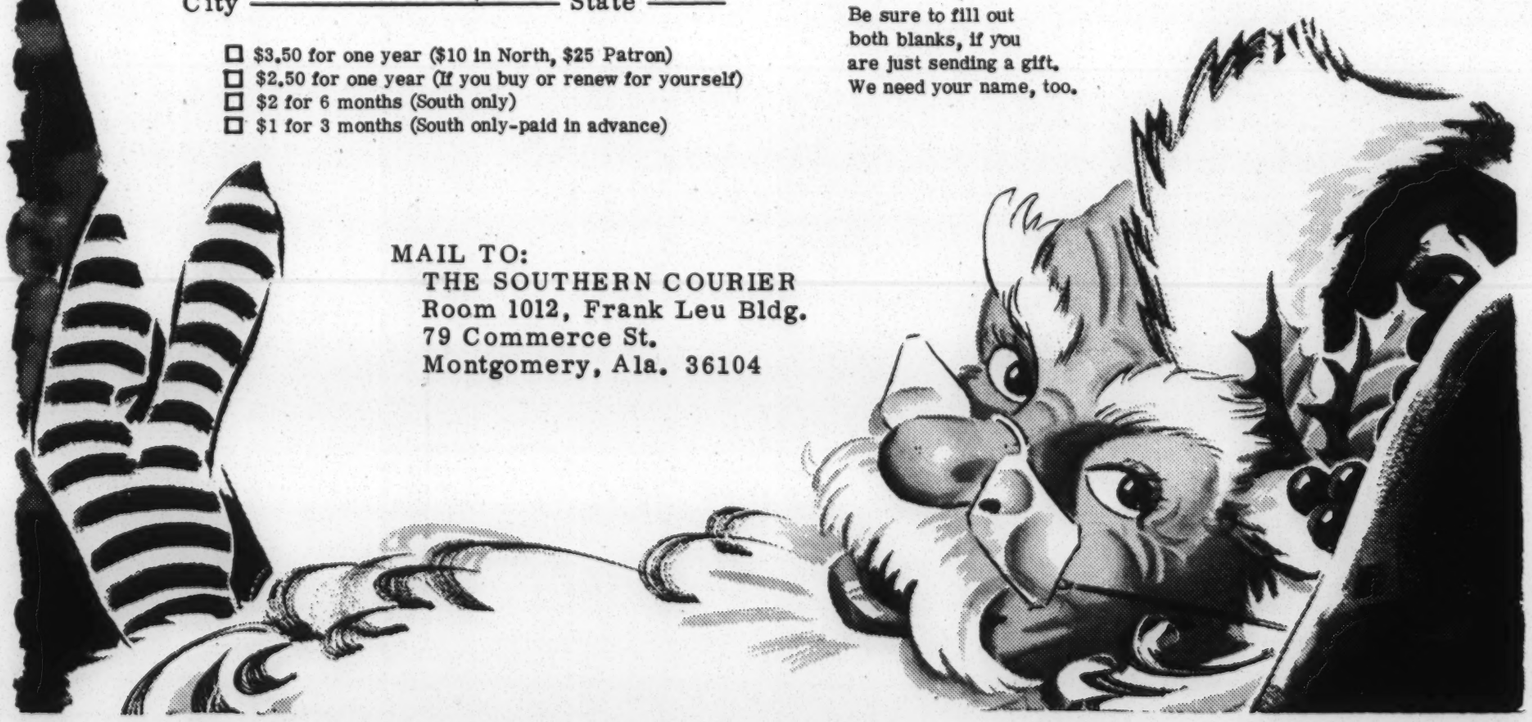


LADY GETS HELP

Troy Leaders Act

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

TROY--Mrs. Emma Walker, a 62-year-old widow, has lived in a wheelchair for eight years. Until recently, the only financial aid she had was from friends, relatives, and neighbors.

"I know they're tired of doing it now," she said. So one day a group of Negro leaders--including Mrs. Johnnie M. Warren, Elder Willie Paul, and Mrs. Mary Howard--went to tell Probate Judge Ben Reeves about Mrs. Walker's situation.

As a result, Mrs. Walker was able to get money from the welfare department. She now receives a check on the 28th of every month.

MRS. EMMA WALKER

CHRISTMAS IS DEC. 25.

MFDP Challenges Plan For State Legislature

JACKSON, Miss.--Members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) last Tuesday challenged Mississippi's new reapportionment plan for the state legislature. In a suit filed in federal court, the MFDP members said the district lines for the 52 Senate and 122 House districts still aren't fair.

The suit claims there is too much variation in the size of the districts, and it accuses the legislature of "racial gerrymandering."

According to the U. S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision, legislative districts must all be about the same size. The suit says the population of each district should not vary more than 15% from the average.

But, the suit charges, 24 House districts and 16 Senate districts vary more than 15% from what should be the average population of the districts. Alcorn County, which forms one House district, has almost twice as many people as Montgomery County, which forms another district, the suit says.

The MFDP also claims that in drawing the lines, the state legislators combined "counties with Negro majorities with counties with white majorities, so as to produce an over-all white majority in the combined districts."

For example, the suit says, Jefferson County--which has almost twice as many Negro citizens as white, and now has a small Negro voting majority--was combined diagonally with mostly-white Lincoln County, in both the House and Senate plans. Combining Jefferson with closer counties would have resulted in a district with the same population, the suit says, but this wasn't done because it would have given Negroes a majority.

Game of the Week

BTW Smashes Blount

MONTGOMERY -- The high-scoring Booker T. Washington basketball team had no trouble pulverizing the Blount High Leopards, 80 to 36, last Tuesday night in the BTW gymnasium.

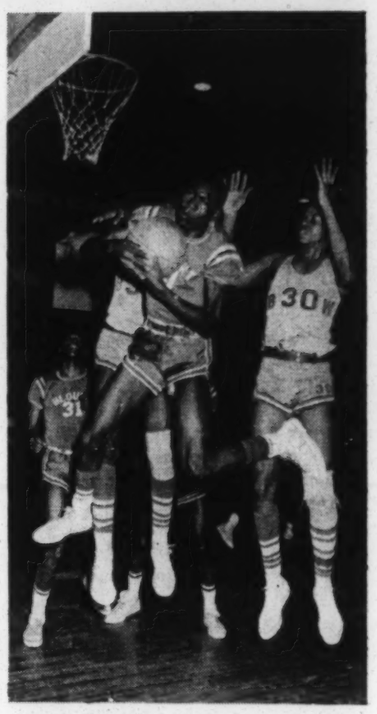
The Yellow Jackets led from the opening whistle to the final buzzer, picking up their sixth win in seven starts. They buried the visitors from Mobile with a 30-point splurge in the second period.

Herbert Carter and Arthur Roberts each tallied 18 points to lead the BTW attack. Blount's top scorer was B. Thrash, with 11.

Basketball activity will be stepped up after Christmas. Big holiday tournaments are scheduled in several spots across the state.

DON'T FORGET!

There's just one week left in The Southern Courier's Party Line contest. Draw a new Party Line headline, and win $10! Other prizes, too.



CDGM Funded

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

more children in its volunteer centers than these three programs combined had in theirs.

MAP has been able to get Head Start going in only two counties--Warren and Lauderdale. SWMO has not gotten any centers going, or as yet hired a staff. And Rust College hasn't yet begun to set up a program, because of confusion about administration.

At mid-week, CDGM and OEO had not come to an on-paper agreement about the details of CDGM's new grant. But according to their verbal agreement reached last Friday, CDGM will run centers for about 6,000 children. At first, OEO had said CDGM could work in just 12 counties--Madison, Rankin, Issaquena, Sharkey, Jones, Jasper, Copiah, Leake, Smith, Lowndes, Scott, and Stone. But last Friday, OEO said CDGM could also operate in at least four more counties--Clarke, Neshoba, Leflore, and Humphreys--where MAP has been unable to get centers going.

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Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be at 7 p.m. Monday in St. James Baptist Church, 1100 Sixth Ave. N., the Rev. C. W. Sewell, pastor. Editor Emory O. Jackson will be our pep speaker.

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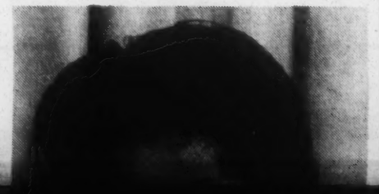

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had in theirs.

MAP has been able to get Head Start going in only two counties--Warren and Lauderdale. SWMO has not gotten any centers going, or as yet hired a staff. And Rust College hasn't yet begun to set up a program, because of confusion about administration.

At mid-week, CDGM and OEO had not come to an on-paper agreement about the details of CDGM's new grant. But according to their verbal agreement reached last Friday, CDGM will run centers for about 6,000 children. At first, OEO had said CDGM could work in just 12 counties--Madison, Rankin, Issaquena, Sharkey, Jones, Jasper, Copiah, Leake, Smith, Lowndes, Scott, and Stone. But last Friday, OEO said CDGM could also operate in at least four more counties--Clarke, Neshoba, Leflore, and Humphreys--where MAP has been unable to get centers going.

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write the Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Aurburn, Alabama.

Madam Choctaw
INDIAN HEALER
READER & ADVISOR

Are you sick? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to MADAM CHOCTAW today and be rid of them tomorrow.

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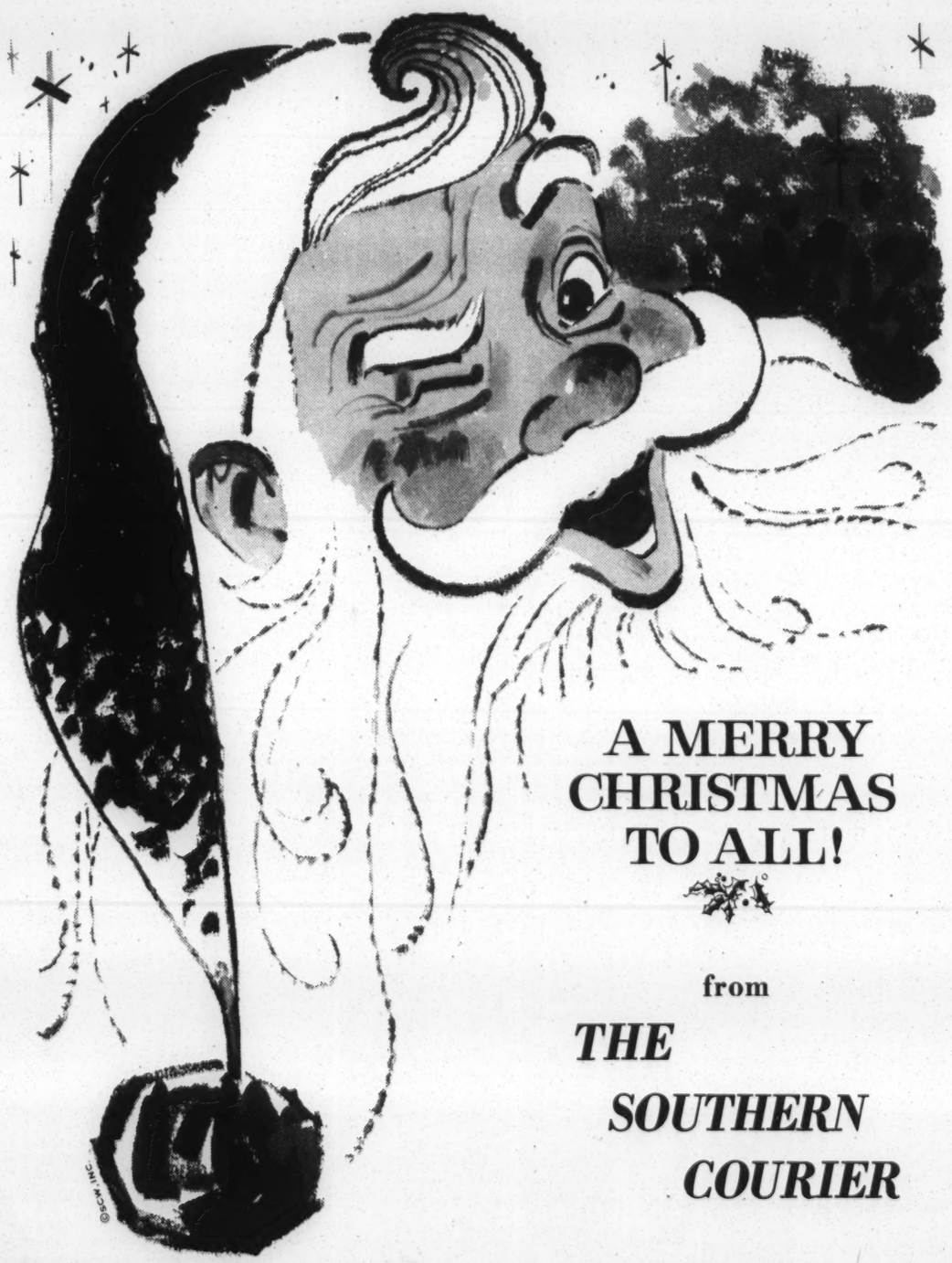

A MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL!

from

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

WJLD
1400 on Your Dial

Fall and Winter Program Schedule

Monday through Friday

BIG D WAKE UP SHOW
6-9 AM Sam Double O Moore

GOSPEL SHIP
9-11 AM Trumon Puckett

NOON SPECIAL
11-1 PM Rick Upshaw

AFTERNOON SESSION
1-3:30 PM Willie McKinstry

MOVIN' HOME SHOW
3:30-6 PM Sam Double O Moore

EVENING SPECIAL
6-8 PM Willie McKinstry

GOSPEL SHIP
8-10 PM Trumon Puckett

LATE DATE
10-12 Midnight Johnny Jive

Saturday

WEEKEND SPECIAL
6-12 Noon Sam Double O Moore

SATURDAY SESSION
12-6 PM Johnny Jive

SATURDAY EXPRESS
6-12 Midnight Willie McKinstry

Sunday

FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Noon
TOP 14 REVIEW
12-4 PM Rick Upshaw
SONGS OF THE CHURCH
4-6 PM Trumon Puckett
FAVORITE CHURCHES
6-12 Midnight

All-Nite Show--Midnight to 6 AM
Johnny Jackson - Lewis White - Rick Upshaw
News at Twenty-five and Fifty-five Past the Hour

BIG D RADIO

MINUTES - SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
Atlanta, Ga. - April 15, 1965

The meeting was scheduled on April 15 so that persons who wished could attend the regional meeting sponsored by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held in Atlanta on April 14.

On the morning of the 15th the SIC meeting was held jointly with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

In the afternoon SIC met at the SRC conference room. In addition to discussion of programs and events in the region, the chairman and members of the steering committee were selected for the coming year. Selected were:

Chairman: Jean Fairfax

Steering Committee:

Charles Wittenstein
Ruby Hurley
Rosetta Gardner
Paul Anthony
Neil Tarplee
Ed Brown
Jack Sisson
Ted Freedman
Al Kehrer.

The next meeting of the SIC was set for June 16, to be held in Atlanta at the SRC office.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 26, 1965

M E M O

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

Another reminder, the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held on June 16. The meeting will be in Atlanta at the SRC Conference Room, beginning at 10:00 A.M. and ending about 4:00 P.M.

The main item for the agenda will be reports from agencies on what programs are being conducted during the summer. We hope every agency representative will come prepared to discuss briefly summer plans and programs.

Please let us know whether or not you can attend.

May 26, 1965

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Community Relations Service
Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Calvin:

On June 16 the Southern Interagency Conference -- the informal meeting of agencies working in the South -- will hold its next meeting.

The main item on the agenda will be reports from various private agencies on their plans and programs for the summer. As the one exception to making this a meeting limited to the private agencies, we would like to have someone present from the Community Relations Service who can tell us briefly of what CRS is planning and anticipates doing in the South this summer. Needless to say, we would like a "high official" and all proceedings are, as usual, off the record. We would find this helpful and I think your representative might also.

Will you arrange this for us? And, should you find it possible to come yourself, we would be delighted.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
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287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

SIC General -

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

LWD ✓
mm

May 26, 1965
(Dictated May 24)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for continuing me on the mailing list for the Southern Interagency Conference meetings. As you will know, I have not been able to attend the last two or three. The reasons are, first, that the assignment which I have with the United Church of Christ has changed somewhat and, secondly, I am retiring from full-time work with the Board as of August 31. In the light of these facts, I will ask you to consider that I am withdrawing from this very stimulating fellowship. I am very much convinced of the value of your Consultations and, simply as a matter of history, I look back to the early days of my own work when I myself instigated meetings of persons from the various agencies working in the South. We have come a very long way from those early specially called meetings and I am very pleased to note that the Consultations have been regularized and are drawing together such a large and influential group.

mm
not -

With cordial good wishes

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen R. Weaver.

GRW:aj

PAUL ANTHONY

present

June 2, 1965

Mr. Richard Haley
2207 Dryades
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dick:

I hope you have put down on your calendar the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference which will be held on Wednesday, June 16, at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta. As you noted from Paul Anthony's announcement, this meeting will be devoted primarily to the sharing of information about agencies' summer plans.

Everyone would welcome a report from you about the areas where CORE will be concentrating in the next few months, the nature of your programs, personnel, etc. It would also be helpful to know what kind of information and help you want from other groups.

I have a very selfish reason for wanting this information from you. AFSC has launched a major project ~~effort~~ to secure maximum school desegregation this year with a special focus on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Many school districts are dragging their feet and will probably not submit plans for the desegregation of their schools until the last minute. I believe we are going to be swamped with requests for help by mid-summer. Information about the location of CORE workers, especially those with interests and skills in desegregation programing would be very helpful to us. Also, since CORE is already directly involved in some crisis situations where the focus is on the schools, we need to know what you are doing and how we can benefit from your experience.

Let me know whether you plan to be at the meeting. Hope to see you!

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Paul Anthony

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES ST.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

June 2, 1965

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

This is to inform you that Mr. Richard Haley will attend the SIC meeting June 16.

Mr. Haley is attending our CORE staff meeting in Mississippi, this is the reason for my answering your memo dated May 26, 1965.

Sincerely,

Vonnie Jones

Vonnie Jean Jones
Office Secretary

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 3, 1965

Mr. Julian Bond
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, which will be held Wednesday, June 16, from 10:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M., at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta, will be devoted to a discussion of the summer projects of the participating agencies.

I do not know who in your office usually receives interagency communication, but I would appreciate it very much if you would plan to attend this particular meeting or would see that someone from SNCC is present.

We would welcome a report from you about the areas where SNCC will be concentrating during the summer months, the nature of your programs, whether you have plans for the use of volunteers from other parts of the country, etc. It would also be helpful to know what kinds of information and help you want from other groups.

I have a selfish reason for wanting this sharing of information and hope it will result in coordination of effort in specific communities. AFSC has launched a major project to secure maximum school desegregation this year with special focus on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. As you know, school districts are required to submit plans for desegregation to the Commissioner of Education. Many will probably not do so until the last minute. Mid-summer is going to be a critical period. Last summer when I was in Mississippi on a school desegregation assignment, COFO workers in several communities were very eager to help, even though school desegregation was not primary focus of their efforts. I appreciated their cooperation. You probably also know that Prathia Hall has been helping my colleague, Constance Curry, in our Georgia school desegregation project. A recent article on Selma mentioned both the SNCC project and the anticipated crisis over school desegregation. Naturally, I wondered whether your workers there are involved and whether we could provide any assistance in Selma or in other communities where SNCC is working.

Let me know whether you plan to be at the meeting. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax, Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF:lw
cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

June 3, 1965

Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, which will be held on Wednesday, June 16, from 10:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M. at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta, will be devoted to a discussion of the summer projects of participating agencies.

I do not know who in your office usually receives the interagency communications but I would appreciate it very much if you would plan to attend this particular meeting or would see that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is represented.

We would welcome a report from you about the areas where SCLC will be concentrating during the summer months, about the nature of your programs and especially about SCOPE. It would also be helpful to know what kinds of information and help you may want from other groups.

I have a selfish reason for wanting this sharing of information and hope it will result in coordination of effort in specific communities. AFSC has launched a major project to secure maximum school desegregation this year with special focus on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. As you know, school districts are required to submit plans for desegregation to the Commissioner of Education. Many will probably not do so until the last minute. Midsummer is going to be a critical period. Some of your SCOPE workers will undoubtedly find themselves in communities where they will be challenged to provide leadership to develop an action project to achieve maximum school desegregation even though this is not the primary purpose of SCOPE. We would like to know about these situations as they develop and to help your workers if we can.

Let me know whether you plan to be at the meeting on June 16th. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF:bs

cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

June 3, 1965

Philip Sherburne
Vice-President for National Affairs
U.S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Friend:

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, which will be held on Wednesday, June 16, from 10:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M. at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta, will be devoted to a discussion of the summer projects which will be conducted in the South.

I have heard that NSA has done a survey and has compiled information about summer projects involving students which will be sponsored by denominational groups and other agencies. Since NSA probably has the most comprehensive data in one place about students projects in the South, we would welcome a report from one of your representatives.

AFSC has launched a major project to promote maximum school desegregation this year with special focus on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. It would be very helpful for us to know where students will be working who might possibly be in a position to play a significant role in local desegregation programing.

Let me know whether an NSA representative will attend this meeting. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF:bs

cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

Write to Art Jonas

June 3, 1965

Robert Spike
National Council of Churches of Christ
in the USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, which will be held on Wednesday, June 16, from 10:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M. at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta, will be devoted to a discussion of the summer projects of participating agencies.

We would welcome a report from a representative of the National Council of Churches about programs in which you will be involved in the South this summer. I am sure that the Conference would be particularly interested in a report on the Delta Ministry and on its role in launching and coordinating Head Start projects in Mississippi.

At the last interagency meeting, I was elected chairman for 1965-66. I am very eager to have broad agency participation in the Conference and hope I can count on your support.

Let me know whether an NCC representative will be at the meeting on June 16th. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF:bs

cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 3, 1965

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director
Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ruby:

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, which will be held on Wednesday, June 16, from 10:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M. at the Southern Regional Council headquarters in Atlanta, will be devoted to a discussion of the summer projects of participating agencies.

The May CRISIS, which I have just received, contains an announcement of the NAACP Summer Project. I am sure the agency representatives would welcome a report from you about the project. It would be particularly helpful to have the names of specific communities which will be involved, too, and of local contact persons if you can give us that information.

Let me know whether you plan to be at the meeting on June 16th. I look forward to hearing from you and to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF :lw

cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

Microfilm Division

Paul Anthony

June 9, 1965

Mr. Arthur Thomas, Director
Delta Ministry
National Council of Churches
Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Art:

The enclosed letter to Bob Spike was answered by Bruce Hanson who has informed me that he will be at the Southern Interagency Conference on June 16 to represent the Commission on Religion and Race. He said I should contact you about having a representative present from the Delta Ministry who could give a progress report on your work and tell us about your involvement in Head Start.

I know this must be a terribly busy time for you but I would be deeply grateful if you could be at the meeting next Wednesday in Atlanta or could send a representative. We would be particularly interested to hear about the Delta Ministry's efforts to organize farm workers and the current strike of farmhands which was reported recently in the NEW YORK TIMES.

Let me know if a representative of the Delta Ministry will be with us in Atlanta on June 16.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
Chairman
Southern Interagency Conference

JF:mt

cc: Paul Anthony
Constance Curry

MINUTES, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
Atlanta, Georgia -- June 16, 1965

Discussion centered around plans for summer program by various organizations. In the way of general comment it was noted that widespread school desegregation in smaller towns and rural areas stemming from compliance with Title VI may well increase reprisals and intimidation, not only in September but during the Summer period of applications for transfer. Some early evidences of this trend were mentioned.

Wiley Branton, Director of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, explained the nature and function of the new organization. Its purpose is to bring into a central office responsibility for coordination of civil rights activities within agencies of the federal government. It will work closely with various agencies to keep up with what they are doing and to see that they do what they should. Close touch with private agencies will be maintained, and their help and reactions are solicited.

Fred Wright, of the Community Relations Service, spoke about that agency. Mr. Wright stated that collect telephone calls to WO. 7-4831 in Washington would be welcomed in impending crisis situations, or if there is other information of use to CRS.

Reports on summer activities involving young people were heard from SNCC, SSOC, USUSA, YWCA Student Council, Youth Educational Services in North Carolina, the Southern Human Relations Project of USNSA, and SCOPE.

SIC was urged to undertake a summer effort involving preparation and distribution of questionnaires about compliance with Title VI and the distribution of materials for community use in desegregating schools.

September 15 and 16 were set as dates for the fall meeting, which will be in Atlanta.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

M E M O

December 22, 1965

file

TO: Steering Committee, Southern Interagency Conference (Charles Wittenstein, Ruby Hurley, Rosetta Gardner, Neil Tarplee, Ed Brown, Jack Sisson, Ted Freedman, Al Kehrer.)

FROM: Secretariat

The Steering Committee will meet at 1:00 P.M. on Tuesday, January 11, 1966, in the office of the Southern Regional Council. We plan to have lunch before meeting.

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUDSON 6-8397

ES

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

New York is a madhouse and I find my sympathy for the working classes rapidly diminishing as I do my own typing. Apparently it is easier for bosses than for secretaries to get to work during crises!

I am planning to be in Atlanta either Monday-Tuesday or Tuesday-Wednesday depending on developments here. I shall probably make a decision Friday. At any rate I look forward to seeing you Tuesday for lunch and the steering committee meeting.

As I have thought about the agenda for the January meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, the following have seemed to be worthy of consideration:

1. Implementation of Title VII, especially if Mrs. Hernandez can join us. Ben Segal might be a possibility if she cannot participate.

2. New programs, especially the SRC projections

3. Medicare. As you know, March is the deadline for applying during the first registration period. Otherwise the old folks must wait until 1967. Can our combined efforts help to get the word out?

4. School lunch program study

5. School Desegregation. By the end of January the new guidelines should be out. I would like to see a well-coordinated effort this year which would involve as many agencies as possible. Bob Green has expressed interest in a closer involvement with SCLC. I should like to propose that we have a special consultation in connection with the SIC meeting of all concerned agencies. This could be the morning before or the afternoon following our session this month.

6. Report on the reorganization of the Government's

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civil rights efforts. Wish we could find a sympathetic type in the Justice Department who could interpret what's going on and what the Attorney General's role is.

See you next week.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

cc: Constance Curry

P.S. to Connie: This would be a good time for us to talk about overall school desegregation developments. Let's set a convenient time.

ES

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina

P. O. Box 1307 882-0109
27261

WILTON E. HARTZLER
Executive Secretary

January 4, 1966

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgie 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

This letter is to tell you that I plan to represent the Southeastern Regional Office of the AFSC at the next Southern Interagency Conference on January 26 and 27. I hope further information will be forthcoming regarding the matters to be considered at this conference. I look forward to seeing you again after an absence of several years.

Sincerely,

Wilton E. Hartzler

Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary

WEH/f

cc: Barbara Moffett

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

GILBERT WHITE, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

SIC MEETING Jan 26-27, 1966

SS

N. A. A. C. P.

LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

Friday

Dear Paul:

Note the enclosed. I'll call Payton of the Natl. Council re attending the interagency conference. Also, I hope Connie and Bob Green will get together soon re planning for the school desegregation consultation and will involve you. I did not put Winifred Falls name on the list because I'm not sure whom she would be representing but I would definitely include her.

We did not discuss an evening meeting at the interagency conference. As you know, I favor them. They add to the feeling of comeraderie, give us chance to discuss things more leisurely and often open up opportunities for private sessions ;which may turn into new projects. I have several thoughts:

1. An extended cocktail hour at SRC, following a 5:30 adjournment with the rest of the evening (after 7:00 p.m.) open for such items as Wits End, etc.

2. Dinner and social at a downtown place like Herrin's. Problem is the usual headache ofhaving to guarantee reservations for folks who don't show.

3. 5:30 adjournment. Break for dinner. Then an evening of "organized conversation" with an invited guest. Since CORE has been featured recently, we might invit e Floyd McKissick to answer questions about new developments in CORE. Or we might try to get Jim Farmer to explore the possibilities of his new venture. We might include just a few local pals. I prefer this idea. What would it cost to get a downtown

hotel room and have do-it-yourself drinks? Could we ask people to pay $1 or $2? The Chairman's reception!!!!!

Will call you on Monda y.

Sincerely,

Jean

To: Paul Anthony
Att: Southern
Interagency Conf
Mailing List.

division of christian life and mission

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n.y. 10027 telephone: 870-2491

bishop reuben h. mueller, president r. h. edwin espy, general secretary

rev. norman j. baugher
chairman

rev. jon l. regier
associate general secretary

January 6, 1966

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Fairfax:

I have received your notice of the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference on January 26 - 27. Since I am no longer, as my title below indicates, connected with the Commission on Religion and Race, I would suggest that you contact Dr. Benjamin Payton, Executive Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches.

I am forwarding your memorandum and a copy of this letter to Dr. Payton.

Sincerely,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Secretary for Program Services

JOL:g

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
General Counsel

CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
Associate Counsel

January 14, 1966

Dr. Robert Green
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Here are my suggestions for the consultation on school desegregation.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting in Atlanta from Wednesday, January 26, at 2:00 P.M. until Thursday afternoon. This is a consultative, information-sharing group formed of representatives of agencies with regional civil rights and human relations programs in the South. I am not sure who at SCLC receives the notices for the meetings. I would appreciate it very much if you would talk to Andy Young and Randolph Blackwell and urge participation at the January meeting.

As I have suggested to you, I am in favor of scheduling the consultation on school desegregation to fit in with the interagency meeting. This would save time and travel money for persons coming from out of town.

Here are my ideas for the consultation on school desegregation:

<u>Invitees</u>: SCLC -
AFSC - Constance Curry, Atlanta; maybe someone from southeastern regional office
NAACP Legal Defense Fund - me and our regional man, Allen Black
NAACP- Ruby Hurley although I would prefer a national person
SNCC - Who? Marion Berry and Betty Garman plus Atlanta rep.
Southern Regional Council - Paul Anthony, Edwin Stanfield

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Invitees:

Georgia Council on Human Relations - (put lots of staff time in last year); Frances Pauley
Courtney Siceloff - Penn Community Services has proposed a South Carolina state project this year.

Place: You decide

Time: Tuesday, January 25, 7:30 - 9:30 P.M.
Wednesday, January 26, 9:30 - Noon

Agenda: With a group of knowledgeable people, we do not need a formal agenda with everything spelled out in advance. I would be in favor of a rather simple statement of our concern for broader interagency cooperation in promoting maximum desegregation in 1966 and of the need for an overall strategy within which various groups will play their appropriate roles.

Let's be in touch on Monday, January 17, to discuss the above and to make our plans. I am thinking of you today and wondering whether the demonstration in Atlanta is successful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

JF:rt

Jean Fairfax

ARTHUR B. RUTLEDGE
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

HOME MISSION BOARD
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

161 SPRING STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE: (404) 523-2593

DIVISION OF MISSIONS
DEPARTMENT OF WORK WITH NATIONAL BAPTISTS
• W. R. GRIGG, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

1/14/66

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth St. N.W.,
Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for the Memo concerning the Next Southern Interagency Conference, January 26-27. I regret that neither Dr. Victor Glass nor I will be able to attend.

I hope that the meeting will be all that it should be.

Please keep us on your mailing list for all info - that you share with others.

Yours sincerely,

W. R. Grigg

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SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
OUR LAND FOR CHRIST

Rec'd 1/17/66

ES

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 14, 1966

(Future SIC mailing)

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of January 4. If you will let me know sufficiently in advance, I am sure that we will be able to arrange a mutually convenient date.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Aileen C. Hernandez

(Mrs.) Aileen C. Hernandez
Commissioner

January 17, 1966

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
859-½ Hunter St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

Enclosed is another memorandum concerning the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference and the agenda for the meeting at Southern Regional Council on January 26-27. I hope particularly that you will be able to attend, as I am eager to meet you.

Let me call your attention to the item on the agenda calling for reports from the various agencies. Paul Anthony tells me that you and the NAACP have been doing some especially interesting things during the summer, and I hope that you will come prepared to share your experiences with us.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 17, 1966

Dinkler Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please reserve in my name a single room for the nights of January 26 and 27. I will arrive about 11:00 A.M. on Wednesday, January 26.

Your prompt confirmation of this reservation will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

John P. Sisson

JPS/rv
cc: Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield

Dear Ed: As you see, I will be at the S.I.C. meeting.

Jack

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

January 18, 1966

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thanks for the invitation to attend the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference on January 26 and 27. I will be arriving on Wednesday, January 26 at 10:59 a.m., and will be staying at the Dinkler Motor Inn.

I will bring 25 copies each of our new literature with me.

Looking forward to meeting you.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

eak

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RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Executive Board
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ELMER L. WINTER, Milwaukee, Vice-President

AGENDA

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

January 26-27, 1966

(The Meeting will be in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia, beginning at 2:00 P.M. on January 26.)

1. Reorganization of Federal Civil Rights Machinery

   Interpretation and Projection
   Harold C. Fleming, the Potomac Institute

2. New Agency Programs

   Reports on new program from SRC, AFSC, SCLC, ADL, CORE, SNCC, American Baptist Convention, others.

   (All agencies are requested to report on new programs and to bring any available literature with them.)

3. School Desegregation Developments

4. Medicare: Possibility of interagency project to inform citizens of provisions of the new law.

   Frank Sloan - Reg. Director, OEO.

MINUTES

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

January 26-27, 1966 -- Atlanta, Georgia

The meeting was called to order in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council at 2:00 P.M. on January 26. Miss Jean Fairfax, Chairman, presided.

On a motion duly made, seconded and carried the application for membership of Mr. Jac Wasserman of the Regional Office of the National Sharecroppers Fund was approved.

Harold C. Fleming, Director of the Potomac Institute, spoke on the recent reorganization of the Federal Civil Rights effort and responded to questions. Included were comments on the new role of the Defense Department in contract compliance, that of the Civil Service Commission in government employment compliance, the probable changes in HEW's Title VI regulations for school desegregation, the direction of the administration's concern for housing and voting, and the location of the Community Relations Service in the Justice Department.

Mr. Frank K. Sloan, Regional Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, informed the conference of the problem of getting eligible citizens to apply for "doctor bill" insurance under Medicare before March 31. He described OEO's "Medicare Alert" project and asked all agencies to carry items on the need to sign up in their publications.

Reports on new programs were made by Richard Haley of CORE, Annell Ponder of SCLC, Paul Anthony and Vernon Jordan of SRC, Jack Sisson of the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, Theodore Freedman of ADL, Harry Fleischman of AJC, Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, and Constance Currie of AFSC.

The meeting was adjourned at about 1:00 P.M. on January 27, 1966.

file - SIC

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
of the
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

Rec'd 2/11/66

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

February 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your memo on Medicare. Our Board is doing just what you urge. We have probably 300 retired people over the South for whom we will pay $3 monthly fee.

Staff men are spending considerable time in Florida and other Southern states helping older people get signed up.

Cordially,

Martin

J. Martin England
Associate Director

Minutes - Southern Interagency Conference
Washington, D. C. -- February 11-12, 1965

The major portion of the meeting was given over to discussions with representatives of governmental agencies. (It is understood that such discussions are off the record, and they will not be summarized in these minutes.) Representatives included:

Mr. F. Peter Libassi, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mr. Roger Wilkins, Community Relations Service
Mr. Hyman Bookbinder, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Several private Washington-based agencies discussed their program with the group.

Mr. John Field: United States Conference of Mayors

Mr. Field explained the functions of the Conference of Mayors. The Conference has 600 mayors of cities with populations of 30,000 or more, one-third of which are in the South. In 1963 it established a Community Relations Service which, among other things, furnishes printed material -- fact sheets -- to its constituents. Mayors have little to do with public education. They do have a relationship to employment practices and human rights commissions. And they are accepting (welcoming) guidance at the federal level for Title VI. In general, they work for accommodation, as they are interested in "peace and harmony." City Managers (most southern cities of 30,000 or over have them) work on the merit system which works against civil rights. In political employment Negroes get a better shake.

Mr. Marvin Kaplan: Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Discussion centered around the Leadership Conference meeting of the day before. Mr. Kaplan noted that check lists for Title VI implementation, which had been distributed by the Leadership Conference on January 29th, have been revised and will be sent to agencies who write for them.

Mr. Don Slaiman: AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

AFL-CIO has a five point program for the Civil Rights Act: 1. education program for all members; 2. central bodies are to engage in a campaign at the community level for complaints of violations; 3. international bodies are to work on Title VII; 4. there are funds and staff for administration of the law; 5. there will be work on more legislation as it is needed. George Meany has requested that staff from each union be made available for local implementation. The unions will have people available for employment complaints, and will welcome reports on local situations.

Mr. Art Levin: Potomac Institute

Potomac's plans for publications include: 1. "Community Guide to Title VI" - to be ready by March; 2. Title VII, explaining the intricacies - to be ready before July: 3. examples of affirmative action on Title VII, to encourage voluntary compliance - ready by July; 4. guide to employers on fair practices: recruitment, employment, training, etc. - ready by July.

Southern Interagency Conference Recommendations and Business

SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee) representation was welcomed into the group.

The next meeting of SIC will be the day following the conference of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Atlanta (which is scheduled for April 14).

2/23/66

TO: Pat Franklin
FROM: Ed Stanfield
SUBJECT: Reorganization of files

I want to clean out our files and reorganize our filing system. I think we can pack most of the old stuff in boxes for storage -- will tell you about that. But I want the reorganization as follows: Five drawers, labelled ....

STATE COUNCILS

For each state council this file should have the following folders, which should be arranged alphabetically, according to title:

CORRESPONDENCE, GENERAL
CORRESPONDENCE, (name of individual)
" (ditto, as needed)
DOPE
FINANCE AND MEMBERSHIP
PUBLICATIONS
MISCELLANEOUS
QUARTERLY REPORTS (Program)
(Other folders as needed and directed.)

meetings and minutes

AGENCIES

This drawer is to contain, for each agency, two folders,-- one for correspondence and one for materials. Example: NAACP--CORRESPONDENCE and NAACP--MATERIALS. For some agencies I shall ask for more than two folders. [redacted]

CLIPS AND INFORMATION

This drawer will be for filing new articles, magazine articles, statistical tables, and other papers according to subject. Subjct folders are to be arranged alphabetically. I will mark news papers and leave them on your desk to be clipped and filed. On the front page (at the top) I will write page numbers where something is marked. On each clip will be a notation of the paper and date and the subject under which it is to be filed. If you do not already have that subject in this drawer, make a folder for it. In this way we'll build this file as we go along. (Some news clips will go in the state council dope file, so don't let that confuse you.)

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

In this file correspondence not related to state councils or agencies is to be filed alphabetically according to the correspondent's last name. You will need file dividers labelled "A", "B", etc.

ADMINISTRATION [redacted]

This XXXX file is for inter-office and field department business. Folders can be added as needed. Start with following: (arrange alphabetically)

LISTS AND ADDRESSES
MEMOS, OUTGOING
MEMOS, INCOMING
SIC, MMXXXNG NEXT MEETING
NEWSLETTER

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Telephone 482-5792

February 28, 1966

Mr. Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant to
Deputy Assistant Secretary
(CP, IR & CR)
Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense for Manpower
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Phil:

Enclosed is photostat showing the meeting of Civil Defense leaders before Hurricane Betsy; no Negroes present. And in talking to Negro leaders I understand that no Negroes are included in the leadership of Civil Defense here in New Orleans.

Also enclosed is a news article telling of a Civil Defense conference which may be of interest to you. By copy of this letter I am asking Ed Stanfield of the Southern Regional Council to invite you, in behalf of the Southern Interagency Conference, to one of our subsequent meetings. However I wish that you would write indicating your availability or that of someone on the Department of Defense's staff, and requesting the opportunity to meet with us. Ed may or may not remember that your predecessor, Robert Jordan, met with us in an off-the-record session about a year and a half ago.

Ed, N.B.

Just in case it slipped your mind, I really appreciate your offer to talk to Joe Wholey.

Next time you are down this way please plan to stay with Jim and me.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director

cc: Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield

P.S.: I'm enclosing two more clippings, one relating to the Regional Science Fair (I might mention that last year the officials in the National Science Fair office in Washington were completely unwilling to do anything about integrating the Louisiana Science Fair). I thought you would also be interested in the Keesler move to make many public places in the Biloxi-Gulfport area off limits.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

March 7, 1966

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed Stanfield:

Your letter to Jean Fairfax came to my desk this morning and by chance we were talking with her by telephone. She is in Phoenix, Arizona. I told her of your predicament and she has Wednesday, April 20 and Thursday, April 21 down in her date book as the dates decided on for the next meeting. I shall send your letter to her so she can give you any ideas she may have for the agenda.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Marie Turner

Marie Turner
Secretary to Jean Fairfax

mt

STUDENT INTERRACIAL MINISTRY
475 Riverside Drive, Room 553
New York, New York 10027

March 14, 1966

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you for the invite. Unfortunately, I will have to go to Indianapolis, Indiana to attend the National Institute on Religion and Race Conference April 18-20 (too bad these dates on two such crucial meetings conflict.)

I have sent the material you sent me to Mr. Glen Galtere, our Southern Regional Co-Chairman of SIM. He is a student at Candler. I am asking him to attend the conference in my stead.

Keep us on your mailing list.

Yours truly,

George

M. George Walters, Chairman
SIM National Committee

MGW/cw

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

MANPOWER

18 March 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

If it is still possible, I would very much appreciate an opportunity to meet with the Southern Intragency Committee during its April 20-21 session. Please let me know what further I should do. As we discussed it over the telephone, I will speak if I ought, but I would like most of all to listen.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

MANPOWER

1 April 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for arranging for me to sit in at the Southern Inter-agency Conference. I will be able to attend on April 19 and 20, 1966. I will be prepared to outline our Defense Department equal opportunity programs and this office's role therein and to answer questions. Please let me know further details of the schedule at your conference.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

MANPOWER

1 April 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for arranging for me to sit in at the Southern Inter-agency Conference. I will be able to attend on April 19 and 20, 1966. I will be prepared to outline our Defense Department equal opportunity programs and this office's role therein and to answer questions. Please let me know further details of the schedule at your conference.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights

April 5, 1966

VERNON JORDAN from Ed Stanfield

Here's what the Southern Interagency Conference steering committee requests:

(1) Call Clarence Mitchell and ask him to come at 2:00 p.m. on April 19 to brief us on the status of proposed legislation dealing with administration of justice in the South. What measures are now being proposed? What are the chances of getting legislation passed? And in what form? (The steering committee wants us to get "the politics of the situation.") We plan to ask Chuck Morgan to be present also -- to comment on the adequacy of whatever seems to be forthcoming at the time.

(2) Later in the afternoon -- say 4:00 o'clock -- we would like you and Randolph Blackwell to brief us on the southern political situation. What is actually happening? How are the Negro candidates doing? The committee suggested getting one or two candidates here -- perhaps John Due.

We had originally planned to have the thing on politics at a very informal session after dinner, but had to switch to accomodate Aileen Hernandez. Jean Fairfax doesn't know about this switch yet.

Incidentally, we are planning to meet in a hotel this time-- but I'll have to let you know where later.

Ed Stanfield

April 11, 1966

Wilton Hartzler
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Wil:

The Southern Interagency Conference will have its spring meeting next week in Atlanta. You probably have already received the announcement.

This would be a very godd time to have a report on AFSC's Migrant Leadership Development and Training Project. Would it be possible for William Channel to attend the meeting and to report on the progress of this very significant project?

I hope you will be with us this time. The agenda looks good. I am especially pleased that Mrs. Eileen Hernandez, one of the commissioners of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will be with us for a dinner and evening session.

See you!

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 11, 1966

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

TO: SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE AGENCIES
FROM: SECRETARIAT

The Steering Committee has changed the place of our April 19-20 meeting in order to accommodate our growing ranks more comfortably. We shall meet at 2:00 P.M. on the 19th at the Americana Hotel in Atlanta.

We anticipate a good attendance. The agenda includes the following:

April 19

-- Clarence Mitchell or Frank Polhaus (NAACP) and (hopefully) Chuck Morgan (ACLU) on proposed civil rights legislation on administration of justice.

-- Vernon Jordan (SRC Voter Education Project) and others on the southern political situation.

-- Philip M. Timpane, Staff Assistant for Civil Rights, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower).

-- Aileen Hernandez of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

April 20

Tape Recorder
16mm Projector

-- Harold Hunton of the Community Relations Service on their new advertising campaign. Velma Strode

-- Developments in school desegregation

-- Developments in hospital desegregation

-- Agency reports on new programs.

-- Election of Chairman, Secretariat and

Steering Committee.

On the evening of the 19th there will be a "Dutch treat" cocktail hour and dinner. Mrs. Hernandez will speak to the group after dinner.

Please check and return the enclosed postal card, in order that we may know how many to expect for dinner. Cost of the meal will be moderate (under $5.00 including taxes and tip) and will enable us to use the more comfortable hotel accommodations.

Willis

~~M M M M~~

Call to order at 2:15 P.M.

Charles Morgan reviewed several proposed civil rights bills on the subject of ~~courts~~ administration of justice. Morgan felt that the Leadership Conference bill is stronger than the administration-sponsored bill.

Al Rehrer spoke briefly on the new minimum wage legislation. He ~~indicated optimism~~ was optimistic about passage, in view of strong bi-partisan support.

Vernon Jordan talked about V.E.P. and on the political situation in the South:

Ark. - primary July 6. Not much excitement. Rock. will run. Predicted Ike again. If Fb out, Sid McMath might run. 800000 Ns reg. 112,626 unreg. V.A.P. 192,626.

Fla - Jump between - Burns, Hugh, + Scott Kelly. Few N. cards. 292,400 regs. 177,906 unregs. 470,306 V.A.P.

Ga. - Exciting. Arnall and Vandiver race will be close. Winner will run gnst Callaway (Republican) 265,000 reg., 347,910 unreg., 612,910 V.A.P. Predicted Callaway victory. Peter Zack Geer + Speaker Smith with Lt. Gov. race.

La. Camille Gravel vs. Ellender. Gravel will get N. vote. 222,000 reg., 292,589 unreg. 514,589 VAP. (13,584 have been reg. by Fed. examiners)

Miss. Primary June 7. Eastland vs. Prentiss Walker. Several Negro candidates. 122,000 N. reg., 300,256 unreg. 422,251 VAP. (32,355 reg. by Fed Exam.)

N.C. Not much excitement. 258,000 reg. 292,929 eligible. 550,929 VAP.

S.C. May 17 Nair seems assured of reselection. Russell opposed by Ernest Hollings for Senate. Hollings will get N. vote. 17 N. candidates. Earnest Finney, running in Sumter, Cty, is most interesting. 177,000 reg, 194,000 unreg. 371,000 VAP.

Tenn. Aug. 4. Bass & Clement running for Senate. Both liberal on race. Hooker (Negro endorsed) vs. Ellington for Governor. Tenn. Voter Council has endorsed Bass, who is also endorsed by Labor. 218,000 Reg., 95,873 unreg., 313,873 VAP. 9th Cong. district - Grider (Lib.) vs. Kirkendall, who ran good race against Gore as a Republican, will be a close race. ~~218,000 reg.~~

Tex. - May 7 - Rull. Lower unopposed. Connally shoo-in. (Est) 300,000 reg., 499,412 unreg., 649,912 VAP.

Va. Byrd, Jr. vs Armstead Booth. Sen. Robertson vs. Wm. Sponge. 185,000 reg., 236,051 unreg. 421,051 VAP. No N. candidates.

Ala. - May 3. "Phenomenal" interest on part of candidates at training institute in Montgomery. 80 N. candidates in Ala., mostly in Black Belt. Wallace, Flowers, Patterson, Elliott in Gov. race. Negroes divided between Flowers and Elliott. Negroes will go for Flowers. 226,000 reg. 225,320 unreg. 481,320 VAP.

71% white resentment against Johnson in Ala. 53% white voters support Goldwater.

Philip M. Timpane on Civil Rights policy of Defense Dept.

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez of the EEOP spoke on the problems of the agency - Anticipated some 2000 complaints first year. Have had 6500 in eight months. Cited cooperation of Newport News shipyards in ~~too~~ using positive measures to overcome effects of past discrimination. ~~Mentioned~~ Expressed concern about discrimination against women. Thinks this is a growing problem. Suggest more efforts to create coalition between civil rights movement and women's groups.

(Hospitals on next agenda.)

9:30 A.M. April 20.

Charles Wittenstein briefed on HEW's "crash" program for hospital desegregation. Concern about knowledgability and commitment of those administrating the program. Feared it impossible to check and certify enough hosps by July 1. Recommended complaints to HEW of investigators qualify hospitals without talking to real local Negro leadership, etc.

Constance Curry and Jean Fairfax commented on school desegregation and the new guidelines. Concern about a real building of hostility on the part of the southern establishment and of frustration on the part of Negroes.

Harold Hunton, C.R.S., spoke on the new structure and programs of C.R.S. Velma Strode presented examples of TV, Radio, and magazine advertising to be ~~spons~~ carried on by C.R.S. and the Advertising Council.

Rev. Francis X. Walter of the Selma Interreligious Project reviewed the work of his agency and conditions in Dallas and Wilcox ~~County~~ Counties in Alabama.

James McGuire of NACCJ told about their plans for AR institutes for school teachers and hospital administrators.

Steering Comm. authorized to plan another meeting for early June. Election of steering comm, chairman, + secretary scheduled at that time

SIC

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 Telephone 482-5792

April 16, 1966

Miss Jeanne Fairfax
Chairman, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jeanne,

Jim McGuire, who joined our staff several months ago, will be attending the SIC meeting. I will not be able to attend, but would ask, insofar as you think it appropriate, that he stand in for me.

I notice that there will be elections; if the Nominating Committee thinks that I can make a contribution by continuing on the Executive Committee I would be glad to do so.

Jim in investigating with various agencies their interest in co-sponsoring a leadership training conference some time later in the year. There seems to me to be great need for this sort of thing, which ties in very much with the Voter Education Project.

I hope that you will continue as "our leader."

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson, Director

cc: Ed Stanfield, Matt Ahmann, Jim McGuire

MINUTES

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Americana Hotel Atlanta, Georgia

April 19-20, 1966

The meeting was called to order by Jean Fairfax, Chairman at approximately 2:15 P.M. April 19.

Charles Morgan of ACLU reviewed provisions of the several proposed civil rights bills dealing with the administration of justice. There was a period of discussion on the subject.

Al Kehrer of AFL-CIO Civil Rights spoke briefly on the new minimum wage legislation. He was optimistic about passage, because of strong bi-partisan support.

Vernon Jordan of SRC talked about the Voter Education Project and on the political situation in the South. Among the information he provided was the following (figures refer to registered Negro voters and unregistered eligible Negroes, in that order):

Arkansas. Not much excitement about July 6 primary. 80,000. 112,626.

Florida. Governor's race a tossup between Burns, High, and Kelly. Few Negro candidates for office. 292,400. 177,906.

Georgia. Exciting governor's race. Democratic primary winner will have to beat Republican candidate Callaway. 265,000. 347,910.

Louisiana. Gravel will get the Negro vote in Senate race against Ellender. 222,000. 292,589. (13,584 have been qualified by Federal examiners.)

Mississippi. June 7 primary. Interest centers on Eastland-Prentiss Walker race for Senate nomination. Several Negro candidates in state. 122,000. 300,256. (32,355 by Federal examiners.)

North Carolina. No excitement. 258,000. 292,929.

South Carolina. 17 Negro candidates in primary. 177,000. 194,104.

Tennessee. August 4 primary. Bass vs. Clement for Senate. Both liberal on race issue, but Bass has endorsement of Tenn. Voter Council and Labor. Hooker vs. Ellington for Governor. Negroes for Hooker. 218,000. 95,875.

Texas. Dull election. Tower unopposed, Connally a shoo-in. 300,000 (est.). 499,412.

Virginia. No Negro candidates. 185,000. 236,051.

Alabama. 80 Negro candidates, mostly in the Black Belt. "Phenomenal" interest. 226,000. 225,320.

Philip M. Timpane, Staff Assistant for Civil Rights, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, spoke briefly and answered questions about the civil rights policies of the Department of Defense.

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, addressed the conference on the work of that agency. Among other things, she said they have had problems because of receiving 6,500 complaints in eight months while they anticipated about 2,000 in the first year. She expressed concern about discrimination against women in employment, describing this as a "growing problem."

The meeting was recessed for the evening, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m. on April 20.

The first item on the second day was a report from Charles Wittenstein of AJC on Health, Education and Welfare's crash program of hospital desegregation. He feared it would be impossible to check and certify enough hospitals by July 1. Something on hospital desegregation was requested for the next meeting.

Constance Curry of AFSC and Jean Fairfax of NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund commented on school desegregation and the new guidelines from the Office of Education. They expressed concern about a build-up of hostility on the part of the southern establishment and of frustration on the part of Negroes.

Harold Hunton and Velma Strode of the Community Relations Service spoke on the new structure and programs of the CRS. They presented examples of TV and radio spots and magazine ads to be provided nationwide by the Advertising Council of America to promote bi-racial commissions for states and municipalities.

The Rev. Francis X Walter of the Selma Inter-religious Project reviewed the work of his agency and conditions in Dallas and Wilcox Counties, Alabama.

James McGuire of NCCIJ told of their plans for human relations institutes for school teachers and hospital administrators.

The Steering Committee was authorized to plan another meeting for June. Election of a Steering Committee Chairman and Secretariat agency was scheduled for that time.

The meeting was adjourned at noon.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-4764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 3, 1966

TO: Members, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

RE: June Meeting

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on Wednesday, June 22, from 9:30 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Principal subjects of concern will be the progress of school desegregation and hospital compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In addition, there will be election of a Chairman and Secretariat for the next year.

Rec'd 6/21/66

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NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

Number 5 June 21, 1966

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The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

THE RUN OFF VOTE MAY 31 did nothing to change the picture of May 3. While cheating, pressure, and vote buying were all used, failure to motivate the Negro electorate to turn out was at the base of the failure to elect black men.

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THE MOST SIGNIFICANT NEWS IN ALABAMA RACE RELATIONS is the S.C.L.C. withdrawal from Alabama and the policy statements from the newly elected S.N.C.C. officers.

HOSEA WILLIAMS ANNOUNCED to the entire Alabama S.C.L.C. staff that it was moving out of Alabama June 7th. Williams said less than 20 of over 70 workers would remain. I would hazard the number to be way less than that when the removal is complete.

This was a shock hard to receive only the day after the depressing May 31 run off. The question was (and is) Why? So far no one has deigned to give an answer. That is, a real answer based on strategy rather than tactics.

If the question was "Why?" the feeling was abandonment. I caught the sentiment of disappointment not so much because of the move but rather disappointment in SCLC itself.

What did such a move reveal of the motives or philosphy of SCLC's top staff? The answer may be apparent to some but it is not apparent to the rank and file who marched, registered, voted, and suffered in Alabama.

THE EVOLVING SNCC POSITION is also far from apparent. But that is because it is alive and growing. I find it hard to criticise or disagree with-right off the bat-people who force me to think. Some people don't have this trouble. White Alabamians, and white folks elsewhere, have been quick to read "racism" into the SNCC position and just as quick to denounce this horror. This sensitivity to racism has been an undiscovered talent for many up until the black Mr. Carmichael entered the evening news and the pages of "Time". This seems to be a time to listen, especially for

white people. If one listens one is forced to rethink old standbys like "racism" "integration", "power".

Now it is said SNCC is firing its white volunteers. It is said again that they are all going voluntarily to Appalachia to begin the Movement among poor whites something a lot of people, remembering the old days of Popularism, have been dreaming about. Depending on the motives, feelings, and prejudices of SNCC-dom this could be called racism. Sure. But then we listen:

Reporter: Is desegregation as a goal out...?

Miss Ruby Robinson, Executive Secretary: "... Any talk about integration has always been initiated by the black community. After we initiated that action, we were beaten and jailed, and we went through a period of suffering. After this period of suffering we were redeemed. Redemption was being allowed to sit next to people like Jim Clark... If there is to be true integration... white people in this country have to initiate(it). That's not our problem to initiate it any more...and what we need is black power."

If SNCC could trigger a Movement among poor whites in the South-it would be strange and wonderful, but would it be racism? And sure, some SNCC folk are black nationalists but then I still manage to belong to a church full of white nationalists.

The June 4 issue of "The New-Republic" carried a review by Lewis Yablonsky of

> The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, by Kenneth Keniston(Harcourt, Brace and World), $8.50.

Keniston writes of 36 Harvard upperclass youth. The reviewer, out of his experience, sees similarities with lowerclass gang structured kids. But one also sees similarities with the SNCC posture. And I must honestly add that I see myself in these cases-alienated, caught between the world and the Kingdom of God, a perfectly orthodox Christian way of "Telling it like It is".

We are told that among the alienated uppercalss youth "the nonsence of the prevailing order "is a credo. "They are philosophers with hammers; their favorite theoretical occupation is destruction, reduction, pointing out inconsistencies, chicaneries, hypocrisies, and rationalizations-whether in others or themselves." Keniston in attempting toexplain that his 36 have no constructive program says "...(what unifies them is) rejection not only of selected visible aspects of American society, but of the basic assumptions and values of traditional American culture as a whole." Well that's SNCC, but Christians and Jews can feel at home in that too.

It is said that alienation in part stems from the modern phenomena of "rapid social change, without any real control placed on its direction or intensity." Alienated folk are saying, we demand to know where we have been and where we are going. Yesterday's solutions are suspect. The present alone has meaning-new wine and new skins only, please.

So it makes sense to knock "integration" if one's approach to any concept of yesterday is in the form of an expose.

"Integration" = buying off the black man-like always.
"Integration" = getting a little bread for a lot of sweat.
"Integration" = the black man doing something for the white man-like always.
"Integration" = use of facilities one can't afford.

These are things worth hearing. On the other hand, destructive analysis, and symptoms of withdrawing have

their drawbacks and dangers in a movement effecting broad social change.

Bayard Rustin said, "The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a co-alition of progessive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States".

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NOTES FROM THE INSANE. New York may have Marat/Sade on the boards but Alabama has its absurd drama right in our insane asylums-nitty-gitty and southern-fried. The white asylum in Tuscaloosa and the Negro asylum in Mt. Vernon are under the HEW compliance orders. Some faint efforts to integrate were made here-to-fore but then Wallace discovered that a group of white patients had been transferred to the Mt. Vernon(Negro) hospital. He told the hospital authorities that if they were not returned officially, he would have the State Troopers bring them back in patrol cars. They came back officially.

The rickety Mt. Vernon hospital is a former federal arsenal. My great grandfather found it easy to break into in 1861. It fell to the Rebels before Sumter. His father-in-law, my great-great grandfather, helped build it. I hope to live to see it closed to both black and white.

Only 5 days ago Wallace power captured the state mental health commission. It announced it would "do nothing more" to comply with the Civil Rights law. On the other hand, some sub rosa integration has gone on at Byrce hospital in Tuscaloosa. It has caused no truble. It may trouble Wallace, but not the inmates. The Alabama insane seem receptive to "mixing". One white ward had an impossibly poor basketball record. Negroes were placed in the ward. The new patients lifted the ward out of its losing streak. We were told the following exchange took place in the cafteria,"So you're the guys with all the niggers in your ward." "Yeah," but we beat the hell out of you in basketball."

Some Negro attendants were being hired. A white sports director stood by the other day while a Negro nurse read off the names of those allowed to go out to play softball. A little old lady, not on the list, tried everything in the book on the sports director to get to go. He deferred to the nurse. The little old lady said. "No god-dammed nigger is going to tell me what to do! " Silence. As the sports director left he heard the nurse gently propel the little old lady into the ward. When the key turned he heard the nurse say quietly, "You just watch me."

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A STRUGGLE IN LEADERSHIP goes on in many a Negro organization. It is a struggle to change the image of leadership. Oversimplified, it's like this. There is the "old type" leader. He demands unquestioning loyalty. His pattern is the old style preacher, jealous of his prerogatives. A formidable fellow he was in the good old days. (Whites got rid of his white brother preacher a generation ago, we effectively reduced him to the tea party moderator he is today.) This dynamic leader plays an important role in the days of crisis and demonstration when great loyalty and strong leaders are necessary.

Now the Movement unleashed elements dangerous to the old type leader-freedom, one man one vote, secularization, democratic process, dignity, the idea you might have something to offer the assembly even if you couldn't read or write.

On the other side we have the "new type" leader. His problem is sometimes hypocrisy but he really trys to be aware of his motives, sometimes he even rejects the title"leader." He claims to help create local leadership. One usually finds him among

local folk. We call it grass roots. This is partly because he choses to be here, partly because he's just getting started. He forces people to be responsible. Often they are not. They don't dig a leader leaving the work and decisions up to them. Sometimes the new leader gets exasperated and acts like an old leader, does it himself. Then he claims he didn't do any such thing. But by and large the new type leader believes in a radically democratic process. He really tries to be responsive to the will of his constituents. He practises a tough, practical humility. He is considerate of the poor, the inarticulate, and the simple. He rarely embrasses anyone. It helps too, if he has no, or little, material or financial interest in what's happening. Often money is delegated to a committee or should be.

I hope the new leader, even with all his ambiguities, will win the struggle.

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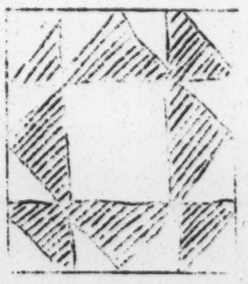
THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE had an auction in New York city last month. It was a thoroughly professional affair. We had an article in the "Sunday News" and radio announcements. 80 quilts were sold, a profit of $2200.00 was made. We have to thank a dedicated group in New York, most of them natives of Alabama. We attracted buyers with whom we hope to form relationships. Finding outlets is our big problem.

Lois Deslonde of Caritas, a Roman Catholic lay group is now with the quilters for the summer. Here's her latest report:



"The next block will be better!" One of the ladies in the co-op made this remark after she had been given a few pointers on her new quilt block. Her remark exemplifies the spirit in which the ladies in the Freedom Quilting Bee are working.

Since my arrival a week ago in Wilcox County the ladies have been meeting evenings (the days are spent chopping cotton, thinning corn, or harvestng squash and cucumbers). Usually we meet in different homes for classes in stitchery, printing, and quilting. Because the ladies are tired from working all day in the field, we try to limit classes to an hour and a half but sometimes their enthusiasm plays havoc with the scheldule.

Great pride is taken in learning the new skills. Upon entering one of their homes this is very noticeable. One is sure to find a piece of stitchery or a new quilt pattern tacked to the wall.

Several beautiful quilts are on frames and soon we hope to use creative stitchery in wall hangings, toti bags, coverlets, etc. We have also had a potter to join our co-op. Pitchers, churns, crocks and dinner ware are available. This brings us to our next topic.

OUTLETS- We need more of them! We don't know what we would have done without the assistance of people like Tom Screven, Betty Stephens, Tiny Hoffman, and many others who have been instrumental in selling our quilts. Recently, Tom successfully auctioned over eighty quilts for the Freedom Quilting Bee.

How would you like to hold an auction? Do you know any shop that might be interested in selling our handmade quilts. Just thought I might propose these questions in case you might have been wondering what you could do to help us. Of course, scraps of cloth are always in demand, too.

Around the first of August we hope to have an exhibit of quilts, pottery, and other handicrafts ready for outdoor arts and crafts festivals in north Ala. This new approach might be the beginning of another kind of outlet. We'll let you know the results. In the meantime, if you have any ideas, we would be delighted to hear them.

MINUTES

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

June 22, 1966 -- Atlanta, Georgia

The meeting was called to order in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council at approximately 10:10 A.M. by Miss Jean Fairfax, Chairman. The following were in attendance:

Rev. Edward Brown	Comm. on Rel. and Race, Nat'l Council of Churches
Rev. Will Campbell	Committee of Southern Churchmen
Constance Curry	American Friends Service Cttee.
Rev. Martin England	American Baptist Convention
Jean Fairfax	NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
Winifred Falls	American Friends Service Cttee.
Joe Giordana	Office of Equal Health Opportunity
Al Kehrer	AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Patricia B. Miller	Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Rev. John Morris	Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Francis Pauley	Georgia Council on Human Relations
Revelle Pergament	National Urban League
Courtney Siceloff	Penn Community Services
Jack Sisson	National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
J. E. Stanfield	Southern Regional Council
Charles Wittenstein	American Jewish Committee

Mr. Giordano of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Equal Health Opportunity, reported the progress of current compliance checks to certify hospitals for participation in the Medicare program in keeping with the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The problems of securing desegregation in hospitals were discussed at some length.

Jack Sisson described "Project Equality," which is now being promoted by the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice. It is a plan for using the buying power of religious bodies to require non-discrimination of companies doing business with them.

Jean Fairfax, Constance Curry and Winifred Falls reported on school desegregation efforts under the new Office of Education guidelines. Again there was discussion. There was general agreement that the current guidelines, as applied, were not effective to eliminate the dual school system.

Vernon Jordan of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council reported VEP's progress and commented on the political situation in the South.

The following were elected to the Steering Committee for 1966-67:

Al Kehrer, Chairman
Jean Fairfax
Ed Brown
Jack Sisson
Ted Freedman
Oscar McCloud
Courtney Siceloff
Clarence Coleman
Bruce Hanson
Ed Stanfield (Secretariat)

The Southern Regional Council was re-elected the Secretariat.

The meeting adjourned at about 5:00 P.M.

July 13, 1966

Mr. Theodore Freedman, Director
Southern Office
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Freedman:

This is to notify you that you were elected to the Executive Committee of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference for a period of one year at the last meeting of that group.

We hope that you will be able and willing to serve and unless I hear from you to the contrary we shall assume that you will do so.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

July 13, 1966

Mr. Al Kehrer
AFL-CIO
Civil Rights Department
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

I have sent notices to Mr. Oscar McCloud, Mr. Clarence Coleman, Mr. Ted Freedman and Mr. Bruce Hanson of their election to the Executive Committee of the Inter-Agency Conference. All of the others elected were present at the meeting and I assume there is no need to notify them further.

Enclosed is the list of members of the Conference as we have it at this time. As I say, it is in need of extensive revision. One obvious step, it seems to me, would be to send a mimeographed letter along with a form on which each of the current member-agencies could indicate whether or not it desires to continue in participation and whether or not the name we have currently is the correct representative. This would also provide us with necessary corrections in the addresses. If we keep it brief and enclose a self-addressed envelope I think we will get a pretty good return.

July 13, 1966

Mr. Oscar McCloud
United Presbyterian Field Office
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Suite 1418
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. McCloud:

This is to notify you that you were elected to the Executive Committee of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference for a period of one year at the last meeting of that group.

We hope that you will be able and willing to serve and unless I hear from you to the contrary we shall assume that you will do so.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

New Direction In the U. S.: Right?

By RUSSELL KIRK

RONALD REAGAN'S thumping victory in the California primaries has opened the eyes of some people to what anyone might have noticed earlier: Public opinion, across the country, is shifting in a conservative direction. In terms of elections, the consequence of this drift may be heavy Congressional losses for the Democratic Administration this autumn—not on the scale of 1946, but sufficiently unsettling for liberals.

And by 1968, President Johnson may be as distressed as was President Truman in 1952. Or, conceivably, he may have floated along with the conservative stream, rather than fighting against it.

There seem to be two immediate causes of this shift of opinion: public discontent with the conduct of the war in Vietnam, comparable to the unpopularity which fell upon Mr. Truman with the stalemate in the Korean War; and public uneasiness at the state of the economy, with its rising prices and shaky dollar.

Behind these large complaints, however, one may discern an inchoate public uneasiness at the general character of latter-day liberalism, a discontent expressed in resentment against such concerns as school busing to achieve racial balance, higher Social Security taxes (to pay for Medicare), and the increasingly radical character of civil rights and peace groups. A popular feeling grows (though seldom clearly expressed in words) that liberal reformers are tinkering with American society piecemeal — with very little idea of the consequences.

It would be inaccurate to call this swelling conservative mood a "swing to the right." For one thing, the terms "left" and "right," borrowed from French parliamentary usage, ordinarily mean little enough in American practical politics. For another, conservatism (in the phrase of Dr. H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard) is "the negation of ideology." The American public is not about to embrace the ideology of the Birch Society (whose membership drive, as Robert Welch confesses, has been flagging), or of some Radical Right organization still less prudent. Nevertheless, conservative candidates for office will fare much better this fall than they did in 1964, and the policies and personnel of the Johnson Administration, responding to the public's mood, will become distinctly less liberal.

Far from being extremist in character, this revived conservatism is a reaction, in part, to the extremism of the New Left and its eccentricities. In 1964, much of the American electorate (always, like the British public, suspicious of positions allegedly extreme) was convinced that Senator Goldwater (or, anyway, some of his supporters) would upset the applecart. But in 1966 nobody really worries about the Birch Society, superpatriots, and all that. Clearly, for more than a year, the vexatious extremists have been the radicals of the National Conference for New Politics, Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Vietnam Day enthusiasts, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the whole congeries of New Left activist zealots.

This reaction is a necessary and healthy one, and of course it includes many people who never would think of calling themselves conservatives. Take, for instance, the words of Miss Lillian Smith, the novelist, on resigning recently from the Congress of Racial Equality: "We have new killers of the dream. CORE has been infiltrated by adventurers and nihilists, black nationalists and plain old-fashioned haters, who have finally taken over."

The Radical Right groups never went into the streets; to the average voter, they were, at worst, a dim threat and a minor nuisance. But when "peaceniks" invade the White House and try to bog down the Oakland, Calif., Army terminal; when gentlemen of the New Left carry Vietcong banners; when black nationalists turn to arson—why, the public begins to look about for candidates who profess some interest in law, order and national unity. It is interesting to reflect that the "free speech" and "foul speech" demonstrators at Berkeley, not to mention California's militant pacifists, did much to secure the Republican gubernatorial nomination for Mr. Reagan (though nothing was further from their thoughts), quite as the Negro extremists of Watts obtained for Mayor Samuel Yorty of Los Angeles many of his 850,000 votes in the recent Democratic primary.

This public distaste for New Left extremism extends beyond the New Left gentry themselves to those officeholders and legislators who fail to do anything effective about this form of political insanity, or who retain some connection with the radical groups. Thus the political victors of 1964 find themselves unhappily squeezed between a popular dislike of radical demonstrators, and the disaffection of the New Left circles themselves. Since the latter represent only a small segment of the voting population, there is little doubt as to which way the men in power will shift, when they are compelled to choose.

THE New Left, for all that, is merely an irritant to the American public; the discontent with foreign and domestic policies goes deeper. In terms of national issues, the real public pressures upon the Johnson Administration are to obtain victory in Vietnam, to concert a general foreign policy with better prospect of success, to achieve fiscal stability, and to proceed very gradually, if at all, toward any more proposed Great Society reforms.

If the doctrinaire liberals are bewildered by this alteration of public opinion, they have their own premature jubilation in November, 1964, to blame. Contrary to the liberals' assessment in that month, the victory of Mr. Johnson over Mr. Goldwater was not a triumph of liberal ideas over conservative ideas. The American people, as everyone should have heard by this time, do not elect a President, they defeat his opponent. And they rarely make decisions on the basis of abstract ideas.

Mr. Goldwater was rejected by more than six out of every 10 voters for two clear reasons: (1) They feared that he was "trigger-happy" (as the poll-in-depth of Louis Cheskin Associates showed some weeks before the election, the prejudice against Mr. Goldwater was so strong on this score that no possible prejudice in his favor on some other issue could have *(Continued on Page 23)*

RUSSELL KIRK, professor of political science at C. W. Post College, is the author of several books, including "The Intemperate Professor" and "A Creature of the Twilight."

New Direction in the U. S.?

(Continued from Page 20)

saved him); (2), they suspected, confusedly, that he was "some sort of radical" (a feeling which carried for President Johnson even this writer's own Michigan county and township, Republican from time out of mind). So Mr. Johnson won handsomely, precisely because the electorate judged that of the two candidates, he was the more conservative.

Thus the Presidential election of 1964 obscured the real drift of public opinion. President Johnson, re-elected, had election promises to fulfill; but he received no mandate for a Great Society. The only considerable innovation of the Johnson Administration has been Medicare, and as the public discovers how limited are the benefits of that program—the butter being spread too thin, with no test of need —and how sharply the rates of the Social Security tax will rise, the reaction may be startling. Other programs, notably the War on Poverty, already are suspect in Congress and out of Congress; their functioning will be a sore point with the national Administration — this year and in 1968. Similarly, the immense subsidies for public schools will not be gladly supported by many voters. For, though the Federal budget is burdened by these grants, poor school districts are not much better off than before, and the real need has been for *qualitative* improvement of schools, of which there is little sign as yet.

Emphatically, the public does not demand larger Federal expenditures, which could be accomplished only by increasing taxes or by further inflation of the dollar and of prices through deficit spending and issuing of more Federal bonds. In the nation, as in California, the pressure is for governmental retrenchment.

Still less is there a widespread public demand for fresh civil rights legislation at any level. It becomes increasingly clear to most people that the mere enactment of laws does not bestow equality of condition upon the Negro, or allay discontent in the urban ghettos. One cannot live upon abstract rights. The prospect of Federal interference with the sale and renting of houses is not calculated to rouse a great glad cry of public rejoicing. Already disturbed by fumbling attempts of the Federal educational bureaucracy to require speedier integration — or remedying of racial imbalance — in Northern cities as well as in the South, the public takes a dim view of projects like that of Harold Howe 2d, United States Commissioner of Education, for "educational parks" of 20,000 students apiece, where the schools may be utilized for grandiose sociological experiments.

ONE finds no strong pressure, then, for larger chunks of the Great Society. Rather, a current of dissent from liberal attitudes in politics runs stronger every month. The steady increase of crime and urban violence, with which the typical liberal politician seems to have small notion of how to cope, is a really urgent grievance, not an abstraction. The failure of the present Congress to do anything about the Supreme Court's forbidding of prayer and Bible reading in public schools produces a smoldering resentment in many parts of the country that might burst into a hot political issue. The solicitude which the Johnson Administration displays for big labor and big business, coupled with the discontents of that very large class which Mr. Goldwater once called "the forgotten Americans," produces more disillusion with Great Society slogans.

Liberals who mistake these complaints for the laments of little old ladies in tennis shoes may experience ruder shocks than the one they received from Mr. Reagan's margin of victory. The dissatisfaction with liberal cant and slogans extends to people whom even the most ritualistic liberal cannot pooh-pooh. Consider these mordant observations:

"Liberalism will be seen historically as *the* great destructive force of our time; much more so than Communism, Fascism, Nazism, or any of the luntatic creeds which make such immediate havoc. . . . It is liberalism which makes the Gadarene swine so frisky; as mankind go to their last incinerated extinction the voice of the liberal will be heard proclaiming the realization at last of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

A voice from the lunatic fringe? No, gentlemen: the voice of one of the more perceptive men of our time, the witty Malcolm Muggeridge.

* * *

BUT can American conservative politicians and thinkers provide the imaginative leadership which would supplant liberal moralizing by conservative action? Nominating—and electing—10 Ronald Reagans would make no

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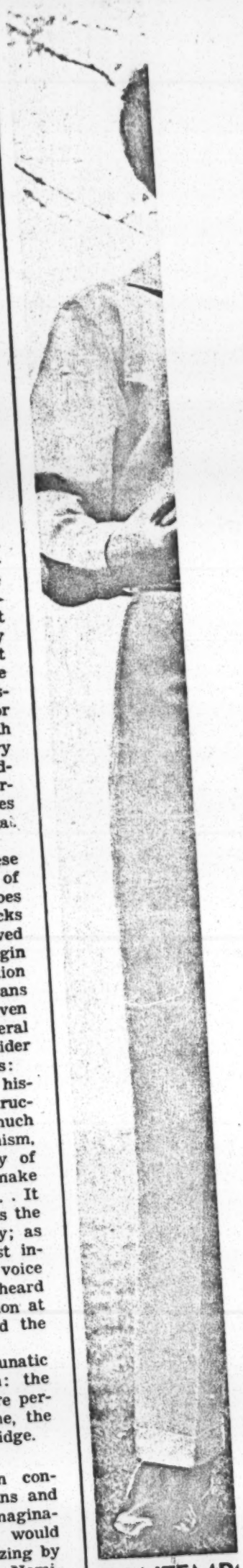

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66One hopes that the conservatives will be right, but not Right; determined, but not rash; realistic, but not ungenerous. Given a touch of humor, the conservatives may laugh salvational liberalism out of power.99

(Continued from Page 23)

noticeable dent in the liberal ascendancy if ideas and courage are lacking.

First of all, if this nascent conservatism is to take on flesh, conservative leaders will have to grasp the nettle in Southeast Asia. Abject evacuation of South Vietnam is inconceivable; but so is success by simple bombing. Democratic publics demand — sometimes imprudently — prompt victory. A party or a faction that tries to settle in Vietnam for anything less than the *status quo ante bellum* achieved by the Korean War will be indignantly rejected by most American citizens. Yet a guerrilla war cannot be won by bombers, or by masses of half-trained American conscripts.

SO the architects of a conservative program must come forward with fresh military and diplomatic plans. They will need to propose, for instance, some such strategy as this: cutting the Ho Chi Minh Trail by a land defense in depth, from Thailand to the China Sea, right across the peninsula, which line would have to be manned, presumably, by troops competent to fight such a prolonged war of attrition — Korean divisions, the Thai Army, American élite forces, and probably the big reserve of the Nationalist Chinese.

The supply lines for Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces having been severed, there would be a fair prospect of dealing with the guerrillas isolated behind the line, as the British successfully extirpated the Communist guerrillas in Malaya. Then diplomatic negotiation from strength might be possible. Until conservative critics of the Johnson policy in Vietnam outline some such general design for carrying on the struggle to a tolerable conclusion, the public will look upon conservative critics as men without practical alternatives.

Next, conservatives will need to convince the public that they can resist inflation, and reduce or check governmental expenditure by a consistent economic plan. As yet, they have done little enough in this direction in opposition. From school-lunch subsidies to the military budget, some of the Congressional conservatives have voted to enlarge appropriations, rather than to accept the Administration's proposed reductions.

Again, conservatives must offer something better than piecemeal criticism and objection to programs for improving the conditions of Negroes and for dealing with urban disintegration. They need not be afraid to speak caustically of the sentimentality and impracticality of present approaches, provided they bring forward real alternatives to civil rights sloganizing, bureaucratic mismanagement of poverty schemes, and the creation of urban deserts in the name of urban renewal.

The public appears to be tired of kowtowing to every racist demagogue, followed by two or three hundred dupes or fanatics, who claims to be a civil-rights leader; it is almost as tired of the feckless administration of the War on Poverty; it resents the destruction of whole communities, under the guise of urban renewal to increase the prosperity of certain speculators and builders. But again, a conservative success founded only upon the resentments of the hour could not endure; the Negro, the urban poor, and the city rotten at the core are not going to vanish. The public must know more or less precisely how the conservatives would deal with these conundrums.

IN general, the public seems to want an end to liberal breast-beating, sermonizing, and promises of the secular glory to come; it is bored with utopian and salvational politics. In its present mood, the American public is looking for men of decision with principles that might secure the national interest, shore up the economy and offer bold, practical approaches to domestic disorder.

So far, the conservative drift, even in volatile California, generally is good-natured, inquiring and fairly

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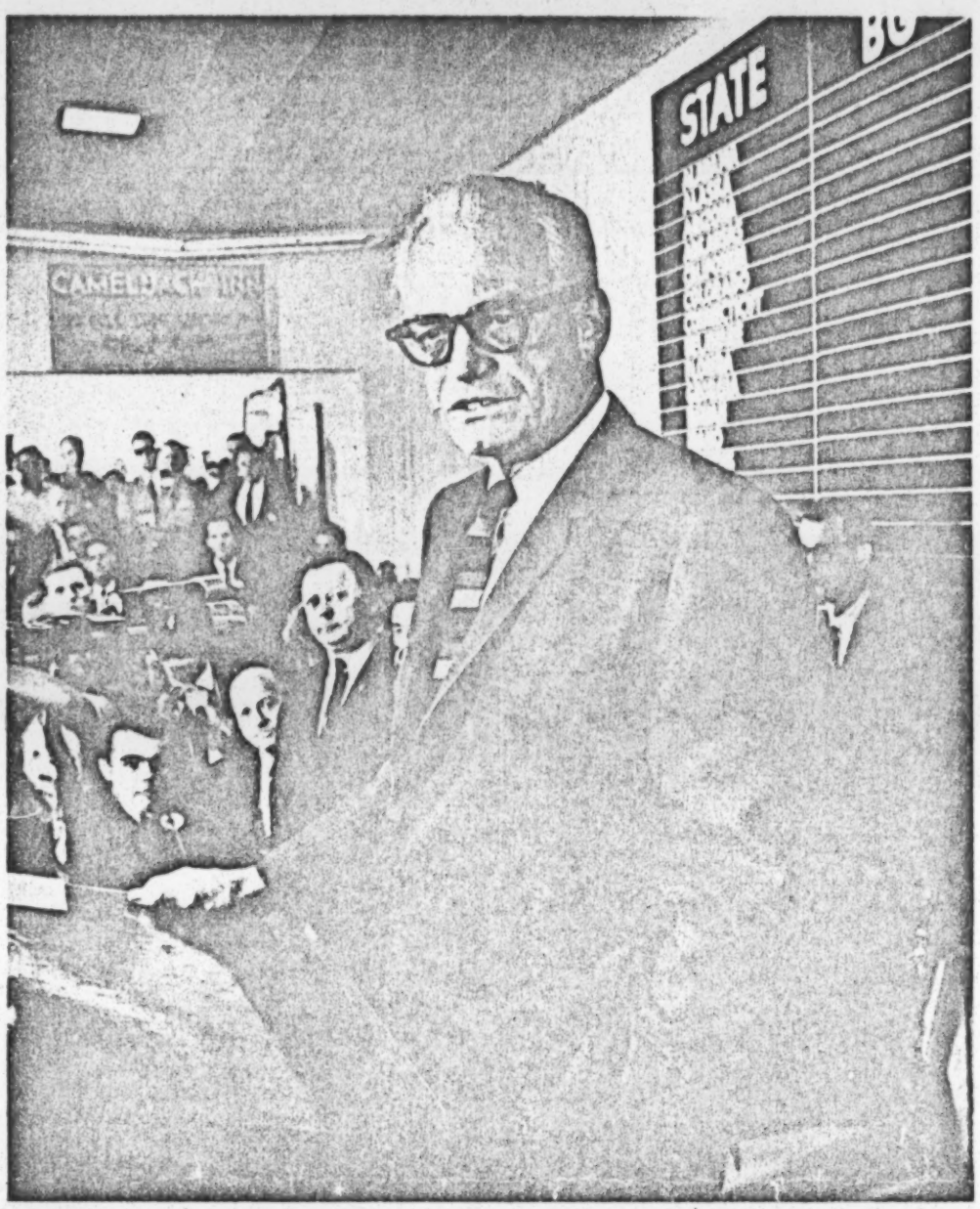
0001, a Division of Monsanto



LOSER—Johnson beat Goldwater in '64, says Kirk, "because the electorate judged that of the two candidates [Johnson] was the more conservative."

(Continued from Page 26)

tolerant. President Johnson is not admired, but neither is he detested; the oddities of the New Left are contemplated with amused contempt, rather than with anguish; the full force of increasing political centralization is not felt as yet, and so not yet bitterly resented.

But if American troops in Asia should be pushed into a corner, or if inflation should commence to gallop, or if Grand Designs from Washington should be imposed against the will of some of the abler and more energetic elements in the community—why, one can imagine a conservative crusade that would make the work of the Goldwater volunteers in 1964 seem a feeble gesture. A good many conservative-minded folk, neophytes in practical politics in 1964, have since learned what to do and what not to do in primary and general elections. Witness, as evidence of a new proficiency in tactics, the emergence of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Reagan is something of a surprise. Previously he was a man of One Speech—and that chiefly an address to those already converted. But clearly he has been doing much reading and thinking and conferring, so that now he is ready with persuasive answers to nearly all questions.

Whether he can develop into a genuine leader of responsible conservatives will depend upon his performance as Governor—if he is elected. He is more supple than Mr. Goldwater, and willing to work. He will have to go a great way beyond his famous Speech, which was almost wholly a rapid-fire attack on a variety of afflictions without alternative courses being presented, if he is to lead the conservative interest out of simple negativism.

THE vision of Burke is needed in this hour; and the honesty of John Adams, and the cleverness of Disraeli, and the energy of Theodore Roosevelt. Can those qualities be found among American conservatives now? Long deprived of power, and almost deprived of duties, some American conservatives have become apathetic, sour, or enraptured of opposition for opposition's sake. However, the future of the American conservative impulse will be determined more by the rising generation—those who were conservatively inclined college students about 1953 or 1954—than by Mr. Goldwater or Mr. Reagan. By and large, the conservative newcomers are a promising lot.

THE intellectual bankruptcy of American liberalism, which Lionel Trilling noted just before the revival of conservative ideas commenced in this country, will give way before conservative imagination and confidence — if the conservatives are not equally bankrupt in thought.

One hopes that the conservatives will be right, but not Right; determined, but not rash; realistic, but not ungenerous. The fatigued and fatiguing quasiliberalism of the Johnsonians, rooted in slogans a generation old and in largess to voting blocs, seems incapable of opposing successfully our present sea of troubles. Given a touch of humor, the conservatives may laugh salvational liberalism out of power.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Member Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: The next meeting

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in Atlanta on September 20 and 21. It will be convened at 2:00 p.m. on the first day and will end at approximately 12:30 on the second. Please put these dates on your calendar.

Further details as to the exact place of the meeting and the agenda will be sent later. Tentative plans made by the steering committee include an overview of the national mood (covering black power, the riots, white back-lash, the significance of conservative strength in deep-South elections, the difficulty of the 1966 civil rights bill, etc.) We expect to have an expert analysis and a reactor panel. There will also be an analysis of primary election results and several other features.

Please, if it is impossible for you to attend this meeting, take steps to see that your agency is represented.

commission on the church and economic life

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n.y. 10027 telephone: 870-2485

bishop reuben h. mueller, president r. h. edwin espy, general secretary

charles p. taft
chairman
rev. shirley e. greene
director

September 6, 1966

The Secretariat
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We seem to make a habit of crossing dates, although I can assure you certainly unintentionally on my part. However, I find that I have a previously scheduled meeting to attend on the dates September 20 and 21st.

Having recently changed positions, I cannot even say if it is possible to send a representative. However, I would ask that you please keep me informed of what you are doing, and I do hope I will be able to attend the meetings in the future.

Cordially yours,

Larold K. Schulz

Larold K. Schulz
Anti-Poverty Coordinator

LKS:eva

a commission of the division of christian life and mission

john n. hart, ferris s. owen, victor g. reuther, vice chairmen · rev. j. edward carothers, secretary

SIP

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401

Number 7 September 6,. 1966

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

WE WERE NOT KIDDING about the seriousness of the financial problem that faced the Selma Inter-religious Project two months ago. So we are very happy to report that the crisis is over. It was especially heartwarming to receive so many contributions from readers of the Newsletter. So far 61 individuals have been given about $1200.00. A single Methodist Church gave $1200 and the Church and Race Fund of the Episcopal Church has made a grant of $2500.00 to the Project. All this money has been deposited in S.I.P.'s account administered by t he Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity in Atlanta. This organization acts as our bookkeeper. This frees us f rom a lot of work and provides us with sound record keeping and an audit. Mr. Dubin, S.I.P.'s chairman, the Steering Committee, and the director wish to thank all those who were able to help.

***

ON JULY 25 THE STEERING COMMITTEE MET at the National Council of Churches of Christ center in New York City. The Committee heard a report from the director. The Committee reaffirmed the extension of The Project for a second year and discussed again the Project's role in Alabama. After the meeting a program report and financial statement were drawn up. Anyone who wishes a copy of t this need only write requesting it.

***

THIS NEWSLETTER comes to you with a copy of "the Southern Courier" newspaper. It contains a feature article on the Freedom Quilting Bee.

Just recently the Bee has contacted business people in New York and Washington whose job it is to develop groups like the Freedom Quilting Bee.

The feeling among the co-op officers is that we are just on the verge of real growth. At the very time this is happening the Bee must give up its manager, Miss Lois Deslonde. Miss Deslonde was only loaned to us for the summer by CARITAS, the religious community to which she belongs. The community was unable

to allow her to remain.

Miss Deslonde had a tremendous impact on the co-op. The quality of work has improved 100%. Her skill in design and needlework has allowed us to produce many articles other than quilts.

The officers and I are working to find a replacement. We are looking first among religious communities. We need a loving person, willing to live on a subsistence salary, skilled in arts and crafts, yet with some managerial skill. We would suggest that if two people could be found there is a chance one could work with either Head Start, a credit union, or the anti-poverty group in Wilcox Co. recently funded under Title III B of the Economic Opportunity Act. These are only chances, we repeat.

Do any of our readers know of people like this? Please write or call if you do.

***

Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma is operated by the Edmundnite Fathers. It provides decent hospital care for many of the poor and was specifically conceived and located to minister to the Negroes of Selma.

The hospital has just lost a registered nurse. I was delivering some donated supplies there a few days ago. Someone said, "Find us a registered nurse." A nurse said, "And some LPN's too." Does anybody you know want a job like that? If so have them contact Mr. John Wright, Good Samaritan Hospital, Selma, Alabama.

***

THERE's ONLY A REAR AUTO TAG in Alabama. But we've not let those spaces go to waste, for example:

"God is Love" "Eat Beef Cattlemen's Association" (Don't mess with them) Stand Up for Alabama-Wallace-Governer's Staff. (You get a "Governer's staff" tag for giving a certain amount to the Wallace campaign.) "Christ is the Answer" "One Man, One Vote" (with the Black Panther) "Keep Alabama Southern" "Put your Heart in Dixie or Get your Ass Out" (Gouldn't aggee more) "Zamora Temple" (With a picture of George and Lurleen added.) "Pork-The All American Food" (Fancy him sidewiping "Eat Beef") "Go To Church On Sunday" "Old South Wrecking Company" (hand-lettered) That last one is my favorite. Perhaps because it fits all of us in Alabama-with out us knowing it. Fits George, Lurleen, SNCC, The white sharecropper's grandson, me, Robert Shelton, The scared liberal. Fits us all. But who will earn the right to drive around in "Alabama Rebuilding."?

SCOTT B. SMITH, Jr. who is a community worker in Russell County for the Tuskegee Community Education Program, is in need of books for his personal liberary. in addition to his job, he is a student at Tuskegee Institure. He needs good, up-to-date textbooks in the areas of psychology, social science, sociology, political science, and English. If you have any textbooks which he could use, and if they were published, say, within the past six years, please send them directly to:

Mr. Scott B. Smith, Jr.
P.O. Box 411
Tuskegee Institure, Ala.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursday. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the S. I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance some have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustments in this formula after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

JES:mlm

cc: SRC Project Directors

September 13, 1966

The Reverend Francis X. Walter, Director
Selma Inter-Religious Project
810 - 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Francis

I am sorry that we failed to get your name on our mailing list for meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference.

Enclosed please find a copy of a notice of the meeting which is to be held next week. I think it will be an unusually interesting meeting and hope you can attend.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JEB:mlm

Attch.

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

September 12, 1966

The Rev'd Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I hope you haven't forgotten to add my name to the list of those invited to the informal meetings of human relations organizations such as I attended a few months ago. Attending was most helpful to me. I write because Connie Curry mentioned a recent meeting I missed. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Francis

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter

FXW:pb

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF CHURCH EXTENSION
PURD E. DEITZ, GENERAL SECRETARY
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

EDWARD M. BROWN, CONSULTANT ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS
~~ROOM 650, 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA~~
499 Emory Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

F

September 19, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

This is just a note to let you know that I will not be able to attend the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference this week. I regret that I have a prior commitment to a staff meeting in New York City of the Division of which I am a member in our denomination.

Hope you have a good meeting and an increased attendance. I shall check with you upon my return to be caught up on the notes you take of the proceedings.

With cordial best wishes,

Edward M. Brown

Edward M. Brown

EMB:fb

Dictated but not read

MINUTES

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

September 20-21, 1966 -- Atlanta, Georgia

Tuesday Afternoon

The meeting was called to order in a conference room of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association Building at approximately 2:00 P.M. by Al Kehrer, Chairman. The following were in attendance:

Charles F. Wittenstein	The American Jewish Committee
J. C. Herrin	American Baptist Convention
Winifred Green	American Friends Service Committee
Florence Robin	American Civil Liberties Union
Martha Randall	National Student Y.W.C.A.
Peggy King	National Student Y.W.C.A.
Eddri L. Dieson	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
Noyes Collinson	American Friends Service Committee
Rosetta Gardner	National Student Y.W.C.A.
Dorothy Gebhart	National Board, Y.W.C.A. Southern Region
Lillian Henry Jackson	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
Virginia Bourne	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
Susan Love	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
Dorothy Mudge	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
Elijah Coleman	Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Allen Black	N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund
August VandenBosche	Florida Council on Human Relations
Jacques E. Wilmore	U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Eileen E. Muir	National Board, Y.W.C.A.
D. B. Nickerson	Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
James S. Jones	Mississippi Council on Human Relations
John A. Pecoul, Jr.	Southern Regional Council
Robert S. Harrell	N. C. Good Neighbor Council
Paul Wahrhaftig	Georgia Council on Human Relations
Hubert D. Thomas	Georgia Council on Human Relations
J. Harvey Kerns	National Urban League
William L. Roberts	Southern Human Relations Project, N.S.A.
Edward Schwartz	National Student Association
David Steinberg	National Student Association
Steven McNichols	National Student Association
Karen McClearey	National Y.W.C.A.--C. and U. Division
Alice Spearman	S. C. Council on Human Relations
Ida B. Chambliss	National Student Y.W.C.A.
James McGuire	Nat. Catholic Conference of Interracial Justice
Kenneth Dean	Mississippi Council on Human Relations

W. C. Allred, Jr.	N. C. Council on Human Relations
Richard L. Fairley	U. S. Office of Education
Samuel Young	Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Jean Fairfax	N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund
Al Kehrer	AFL-CIP Civil Rights
J. E. Stanfield	Southern Regional Council
Frances Dukler	Houston Council on Human Relations

Dr. Lewis Killian, Institute for Social Research, Florida State University, was introduced and addressed the Conference on "The Role of the Southern White Liberal in Social Change." Following his presentation a panel of reactors composed of Jean Fairfax, Charles Morgan, Hubert Thomas, and Emory Via, commented on his subject. This was followed by a period of questions and discussion.

Tuesday Evening

Those attending were guests of the Al Kehrers, at their home, for a social hour and dinner, followed by analyses and discussion of the political situation and prospects throughout the South.

Wednesday Morning

It was announced that the several members of the National Student Y.W.C.A. and executive directors of state councils on human relations present had been invited to attend as guests.

Steve McNichols of the National Student Association announced that he was preparing a directory of civil rights and intergroup relations agencies and projects for subsequent publication.

Bill Roberts, Director of the National Student Association's Southern Human Relations Project, introduced himself and announced re-opening of an office in Atlanta at 41 Exchange Place, Southeast.

Harvey Kerns of the National Urban League regional office announced organization of Urban League chapters in Jackson, Birmingham, and Columbia.

Paul Wahrhaftig, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations was introduced.

Samuel Young of the regional office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare spoke on civil rights compliance in hospitals and nursing homes. There was a general discussion of the problems of obtaining compliance and these and other programs of H.E.W.

Richard Fairley of the Office of Education, Washington, D.C., talked about school desegregation and efforts to improve the quality of education in predominantly Negro schools.

The next meeting of the Conference was scheduled for either January 17-18 or January 18-19, 1967.

The meeting was adjourned.

SIC – Jan. 1967 Meeting

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM

November 22, 1966

TO: Southern Interagency Conference Steering Committee--
Al Kehrer, Ted Freedman, John Morris, Jean Fairfax, Jack Sisson, Bruce Hanson, Clarence Coleman, Courtney Siceloff, Edward Brown, Oscar McCloud

FROM: Secretariat

At the call of Al Kehrer, Chairman, the Steering Committee is to meet at 10:00 A. M. Friday, December 9, 1966, in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room to plan the agenda for the January meeting of the SIC.

The January meeting was tentatively scheduled for January 17-18 (possibly January 18-19 at our last meeting.

Dear Al —
Glad to be in Phila on the 9th – Sorry!
Your idea on the Freedom Budget sounds good
Don't guess we want to get into a Black Power dialog. That would be a subject in itself
When dates are fixed for January please let me know.
Clarence

SIC 9-20-21, 1966 7504-17-60

Name	Agency
Charles F. Wittenstein	✓ The American Jewish Committee
J. C. HERRIN	✓ AMERICAN BAPTIST CONV.
Winifred Green	✓ American Friends Service Co.
Florence Robin	✓ American Civil Liberties Union of GA
Martha Randall	✓ Nat'l Student YWCA
Peggy King	" " "
Eldri L. Dieson	✓ Nat'l Board YWCA.
Joyce Collynson	✓ AFSC
Rosella C. Gardner	✓ National Student YWCA
Dorothy Gebhart	✓ National Board YWCA, Southern Region
Lucian Henry Jackson	National Bd. YWCA -
Virginia Bourne	National Bd YWCA (vol.)
Susan Love	National Board, YWCA
Dorothy Mudge	National Board, YWCA
Elijah Coleman	1310 Wright ave Little Rock, Ark. ACHR
Allen Blank, Jr	✓ Legal Defense Fund
August H. Vanden Bosche	✓ FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Jacque E. Wilmore	Comm. on Civil Rights
Eileen S. Mill	National Board YWCA
D. B. Nickerson	✓ The Episcopal Society
James S. Jones	✓ Min. C. on H. R.
John A. Pecoul, Jr.	S.R.C.
ROBERT S. HARRELL	✓ N.C. GOOD NEIGHBOR COUNCIL
Paul Wahrhaftig	✓ Ga. Council of Human Relations
Hubert P. Thomas	" "
Warner Terns	✓ National Urban League
Wm. F. Roberts	✓ Southern Student Human Relations Prog.
Edward Schwartz	✓ National Student Association
David Steinberg	National Student Assn.
Steven McNicholl	✓ USNSA Books
Karen McCleary	National YWCA-C+H Div.
Alice Spearman	✓ S.C. Council on Human Relations
IDA B. CHAMBLISS	National Student Y.W.C.A.

Name	Agency
1- Jim McGuire	Nat. Cath. Conf. Interracial Justice
2- Ken Dean	Mississippi Council on Human Relations
3. W. C. ALLRED, JR.	NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4. Richard L. Fairley	U.S. Office of Education
5 Sam Young	Dept. Health, Ed & Welfare
Jean Fairfax	LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, NYC
Al Kehrer	AFL-CIO Civil Rights
J. E. Stanfield	SRC
James Jones (Ole Miss)	Oxford C.H.R.
Frances Dukler	Houston CHR.

Richard Fairley - O. of E.
Samuel Yeoman - H.E.W.
on Hosp.

Statler-Hilton
February 8-10

Steve McNichols of NSA made announcement re. a directory of C.R. + C.G.R. agencies and projects.

_____ described new directions and programs of N.S.A.

Florence Robin, Ga. ACLU, described their "Know Your Rights" program.

Bill Roberts of NSA's Southern ~~Student~~ Human Relations Project introduced himself.

_____ announced opening of Urban League chapters in Jackson, Birmingham, and Columbia.

Paul Wahocti (?) of the Ga. Council on H.R. was introduced.

Samuel Young of H.E.W. Regional office spoke on hospital + nursing home civil rights compliance and other programs of H.E.W.

Richard Fairley - Office of Education, D.C. talked about school desegregation. (Also improvement of the quality of education in "Negro" schools)

Next meeting scheduled Jan. 17-18, 1967, — or Jan. 18 & 19.

(Bruce Hansen requests time on agenda for Comm. on Rel. + Race to present some concerns re. economic development.)

(Jim Goddard, So. Reg. Ed. Bd — projected programs for higher education)

White liberal has not changed, but the ground on which he stands has changed.

Differs from radical:

(1) in his concern for means.

(2) in his commitment to change within the basic system existing (Negroes brought into the main stream), whereas radicals want the system changed.

Normative order has changed since 1962 — in the direction of greater polarization. On the one hand acceptance of equal rights and opportunities as the "official morality," with greater credence to de facto inferiority of Negroes. Most white Americans assume the basic rightness of the existing order.

The white liberal is still a deviant. He is less visibly so, because more people comply externally with the official morality.

Liberal differs from conservative:

(1) on the level of his concern about law and order.

(2) on his estimate of the urgency of the problem.

~~Liberals~~ Negroes used to ~~think~~ overestimate the power of white liberals — and vaguely distrust them when they did not deliver. Now they tend to consider them the enemy.

Liberals used to have two possible roles: (1) the martyr role and (2) the waiting role. Now there is a surfeit of martyrs on both sides. As for waiting — every community knows by now

that it has a problem.

The W. L. no longer has a mediating role. The power elite know they must talk to militant Negroes. And Negroes want no W. Ls. trying to speak for them. (The waiter no waits to heal the inevitable injuries.)

1. Symbolic desegregation is no longer the dominant issue. (Basic employment + income inequality and basic inequality of power are the issues.)

2. The liberal's role is tougher now — in part because he has some programmatic role now. (Radicals are not concerned with program.)

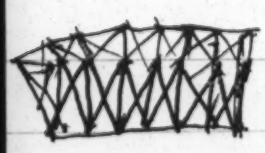
3. Even more difficult is the role of finding some common ground on which to reach white people who are non-liberals.

4. More great conflict is inevitable. Preserving the flame of friendships across racial lines continues to be very important — they may be precious commodities.

Reactors

Jean Fairfax called for focus on how white liberals can change patterns. She deprecated the "mediating" role as neither needed nor wanted. She charges w. ls. with being for Tokenism and unconcerned about the miseries of Negroes — are really concerned about it. "The heart of the issue is that whites have excluded themselves ~~not~~ because of the nature of the job to be done now — not that Negroes have excluded them." Besides "white liberals expect gratitude from Negroes.

Charles Morgan - White liberals now run the government from the second eschelon level and from the foundations. / You cannot build a better segregated school system . . . / There is the possibility that the problem is insoluble, and that we may lose . . . Our value — whatever it is — is right now, not in the future.

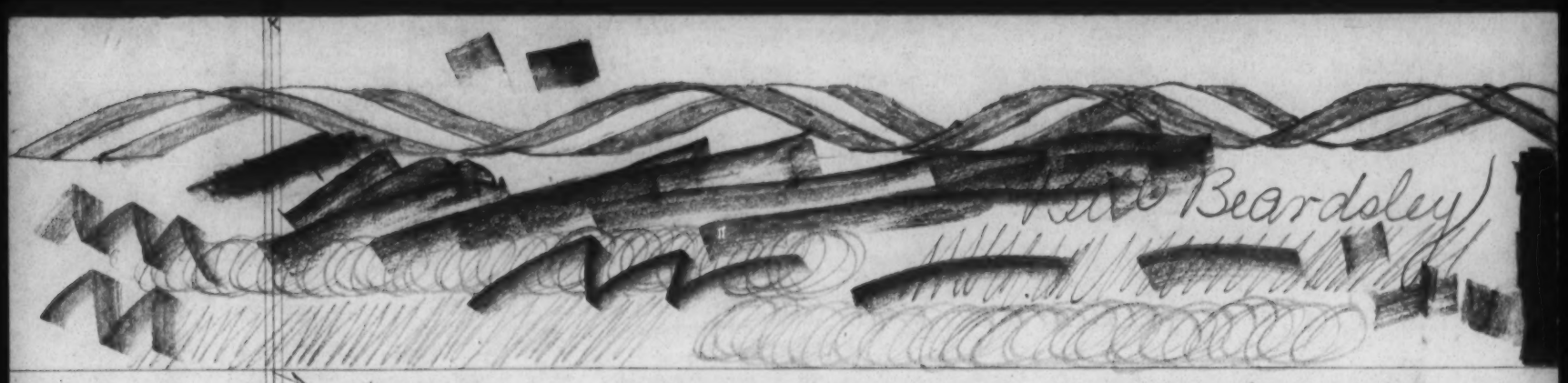


Hubert Thomas - "This too will pass away."

Emory Via - Would add to the definition of "liberal" "the belief in rationality". He tries to define problems in rational terms. Also they used to be advocates of the "talk" "democracy — whereas they are now faced with the task of "doing."

Killian –

Basic question – is there a place for the liberal who does not see the necessity of a revolution? Or – is a revolution necessary? (Killian thinks a revolution necessary.)



~~September 20-21 - value of a two day meeting. Evening affair.~~

~~Estimate Edison~~

Survey of school desegregation
- state by state survey
- growth of private schools
- court actions

Survey of hospitals

Implimentation

New office of Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty - Randolph Blackwell.

V.E.P.

Student Work

White backlash and/or black power

Review of poverty program
- OEO appropriations problems

Need for community education
(NYT 10-8 Aug. 7) - First attention

Election analysis

(Edward Killian
Florida State University)

Ask Paul Anthony for names that come to mind on "national mood" topic.

Edward Killian
Oron South (?)
Jim Lane (C.R.C.)

Schedule - Tuesday

2:00 - 5:00 - The National Mood - Overview
6:00 - 7:00 Dinner
7:00 - 9:00 Analysis of Results of Primary Elections! (Vernon Jordan)

Wednesday

9:30 - 12:30 (1) Schools + Hospitals - Where do we go from here? (Kruger, Nagel)
(2) Rural to-Urban Migration (Clarence Coleman)

(212) JU6-8397

memo from jean fairfax

JU6-8375

TO: ED STANFIELD

RE: MEETING OF STEERING COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

I have been looking for an opportunity to have a short meeting of the steering committee. I still think we should have a late June meeting of the Interagency Conference which would focus on summer projects and on hospital desegregation.

I will be in Atlanta for a consultation on school desegregation which will involve the members of our task force. The meeting will be held June 3 and 4 at the Air Host Inn. I plan to arrive at about 1:00 a.m. Friday morning; my first responsibility will probably be an early luncheon meeting at 11:00 orll:30 a.m.

What would be the possibility of having a steering committee meeting from 9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. on Friday, June 3 in your office. Would you see how many of the Atlanta based people could come. Our job would be to make plans for the agenda and make recommendations re next year's steering committee and chairman.

I will be in my N.Y. office Tuesday, May 31, until about 3:00 p.m. Daylight Time. Then I'll be at the White House Conference from Tuesday night until Thursday midnight. You can send a message via Connie or call me here Tuesday a.m. My suggestions for our June meeting date are: June 22-23 or 28-29. One possibility is that we have a one day, all-day meeting. What do you think?

Alternatives on vac. last week of June, 1st of July

Jean

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

The next Southern Interagency Conference is to be a two-day meeting, beginning Wednesday, January 26, at 2:00 P.M., and ending Thursday afternoon, January 27. It will be in Atlanta, in the SRC conference room.

Please let us know if you will be here.

Will will.

Will

Will D. Campbell

Laura Kilian for
SIC meeting.

Samuel Younge.
Vernon or Vaw on VEP
Supper at Kehrer

Audit - financial
Report to Mr
Miller

Mrs. McCallister
Mrs. Wilson

SIC 622-66 7504-17-61

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
STEERING COMMITTEE, 1966-67.

AL KEHRER, CHRM
ED STANFIELD, SECRETARIAT
OSCAR McCLOUD
TED FREEDMAN
CLARENCE COLEMAN
ED BROWN
JACK SISSON
BRUCE HANSEN
COURTNEY SICELOFF
JEAN FAIRFAX

SECRETARIAT - S.R.C.

americus - Sumter County Hospitals.
Mrs. Jean Fields
Anthony Whitfield

Steering Committee

Nominating to Steering Committee -

New	Retained
Oscar McLoud	Al Kehrer, Chmn.
Courtney Siccloff	Jean Fairfax
Clarence Coleman	Ed Brown
Bruce Hanson	Jack Sisson
475 Riverside Drive	Ted Friedman
	Ed Stanfield, Ex Officio

Mrs. VEP - 2:00 School Aug

SRC for Secretariat

S.d.C. Meeting

Present:

(5) Jean Fairfax
(13) Siccloff
(8) Kehrer
(16) Wittenstein
(14) Sisson
(1) Brown
(7) Jo Giordano, H.E.W.
(11) Bailey
(15) Stanfield
(9) Patricia Miller (Visitor)
(6) Winifred Falls
(10) John Morris
(3) Corinne Curry
(4) Martin England
(2) Will Campbell
(12) Revelle Pergamont

Call to order at 10:10 a.m., 6/22/66

Mr. Giordano of HEW and Wittenstein reported on hospital compliance with Title VI. Florida situation is good - about 80% compliance with near full compliance expected. About 60% in Georgia, 55% in S.C. Biggest problem in the three states is in south Georgia. Lengthy discussion of the problems of securing compliance from hospitals.

Jack Sisson briefly described ~~"Operation~~ "Project Equality," a plan for using the buying

power of religious bodies to require non-discrimination of companies doing business with them.

Report on School Desegregation from AFSC representatives — Winifred Falls, Connie Curry, and Jean Fairfax. There was general ~~and~~ discussion of the problems. [Concensus that current guidelines are not working. Mood to call for total abolition of dual school system.]

Concern ~~about~~ was expressed about the pressure on William J. Page, director of the regional office of H.E.W., as a result of publication of a confidential memorandum written to Commissioner Howe.

Vernon Jordon briefed the group on the Voter Education Project and the current political situation in the South.

The report of the Steering Committee was adopted as presented.

Meeting adjourned